



**FEMALE LABOUR MIGRATION TO BEKASI:
CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES**

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the causes and consequences of female labour migration to Bekasi, Indonesia with particular attention being focused on migrant women who work in factories, especially in so called off shore industries. The present study uses macroanalytic and microanalytic approaches to attempt to obtain a better understanding of the complexity of female labour migration in Indonesia. The study also analyses this migration in the light of some major theories of migration. The study is based upon analysis of a range of secondary information, a small scale survey of 608 randomly selected female labour migrants and some selected non-migrant key persons from four selected villages within two selected sub-districts of kabupaten Bekasi and families of female migrants in the areas of origin through a tracer survey.

The first chapter describes the significance of female migration in the context of population mobility in Indonesia and gives a brief review of the major important dimensions of female migration which have been given little attention in the existing literature. These gaps in the existing literature represent a justification for the present study. This chapter also outlines the aims and objective of the study. Chapter Two assesses critically the major dimensions of female migration in Indonesia and examines the scale and significance of such movement in contemporary Indonesia. In Chapter Three the focus is to examine critically the sources available for the study, and the sampling procedure and methods of data collection used in the present study, while Chapter Four discusses the conceptualisation of migration commonly used in Indonesia and its shortcomings and attempts to justify the definition used in the present study. The context of the

study area is presented in Chapter Five. Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight include the main empirical analysis of the study. Chapter Six identifies the migration patterns and socio-demographic characteristics of the survey migrants. In Chapter Seven the focus is upon examining critically some of the existing theories on causes of migration in the context of female labour migration to Bekasi. This chapter gives a review of the existing theory and identifies the main factors contributing to the movement of the survey migrants to Bekasi. Chapter Eight assesses the consequences of migration for the social and economic aspects of the survey migrants, especially with regard to economic and employment status and living conditions. The final chapter is the conclusion of the study. This chapter summarises the findings of the study and its implications for theory and discusses the research agenda as well as alternative policies.

The study finds that female labour migration is multi-dimensional. In the micro context, economic motivations such as looking for a job, improving career, and wage differentials associated with education level and age characteristics are dominant among the migrants following the assumptions of micro-analytical perspectives such as push-pull and neo-classical equilibrium models. In the macro context, factors such as limited job opportunities in the non-agricultural sector in the area of origin, improvement of female educational attainment, changing social perceptions and the expansion of off-shore industry to the destination area are significantly associated with migration to Bekasi. Moreover, even though migration has improved in role and status of the migrants, the migrants still have great problems regarding their living conditions and future lives. Comprehensive research and adequate policy on these issues should be a priority to improve the

social and economic welfare of the migrants in particular and female workers in general.

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

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 Library, to be available for loan and photocopying.

SIGNED:

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Glossary

List of abbreviations used in the text

BAPPEDA	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (Local Development Planning Board)
BOTABEK	Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi region
BPS	Biro Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistic)
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistic
DEPNAKER	Departemen Tenaga Kerja (Department of Manpower)
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
GDRP	Gross Domestic Regional Product
JABOTABEK	Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi region
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
MDCs	More Developed Countries
NGO	Non Government Organisation
PEMDA	Pemerintah Daerah (Local Government)
RI	Republik Indonesia (Republic of Indonesia)
RT	Rukun Tetangga (Neighbourhood Group)
SUPAS	Survey Penduduk Antar Sensus (Intercensal Survey)



Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis is a study of causes and consequences of female labour migration to Bekasi, Indonesia with particular attention being focused on migrant women who work in factories, especially in so called off shore industries¹. There has been little detailed research on women migrants in such factories because it is a relatively new phenomenon in Indonesia where most rural-urban migrant women have been absorbed into domestic services or the informal sector. The present study uses macroanalytic and microanalytic approaches to attempt to obtain a better understanding of the complexity of female labour migration in Indonesia. Moreover, it is hoped that this understanding will be of some assistance in the formulation of policies which will improve the condition of these migrants as well as give a direction to some development programs. The study also analyses this migration in the light of some major theories of migration.

Over the last decade, one of the most dramatic changes in migration in Indonesia has been the increase in the scale and significance of female migration (Hugo, 1992). Some researchers believed that one of the important factors stimulating this change was the increased activity of off-shore industry in some urban areas in Indonesia especially the Jabotabek areas (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang

¹ According to Bilborrow and United Nations Secretariat (1993: 7), off-shore industry is defined as industry operating under special legislation allowing the duty-free import of raw materials for the assembly and manufacture of goods destined primarily for exportation'. For example, electronics, textiles, toys, garments, and food processing.

and Bekasi) (Hugo, 1994; Jones and Mamas, 1996). However, the understanding regarding this issue remains very limited due to little comprehensive research. As in many Less Developed Countries (LDCs), the study of migration in Indonesia has been mainly of male migration with little attention paid to female migration (Hugo, 1992).

The neglect of female migration generally occurred for two reasons. First, it is often believed that females do not concern themselves with activities outside the home because of socio-cultural concerns (Ware, 1981; Khoo, 1984; Thandani and Todaro, 1984). Traditionally in Indonesia, women were often considered to be responsible for domestic jobs such as cooking, taking care of home, children and family (Hetler, 1990; Mangkuprawira, 1981). In some areas women were even restricted in the work which they could take up outside the home (Manning, 1987). The best known example of restrictions on women's freedom to be active in economic activities outside the home were in Java, particularly West Java where there has traditionally been strong social sanctions on females working outside their villages (Manning, 1987: 63). However, this is now breaking down to some degree (Saefullah, 1994). Secondly, female migration has long been associated only with family migration, with most females moving to accompany their husbands (Hugo, 1992; Fawcett *et al.*, 1984; Meyerowitz; 1987: 149; Thandani and Todaro, 1984). These migrants tend to have low participation in the labour force. Empirical evidence from many LDCs including Indonesia has shown that married women migrants were more likely to have lower participation rates in the labour force compared with single female migrants (Alatas, 1980; Anaf, 1987; Fawcett *et al.*, 1984; Sunaryanto, 1992; United Nations, 1994; Mardiyah; 1996: 68).

In recent years there has been a significant increase in female migration in Indonesia with the proportion of women who had ever lived in an other province increasing from 5.06 to 10 per cent between 1971 and 1995 (Hugo, 1997: 5). Nevertheless, this proportion was still slightly lower than that of males (11.19 per cent) in 1995 but women outnumber men among intra-provincial migrants living in urban areas, 4.37 per cent compared with 4.43 in 1985 (Hugo, 1994: 51). Women, as in other countries have tended to move shorter distances than men. Moreover, many women who migrate over a short time-duration and over short distances are not detected in conventional censuses and surveys. The data from the census of Indonesia for example only covers permanent migrants who move between provinces with a duration of stay at the destination of more than six months (Hugo, 1982: 33). So, women who move for a short distance as well as temporary migrants such as commuters or circular migrants are not detected by the census and the women involved are classified as non-migrants. With regard to the intercensal survey, even though it is able to detect inter-Kabupaten movement, these data suffer from other methodological problems (the small size of the sample and the highly clustered nature of the sampling technique adopted) and cannot be used to estimate the volume of migration streams or detect intra-Kabupaten and non-permanent movement (Hugo, 1982: 43).

One of the important factors encouraging the increase of female migration is the expansion of off-shore industry to Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia (Bilsborrow and United Nations, 1993; United Nations, 1994; Hugo, 1993, 1994; Jones and Mamas, 1996). Promotion of export-oriented multinational investment as a result of globalisation and the changing strategy of industrial

development in Indonesia in the decade of the eighties not only improved economic growth to 8 per cent in 1996 (the highest level of the Soeharto era) but also increased markedly urban wage and manufacturing employment for semi-skilled and unskilled workers both in Java and outside Java, especially in industrial zones (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996: 30). As a consequence, increasingly large numbers of young and single women have migrated autonomously to take up jobs in the centres where the off-shore industries tend to be located, overwhelmingly in the Jabotabek area (Jones and Mamas, 1996). It was shown that the proportion of all employed person in Indonesia living in urban areas increased from 17.2 to 37.1 per cent between 1971 and 1995 (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1996).

However, research addressing intra provincial movement of those women migrants who work in factories remains limited due to the fact that the main secondary source of migration information (the population census) cannot detect those women. Some dimensions of female migration have been studied in certain areas of Indonesia using census and Intercensal Survey data. Some studies had been able to examine the general pattern of intra-provincial female permanent migration in terms of socio-demographic characteristics and patterns of employment (see Jones, 1977; Alatas, 1987; Crockett, 1983; Sunaryanto, 1992). However, these studies failed to examine in detail several major dimensions of female migration such as causes, decision making processes and consequences of migration as well not being able to provide information about short distance migration and have concentrated on inter-provincial migration.

The only way to investigate these issues relating to female migration in Indonesia is by undertaking field research. Unfortunately, there are very few

studies focused specifically on this. Although some studies were able to explore some important dimensions of female migration ignored by the census such as the causes and consequences of migration, these were carried out in the nineteen seventies or early eighties (see Mather, 1983; Wolf, 1984; Anaf, 1986), a time that off-shore industry just began in Indonesia (Wolf, 1984: 217).

Mather's study (1983) concentrated on the social impacts of industrialisation policy, particularly regarding the social interaction of women in destination areas (Kabupaten Tangerang). Anaf's study (1986) gave more attention to motivation and difference in employment patterns between migrant workers and non-workers and neglected the consequences of migration, while Wolf's study (1984) gave more attention to the determinants of factory employment rather than determinants of migration. This suggests that it is important to investigate deeply the major dimensions of this group of migrants such as their characteristics, causes and consequences.

This present study differs from previous research in this area for a number of reasons. This study attempts to focus on the phenomenon of female factory migrant workers in Indonesia in the nineties when the country experienced dramatic social and economic changes. The country had economic growth of over 8 per cent in 1995 and a sharp decrease of the absolute number of workers in the agricultural sector, particularly in Java (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996: 32). The factories had to conform to regulations relating to minimum wages. Under the Minister of Manpower (Abdul Latief), from 1993 the minimum wage policy was revised and fully established. In 1995, the minimum regional wage in West Java was Rp 5,200 (around 2 US dollars) per day which is much higher than the Rp 750

paid in 1988 (around 50 US cents) per day so that local labour market conditions had improved. There was also an improvement in educational levels of women in both rural and urban areas (Hugo, 1992: 187). The Indonesian government has been strongly committed to extending compulsory schooling to the middle years of secondary school and the data showed that during 1980-1995 the proportion of women who completed secondary and high school in rural areas increased from 3.7 per cent to 13.3 per cent. In line with these changes, it is not surprising that the phenomena of female migration in the nineties differed considerably from migration in the seventies or eighties.

The present study seeks to shed light on the movement of a specific important group of female migrant workers in the formal sector - those working in off-shore manufacturing industries, by focusing on a single area of location of such activities in Bekasi, West Java. Hence the study investigates the experience of female migrants who have been traditionally overlooked in the literature on migration in Indonesia. It is important to clarify the experience of these migrants, especially since most other studies of female labour migration in Indonesia have involved women who have taken up work in the informal and domestic sectors (Jones, 1977; Crockett, 1983; Lerman, 1983; Hetler, 1986). It is likely that migrant factory workers will have widely divergent experiences compared with those in the informal sector.

1.2. Aims and Objectives

As has already been mentioned the principle purpose of this study is to make a contribution toward the better understanding of female labour migration in

Indonesia. The major focus of the study is on movement of female factory workers to Bekasi, West Java. It attempts to elucidate the individual and structural forces stimulating the migration of those groups of women as well as critically examine the socio-economic impact of migration upon migrants. The more detailed objectives of the study are as follows:

- The first objective is to elucidate the major dimensions of female migration in Indonesia and establish to what extent the scale and pattern of female migration has changed.
- The second objective is to investigate the structural context shaping why migrants move to Bekasi and which aspects of that context are most significant in this.
- The third objective is to clarify the migration patterns of female migrant workers in off-shore factories in order to examine whether or not the pattern of their mobility is similar to that for overall female migration in Indonesia .
- The fourth objective is to elucidate the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants, whether or not the female factory worker migrants are selective compared with the census female migrants as well as their female non-migrant counterparts in the destination areas.
- The fifth objective is to examine some major theories regarding the determinants of female migration and establish to what extent the theories are able to explain causes and motivations of the female factory worker migrants in Bekasi.
- The sixth objective is to investigate the socio-economic consequences of migration for the migrants in the destination and their family in the origin

areas, and establish to what extent migration is advantageous or disadvantageous.

- The final objective is to draw out some policy implications from the findings of the study for policy makers and planners to identify how to maximise the benefits of migration for female labour migrants in off-shore factories.

1.3. Female Labour Migration Research in Indonesia

Very little is known about the dimensions of female labour migration in Indonesia, particularly those who work in large factories. The main reasons for the lack of research addressing this issue at the national and regional levels is firstly, the virtual absence of comprehensive and reliable mobility statistics and secondly that the female migration issue is a relatively a new item on the agenda of migration in Indonesia (Hugo, 1992, 1997). Moreover, a number of relevant local studies in Indonesia are in the almost inaccessible form of unpublished papers, reports and dissertations.

There have been a number of studies of labour migration in Indonesia focusing on women using census data as the main source of data (see Crockett, 1983; Sunaryanto, 1992). Only a small number of studies used micro-empirical data (see Mather, 1983; Hetler, 1986). With respect to macro studies, most have focused female migration in Java (see Jones, 1977; Crockett, 1983; Alatas, 1987; Sunaryanto, 1992; Rumondang, 1996; Mardiyah, 1996). With the limited information available from the census, those studies concentrated heavily on inter-provincial female permanent migration and provided a highly descriptive analysis of general patterns in terms of directions, socio-demographic characteristics and

patterns of employment. However, those studies failed to examine the causes and consequences of this migration.

With regard to micro-empirical studies, there have been very few studies of female labour migration. Hetler's research (1986) concentrated on female circular migrants who worked in the informal sector. The study was mainly conducted in origin areas (Wonogiri, Central Java). With respect to female migration, the study found that most female migrants (91 per cent) were employed in the informal sector in cities by selling traditional herbal tonic (jamu gendongan) and only a small number worked in domestic services. The study emphasised that the involvement of women in the labour force and circular migration to a large extent was due to the fact that there was strong tradition of sharing both productive and domestic work between spouses in Central Java. In addition, working as traditional herbal tonic traders provided a greater financial benefit than working as a labourer in the agricultural sector as is consistent with the neo-classical perspective (Todaro, 1969, 1976)². This study tended to give attention to the impact of migration upon the changing roles and status of women, living conditions and arrangements in the origin area and shed little light on the causes of migration.

Another important micro study of female labour migration was carried out by Lerman (1983) in Semarang, Central Java. Like Hetler's study, Lerman's study also focused on female migrants who worked in the urban informal sector but the study was conducted in the destination area. The study focused on causes of circular female migration and three different female migrant groups were studied

² Todaro's migration model postulates that the decision to move is determined not only by the rural-urban income differential, but also by the probability of obtaining an urban job.

namely, prostitutes, domestic servants and informal sector traders. The important finding here was that economic reasons were the main factor forcing them to migrate. Unlike Hetler's study, the major factors which stimulated the migrants to circulate to Semarang were losing agricultural jobs due to increasing landlessness, the increasing inequality in the distribution of land, and the penetration of labour-reducing mechanised technology into rural areas. This study also identified the role of social networks in stimulating the migrants to move to Semarang. However, Lerman's study did not examine comprehensively the impact of migration on the living conditions of the migrants in the destination area.

Some other studies also identified circular female migrants who work in the informal sector (Papanek, 1975; Hugo, 1978; Mantra, 1981). Even though, these studies were able to examine comprehensively the causes and consequences of the migration, these dimensions were not specifically focused on female migrants due to the objectives of the studies. These studies found that the migrants moved due to the fact that they were faced by the stress caused by agricultural and local economic problems as a result of the adoption of new agricultural innovations. This stress was accompanied by other factors such as reducing costs of transportation, reduction of the friction of distance, family ties, perception of opportunities in destination areas as well as social links with relatives and friends in destination areas. The potential migrants migrated when they found more advantages in urban areas compared with those in their villages. The important finding of these studies was that both economic and social factors were important aspects underlying circular and permanent migrants (see Hugo, 1978; Mantra,

1981). Both of these studies examined the process of migration mainly in destination areas.

Some empirical studies also have been done concerning female labour migration in the formal sector, particularly those who work in factories. Mather's study (1983) of women who migrated to Tangerang, West Java and worked in a factory was one of the few studies which attempted to assess comprehensively the impact of female labour migration to factories. This study heavily concentrated on the social impacts of industrialisation policy, particularly for social relationships between the migrants and the host community. The study concluded that the migrants came to Tangerang due to availability of job opportunities as a result of the increased industrial development since the 1970s. Moreover, compared with indigenous workers, the attitude and behaviour of the migrants tended to be more open and brave (*berani*) than the non-migrants and their behaviour encouraged social conflict between migrants and non-migrants due to the strength of the patriarchal system of society (traditional Moslem society) in Tangerang.

In similar vein, Anaf (1987) studied female migrants who worked at a factory in Pasar Rebo, Jakarta. She examined differences between migrant workers and migrant non workers and analysed their demographic characteristics, motivation and also the employment patterns of the migrant workers. She concluded that migrant workers tend to be younger, better educated and migrate more due to economic reasons than migrant non-workers. In addition, the role of social networks in finding jobs and a place to live in the destination area was also examined but little attention was given to the consequences of migration.

In her study focusing on the decision-making process in the household with regard to young women and factory employment in Semarang, Central Java, Wolf (1984, 1990a) also intensively interviewed fifteen migrant workers and critically examined to what extent these processes reflect household survival strategy³. The study found that the migrants (daughters) had autonomy in the decision making process of migration and seeking factory employment. In line with this, she concluded that, the role of the household was not dominant in the migration process in this case. Because the objective of the study was to examine critically the decision making process in seeking employment, the study did not give a detailed description and analysis of some important dimensions of female migration such as the patterns and consequences of migration.

It is clear that many studies have addressed the dimensions of female labour migration in Indonesia using macro data from the population census or micro data from field research. However, there are no studies which examine female labour migration to work at factories in the formal sector in Indonesia. In line with the rapid expansion of export-oriented industry in Indonesia, there is a need for a comprehensive study to address and examine the dimensions of female labour migration to such factories, the context in which it occurs and the causes and consequences of the migration in order to develop a better understanding of the migration process of those women and formulate appropriate policy measures to cope with the impacts of their migrations.

³ Strategy in which the households (parents) sent their daughters out to migrate to find jobs in urban areas to support the family (Wood, 1981, 1982)

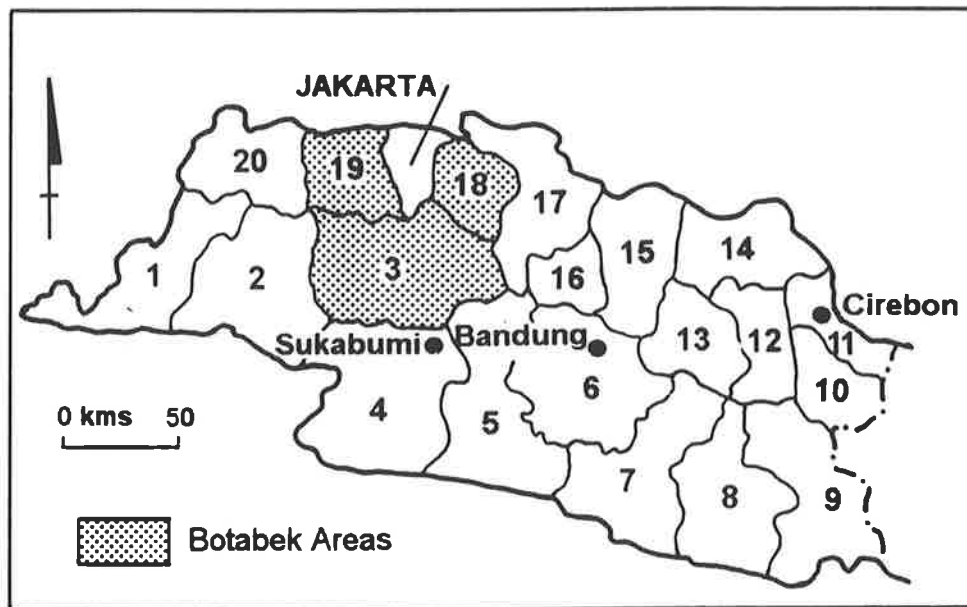
1.4. Research Areas

Kabupaten Bekasi in West Java, Indonesia (see Figure 1.1) was chosen as the study area for several reasons. Firstly, Bekasi is one of the most important industrial areas in Indonesia. Since the last two decades, Bekasi as a part of the Botabek region⁴ has been one of the most important centres for manufacturing activity in Indonesia as a result of the changing function of DKI Jakarta from being a centre of industry to a centre for finance and services (Firman, 1996: 7). It is also due to the fact that Jakarta has become a very crowded area with high population density (12,582 person per square kilometre by 1990) and it has made Bekasi an alternative area for the location of industries and housing of the metropolitan area. Moreover, this areas also has functioned as a 'spillover' area from Jakarta (Harjono and Hill, 1989; Hugo, 1994; Firman, 1996; Suharno, 1996). Between 1990-1995, of 1,150,020 migrants in Bekasi, 35.3 per cent of them came from DKI Jakarta (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1997: 28). Therefore, this region has been integrated, spatially as well as functionally, into the economy of Metropolitan Jakarta (Firman, 1996: 8).

As a consequence, since 1980 Bekasi has experienced the rapid increase of the urban population, non-agricultural workers and economic growth. In the period 1980-1990, the annual population growth rate of urban areas in Bekasi was 19.9 per cent. This was due to the large migration streams into this Kabupaten (Firman, 1996: 8). In addition, since 1985 this area has experienced a dramatic change of economic structure in which the dominance of the agricultural sector has been

⁴ This is especially pronounced in the three adjacent Kabupaten, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi, together with *kotamadya* Bogor (Hardjono and Hill, 1989:281)

Figure 1.1: Map of West Java



Kabupaten

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Pandeglang | 11. Cirebon |
| 2. Lebak | 12. Majalengka |
| 3. Bogor | 13. Sumedang |
| 4. Sukabumi | 14. Indramayu |
| 5. Cianjur | 15. Subang |
| 6. Bandung | 16. Purwakarta |
| 7. Garut | 17. Karawang |
| 8. Tasikmalaya | 18. Bekasi |
| 9. Ciamis | 19. Tangerang |
| 10. Kuningan | 20. Serang |

Source: Modified from Department of Geographical and Environmental Studies, The University of Adelaide

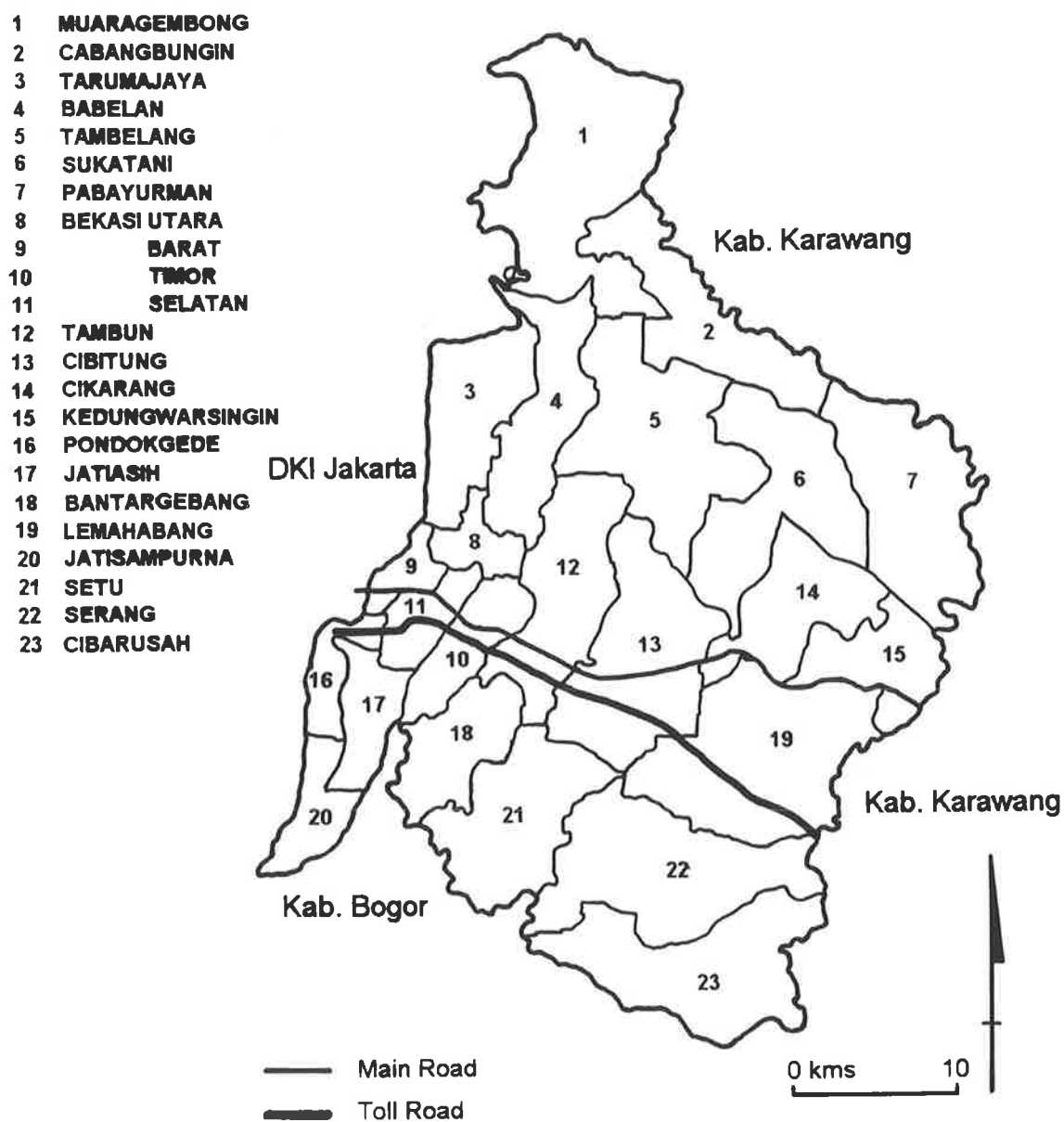
replaced by the industrial sector. Between 1985 and 1993 the contribution of the industrial sector toward GDRP (Gross Domestic Regional Product) increased from 27.03 to 46.2 per cent, while in the same period, the contribution of the agricultural sector decreased from 20.1 to 14.7 per cent (Bappeda Bekasi, 1995a). This was due to the increasing activities of industry in this area (Hardjono and Hill, 1989,

Dharmapatmi and Firman, 1992; Grijns and Velzen, 1993, Hugo, 1994; Jones and Mamas, 1996). This change of economic structure has increased the economic growth of this region from 4.02 to 16.1 per cent between 1985 and 1993.

The rapid growth of off-shore industries in Bekasi as well as other areas within Botabek has created a "pull factor" for women to migrate. In many LDCs, these labour intensive industries have played a great role in attracting young single migrants from rural areas (Jones, 1993; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993, United Nations, 1994) because women have a higher degree of efficiency, are passive and less demanding and have lower wages than men (Lim, 1993: 212; United Nations, 1994). In similar vein, empirical research conducted by Grijns and Velzen (1993) on off-shore industry in the Botabek region found that off-shore industries such as textiles, garments, and later electronics, shoes and toys had a significant contribution in providing greater job opportunities for migrants, particularly semi and unskilled women (Grijns and Velzen, 1993; Hardjono and Hill, 1989). Hence, it is not surprising that the stream of migration to Bekasi is very significant. It was recorded that during 1980-1990 inter provincial migration streams to Bekasi contributed 4.7 per cent per annum to the annual population growth rate (6.3 per cent), the highest kabupaten population growth in Indonesia (Bappeda Bekasi, 1995a).

Secondly, improving transportation connecting Bekasi with other areas on Java have provided a greater opportunity for migrants to come to this area. Since 1991 the toll road connecting Cikampek and Jakarta has been completed. This road passes through Bekasi and became one of the factors strengthening the position of Bekasi (see Figure 1.2). Moreover, there is also a regular main road (the provincial

Figure 1.2: Map of Bekasi



Source: Data Pokok Pembangunan Daerah Bekasi 1994/1995

road) and main train railway directly connecting Bekasi with other major cities within Java. With these transportation facilities, it is easy to go to Bekasi with public or private transportation. Moreover, it is also easy for people within Bekasi to have access to public or private transportation to go to other areas, especially to Jakarta. This is demonstrated by the evidence that in 1992 about 400,000 people held Jakarta residency cards in Bekasi (Firman, 1996: 8) and it is predicted this will increase rapidly as a result of the higher demand for housing in this area where most of the buyers come from the middle class of Jakarta (Firman, 1992). Up to 1994 there were 469 housing developments in Bekasi which occupied about 22,450 hectares of land (Bekasi, 1995a; 50). It was very common for people to work in Jakarta but live in surrounding areas like Bekasi, Tangerang and Bogor and this also can be seen from the evidence that around 350,000 people commuted from Bekasi to Jakarta each day by train, bus, mini bus, private car and bicycle (Firman, 1996:9).

Bekasi has become a crucially important area in contemporary Indonesia. Its position adjoining the capital city of Jakarta and as one of the most important industrial areas in Indonesia have led this area to become one of the major destination areas for Indonesia migrants, particularly women. Therefore, it is an appropriate choice as an area of study.

1.5. Organisation of the Study

The study is organised into nine chapters and developed in a logical sequence of initially laying down the background and structure, describing the nature of female migration, and explaining the context, causes and consequences of

migration. In turn, it is followed by an attempt to bring out implications of those findings for future research agenda, theory and alternative policy. The first chapter describes the significance of female migration in the context of population mobility in Indonesia and gives a brief review of the major important dimensions of female migration which has been given a little attention in the existing literature. These gaps in the existing literature represent a justification for the present study. Chapter Two assesses critically the major dimensions of female migration in Indonesia and examines the scale and significant change of such movement in contemporary Indonesia. In Chapter Three the focus is to examine critically the sources available for the study, and the sampling procedure and methods of data collection used in the present study. It also describes the difficulties and constraints of data collection, while Chapter Four discusses the conceptualisation of migration commonly used in Indonesia and its shortcomings and attempts to justify the definition used in the present study. The context of the study area is presented in Chapter Five. It describes the dramatic change in social, economic, and geographical condition of Bekasi that has a significant affect upon population movement, particularly that of females.

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight include the main empirical analysis of the study, Chapter Six identifies the migration pattern and socio-demographic characteristics of the survey migrants. These also are compared with the characteristics of non-migrants and five year female migrants identified from the census to establish the degree of selectivity of the survey migrants. In Chapter Seven the focus is upon examining critically some of the existing theories on causes of migration in the context of female labour migration to Bekasi. This

chapter give a review of the existing theory and identifies the main factors contributing to the movement of the survey migrants to Bekasi. Chapter Eight assesses the consequences of migration on the social and economic aspects of the survey migrants especially with regard to economic and employment status and living conditions. The final chapter is the conclusion of the study. This chapter summarises the findings of the study and their implications for theory and discusses the research agenda as well as alternative policies.

1.6. Conclusion

This chapter has established the importance of studying female labour migration in the context of population mobility in Indonesia with regard to a dramatic change in the economic structure of the country in the last decade as well as limited available data sources and comprehensive research relating to female migrants in off-shore industry. It also presented the aims and objectives of the study, the importance of Bekasi as an area of study and organisation of the study.

Chapter Two

Female Internal Migration in Indonesia: Trends and Dimensions

2.1. Introduction

In the last two decades, Indonesia has experienced a great social and economic transformation which has had a substantial impact upon the economic and social roles of women (Hugo, 1992). This transformation has led to shifts in the nation's population dynamics and an increase in the scale and complexity of female migration in Indonesia. The present chapter presents an overview female internal migration in Indonesia and discusses the changing levels, patterns and major dimensions of internal female migration in relation to economic and social changes. This is important to identify to what extent the issue of female migration has been studied intensively and to find the gaps and the important issues regarding internal female migration in Indonesia which this study will attempt to assess critically and comprehensively.

2.2. Trends in Female Migration

Female mobility has grown both in size and complexity over the past two decades in most developing nations. In some nations a significant factor has been a large expansion of off-shore industries from highly industrialised countries to many less developed countries in Asia and Latin America (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat 1993; United Nations, 1994). Researchers and policy makers have neglected female migration due to the conventional assumption that female

migration tends to be predominantly associated with family migration whereby female migrants are passive followers of men (Morokvasic, 1984: 899). Such neglect is disappointing since demographically, the scale and scope of female migration is comparable to that of men (Hugo, 1992: 195). In addition, changing economic policies in many developing countries have had greater impact upon female migration patterns than those of males (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; United Nations, 1994). As in many LDCs the migration of women in Indonesia has been virtually ignored partly due to the assumptions discussed above as well as the fact that many types of female migration have been excluded from large-data collection activities because the type of questions used generally underestimate the participation of women both in migration and the labour force (Hugo, 1992: 195). Nevertheless, it is clear that there has been a significant change in the scale of female migration in Indonesia.

In general the data on female migration in Indonesia indicate a low level of female participation in mobility. Between 1985 and 1990, only 4.4 per cent (3.9 million) of Indonesian women were categorised as inter-provincial migrants (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1992). This proportion did not cover women who moved over short distances (intra-provincial migration). This relates to the definition used by the population census in which only a person who moves permanently across provincial boundary is categorised as a migrant (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1992). In fact, there are many women who move over short distances. For example, the result of the 1985 intercensal survey shows that women outnumber men among intra-provincial migrants living in urban areas, 4.37 per cent compared with 4.43 per

cent (Hugo, 1994: 51) and this implies that women tend to move over short distances.

However, compared with the results of the 1985 Intercensal Survey, the proportion of females who moved inter-provincially in 1990 was much higher, 1.85 per cent compared with 4.4 per cent. According to scholars, the increasing number of female migrants during 1985-1990 was partly associated with the high level of economic growth in the second half of the 1980s and a rapid expansion of manufacturing as a consequence of changing economic policy from import substitution to an export oriented strategy (Hugo, 1992). Such policy has not only led to an increase in economic growth and a change in the structure of the economy of the country but more importantly has had a significant impact in the expansion of employment opportunities for women (Hugo, 1994).

During 1980-1990, foreign investment grew rapidly reflected in the increasing number of projects approved by the Indonesian government. During that period, the number of export oriented projects increased from 18 to 499 project units with total foreign investment increasing from 47.3 to 4,373.6 million US dollars (Republic of Indonesia, 1993: 35) and half of this investment was concentrated in Jakarta and the Botabek areas (Firman, 1996: 3). The increasing impact of these export industries increased the contribution of the industrial sector to Indonesia's GDP from 11.6 to 19.4 per cent between 1980 and 1990 (Firman, 1996).

The massive expansion of export-oriented manufacturing from foreign industrialised countries in areas such as textiles, shoes, electronic, toys and food processing tends to provide greater job opportunities for women rather than males.

During 1980-1995 the proportion of females who worked in the manufacturing sector increased from 12.6 to 15.2 per cent (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1996). Studies in the Jakarta and Botabek areas found that many factories established in the Jakarta and Botabek region have sought to employ women (White, 1993: 132; Djajusman, 1992: 53; Anaf, 1986: 20).

Table 2.1 shows the significance of women among migrants in urban and rural areas at the 1990 census and 1985 and 1995 Intercensal Survey (SUPAS). Between 1985 and 1995 the proportion of Indonesian women who had ever lived in a province other than that of their current place of residence increased from 14.71 to 17.02 per cent and 4.7 to 6.06 per cent in urban and rural areas respectively. The proportion of females who had ever lived in another province was slightly lower than that of their male counterparts both in urban and rural areas. A similar pattern applies for five year longer distance movement but females slightly outnumber males in shorter-distance migration (intra-provincial migrants) to urban areas.

Table 2.1: Indonesia: The Proportion of the Population Ever Lived in Another Province, by Region 1985, 1990 and 1995

Year	Urban		Rural	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1985	16.15	14.71	5.60	4.66
1990	18.25	16.40	5.60	5.76
1995	18.15	17.02	7.30	6.10
1985 Intra-provincial	14.62	15.10	4.34	3.79
Five Year Migrants				
Inter-Provincial 1985	4.57	4.28	1.16	0.98
Intra-Provincial 1985	4.37	4.43	1.10	0.97
Inter-Provincial 1990	6.54	6.16	2.09	1.63

Source: Hugo, 1997: 6

Even though, there was a considerable increase in the personal mobility of Indonesian women, there is still an impression of immobility among Indonesia women compared with their male counterparts since overall women slightly outnumbered men (the sex ratio in 1990 was 99.37 men to 100 women). So far, there has been no comprehensive study of this phenomenon. The most common arguments are that it is associated with the disadvantages using the census data in migration study in which the data systematically did not cover particular types of migration especially circular, commuting and short distance movement. From some empirical studies, it has been found that women had a greater propensity to move over short distances or intra-provincially rather than over long distances inter-provincially (Hugo, 1978; Lerman, 1983; Mather, 1983; Hetler, 1986; Wolf, 1990a and 1990b).

As seen in Table 2.1, in general, males were slightly more dominant than females among inter-provincial permanent migrants over the years. However, for some areas a different pattern was in evidence. For example in the case of Jakarta, the pattern showed that females outnumber males. It is important because Jakarta is the major focus of rural-urban migration, both permanent and circular migration, in Indonesia (Hugo, 1994). Permanent migration to this metropolitan area has become more feminised over the years. The sex ratio (males per 100 females) of in-migrants into Jakarta was 95 in 1971, 86 in 1980 and 82 in 1990. This means there were more female than male migrants in Jakarta who arrived in the last 5 years. The main reason behind this phenomenon as argued by Hugo (1994: 47-48): 'this is due to there being a greater turnover of female migrants, particularly those

employed as domestic servants, prostitutes and petty traders who often spend only a few years in the city before returning to their villages'.

The employment of female domestic servants in Jakarta has long been significant. The increasing wealth of the indigenous upper and middle class since the 1960s as well as to some extent the rapid growth of the foreign diplomatic and business community have had a substantial impact on the demand for domestic servants (Hugo, 1979: 198). Sunaryanto (1992:94) studying single female migrants in Jakarta based on the 1980 census found that 84.9 per cent of the migrants who worked in the informal sector were employed as domestic servants (*pembantu rumah tangga*). Traditionally, Java has been the major source of domestic servants for Jakarta. The 1990 census showed that among female migrants who came from East, Central (including Yogyakarta) and West Java, 36, 39.7 and 21.2 per cent of them worked as domestic servants respectively (Suharno, 1996: 73).

In a more detailed analysis, for the case of Botabek region, the sex ratio of migrants aged 10 years and over was 101 which means female migrants were less than male migrants in 1990 (Suharno, 1996: 75). However, the sex ratio of newly arriving migrants who came from Central Java (including Yogyakarta) and East Java was 44 and 86 respectively showing that female migrants far outnumbered male migrants. This is important since these provinces were the major contributor of migrants to the Botabek region. This phenomenon was also evident for Jakarta in which the sex ratio of migrants from the closer provinces, West Java, Central Java and East Java were 66, 57 and 57 respectively (Suharno, 1996:72). It is argued that this is associated with the increasing availability of employment opportunities for women as a result of growing industry activities in Botabek and Jakarta since

1980 (Jones and Mamas, 1996: 61). Furthermore, Jones and Mamas (1996: 62) found that gender differences in migration of the employed population showed females to outnumber their male counterparts.

Moreover, Table 2.1 only records the longer distance permanent female migrants, while the incidence of non-permanent forms of mobility such as circular migration and commuting are excluded. Although females are more dominant in intra provincial permanent mobility than their male counterparts and have a greater tendency to engage in short distance movement, it does not mean that the phenomenon also applies to non-permanent migration. At present, it is difficult to make a generalisation regarding this type of migration among females in Indonesia. Even though there is a growing body of field evidence of commuting and circular migration since 1970, only some of the studies have attempted to highlight sex selectivity (Hugo at al., 1987: 203-205). There are no data sets available to indicate the patterns of sex selectivity over a widely representative area of this country with respect to non-permanent form of mobility.

In the few empirical studies undertaken it has been found that indeed, females were generally less numerous than males in both circular and temporary migration. Hugo (1975) studied intensively fourteen villages in West Java and concluded that males were dominant in temporary migration. This finding was repeated in a study in Medan by Leinbach and Suwarno (1985: 40) who found that 98 per cent of circular migrants were males and only 29 per cent of commuters were females. Another study of commuting and circular migration in Jakarta concluded that males dominated in both of these type of movement (Hugo, 1994: 48; DKI Jakarta, 1985). In addition, a study in Central Java and Yogyakarta by

Mantra (1981: 103) found females were slightly less dominant than males in circular migration. Hetler (1986) studied a village in Wonogiri, Central Java and found that in 29 per cent of her sample households the female householder was absent, most of them selling traditional herbal drink (jamu gendongan) in almost all major cities in Indonesia, particularly Jakarta.

Turning to permanent migration, although there were a minority of women migrants in this type of migration they were still significant especially when compared with some other LDCs, particularly in Asia. Using intercensal survival techniques, the Population Division of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis of the United Nations Secretariat attempted to make an estimation net rural-urban migration applied to the 1970 and 1980 rounds of censuses in a range of countries. These data showed that Indonesian women had a relatively higher participation in migration compared with South and West Asian countries (see Table 2.2). It is interesting that among countries with predominantly Islamic religion such as Malaysia, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Syria, Indonesia has a lower sex ratio of migrants which means females have a higher propensity to migrate. Indonesia is the biggest Moslem country in the world with around 87 per cent of the total population being Moslems (Hugo, 1992: 174). Linking Islam and migration are very complicated, particularly for independent female migrants and so far, there has been no comprehensive study which attempts to explain this relationship. However, basically, Islam does not forbid for a women to leave her home for essential things (Doi, 1990:149) but it can inhibit female migration.

In summing up, female migration in Indonesia has showed a significant increase in the scale since 1980. Compared with their male counterparts, the

proportion of female migrants was still lower for both long and short term migration than males although for some short distance migration females outnumber male migrants. The streams of female migration tend to be increasingly focussed on destination areas where industry activities are growing very fast such as the Jakarta and Botabek region.

Table 2.2: Selected Countries of Asia: Estimated Net Rural-Urban Migration in Recent Intercensal Periods (Thousands)

Country	Intercensal Period	Migrants (on 10-years basis)		
		Male	Female	Sex ratio
Hong Kong	1971-1981	91	89	103
Japan	1970-1980	190	347	55
Rep. of Korea	1975-1985	2758	2857	97
Indonesia	1971-1980	3379	3508	96
Malaysia (Peninsular)	1970-1980	428	433	99
Philippines	1970-1980	1144	1416	81
Thailand	1970-1980	852	967	88
Bangladesh	1974-1981	3560	2655	134
India	1971-1981	11789	10388	114
Pakistan	1972-1981	817	627	131
Sri Lanka	1971-1980	39	26	151
Syria	1970-1982	140	128	109

Source: Hugo, 1993: 52

2.3. Socio-demographic Characteristics

Migrants are not randomly selected from the population in which they originate or move to. This selectivity process has a great impact on the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants that differentiates them from both the populations at origin and destination. A study conducted by the United Nations regarding female migration in LDCs concluded that in general, migrants tend to be

younger, to have higher levels of education and to be currently unmarried (United Nations, 1993: 6). However, it should be noted that the study was based on censuses and surveys in which the characteristics of the migrants tend to refer only to the time of interview and, consequently, do not necessarily represent those at the time of migration. This can influence patterns of marital status and educational attainment of the migrants ascertained.

With regard to the age of female migrants, most tend to be concentrated in the age group 15-29 (Jones and Mamas, 1996; United Nations, 1993: 6; Hugo, 1993: 49; Khoo *et al.*, 1984). Actually this phenomenon was observed by Thomas more than half century ago (1938: II) that 'there is an excess of adolescents and young adults among migrants'. Youssef, Buvinic and Kudat (1979) studied rural-urban migration in 46 developing countries by using a technique based on the comparison of expected and observed sex ratio and concluded that in East, South-East and South Asia, females dominated among migrants aged 15-19 in half of the countries considered. A recent study of rural-urban migration conducted by ESCAP in the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand found that females were mostly under age 25 (United Nations, 1994: 1).

A study in Indonesia by Hugo (1992: 180) using the 1985 Intercensal survey pointed out that females predominated among migrants aged under 25. Khoo (1984: 278) studied female migration in Malaysia and Republic of Korea based on the 1970 censuses and found that females dominated among migrants aged 20-24. The experience of Neuquen City in Argentina, however, showed a different pattern in which among recent female migrants who moved during 1975-1980, the proportion aged 25 or over was 63 per cent, making them considerably

older on average, than the native population of the destination area (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993:6). These data vary greatly in terms of the underlying definitions of migration used. For example, in Malaysia, migration is defined as all permanent changes of residence. In the Indonesian census, a person is recorded as a migrant only if they move permanently across the borders of any two of the 27 provinces (Hugo, 1993: 51).

Like many other LDCs, Indonesia has a similar experience in terms of age selectivity of migrants in which in general, there is a tendency for migrants to be drawn from the young working age groups. This over-representation of the migrants in this group was, especially, significant for long distance and permanent migrants. Several studies using macro data (population census and intercensal survey) show clearly the dominance of young working age women among female migrants (Speare, 1975: 80-82; Sundrum, 1976:82-86; Hugo *et al.*, 1987:212-216; Hugo, 1992: 180; Ananta and Anwar, 1995). This is probably partly because the census only records longer distance movement (inter-provincial migration) and more or less permanent migrants. The friction of distance as a major determinant in affecting an individual's decision making process and characteristics of migrants has been long established (Stouffer, 1940; Zipf, 1946; Pitts and Morrill, 1967; Wollpert, 1967; Jansen, 1970). In addition, this pattern also closely relates to the life cycle of persons in which this phase (young adult) usually involves entering the labour force and higher education institutions or marrying (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 212). Hugo and Mantra (1983:22) studied migrants in many secondary urban centres in Java and reported that among those migrants many comprised students entering secondary, and tertiary educational institutions.

As with migrants in general, in Indonesia, females tend to be highly concentrated in the young adult age group. Again, this is particularly the case for longer distance and permanent movements (inter-provincial mobility). A study of female migration based on census and intercensal survey data showed a consistent pattern in which females dominated among migrants age under age 29 years (Khoo, 1984: 279; Hugo, 1987: 212-214; Hugo, 1992:180, Ananta and Anwar, 1995). However, there is a substantial difference in terms of different age groups among regions within those streams. A study of young single migrants under 29 years old based on the 1990 census in Riau conducted by Rumondang (1996: 58) found that among those migrants, 58 per cent were concentrated in the 15-19 years age group and only 38 per cent of those were aged 20-24 years. Using the 1990 census, Mardiyah (1996: 64) studied young female migrants who were involved in the labour force in West Java and found that two thirds of those were concentrated in the age group of 20-29 years

Moreover, the 1985 Intercensal survey for Jakarta indicated that female migrants were highly concentrated in the age group 20-24 years, although this pattern markedly differs from the results of the 1990 census. The 1990 census for Jakarta showed that the proportion of female migrants in the 20-24 age group was slightly lower than that of those in 15-19 age group (Suharno, 1996: 77). While, the 1990 census for Botabek (Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi) indicated that females dominated among migrants in the 20-24 age group.

This is almost certainly related to the development of industrial activity in the Botabek region. As discussed earlier, the industry sector is creating more job opportunities for women (Jones and Mamas, 1996: 62). It is argued that many

young adult women from both Jakarta and other areas have moved to the Botabek area looking for jobs (Hugo, 1994: 45). Since 1980, as a result of government policy in the Botabek development strategy (The Presidential Decree No. 13/1976), these regions have become one of the main industrial areas of the country (Departemen Perindustrian, 1976). There have been many new big factories established in this area. Hence it is not surprising that during the 1967-1989 period, about four-fifths of foreign investment and half of domestic investment in the industrial sector in West Java were located in Botabek and Bandung (Dharmapatni and Firman, 1992:3).

The migrant definition used in Indonesian censuses has systematically excluded the phenomenon of short duration movements, be they seasonal migrants, circular migrants or commuters (Hugo, 1992; Hugo *et al.*, 1987; Standing, 1985). Therefore, it is difficult to obtain a general picture of age selectivity among those type of migrants at the national level. In addition, there are no comprehensive studies of those short term migrants representing all provinces within the country. In the existing micro studies, the age selectivity of migrants seems to vary with the perspective adopted in the study. For instance, Lerman (1983) studied female circular migration to the destination areas of Semarang, Central Java . The main purpose of the study was to examine different patterns of employment and its impact on social and economic conditions. He found that there is a substantial difference in terms of age between prostitute and non prostitute migrants. Among 93 non prostitute migrants, 58 per cent were concentrated in the 30 years and above and only 30 per cent of them aged under 25 years old. In contrast, 88 per cent of 471 prostitute migrants were aged under 25 years old and most of them were in the

20-24 years age group (62 per cent of the total). Another study by Hetler (1986) of circular migration among the heads of household in a Central Java village, including 84 females, found that all migrants were aged 30 years and above. These empirical studies indicate that short term movement is less selective with respect to age than is long term migration.

With respect to marital status, in line with the general pattern of age selectivity for female migrants in which many of them are young it is anticipated that most of the migrants are unmarried women. As concluded by Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat (1993: 7) after reviewing studies of female migration from less developed countries, females migrants tend to be never married women.

Indonesia has a similar pattern in terms of marital status of female migrants in which there is a greater tendency for unmarried women to move, particularly among permanent migrants in urban areas. According to the 1980 census the unmarried migrants in urban areas constituted 55.9 per cent of the total (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 218). According to the 1990 census in Jakarta 55.3 per cent of female migrants were unmarried compared with 38.1 per cent being married (Suharno, 1996: 82). Jakarta like other big cities in Indonesia such as Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan and Ujung Pandang not only provides a large number of job opportunities for women but also are important centres for education. These two factors are believed to be the main factors attracting migrants particularly young unmarried migrants because in this phase of their life cycle they are entering the labour force or higher education. At the higher education level only a small proportion of students are married.

In the labour force unmarried women are more likely to have opportunities compared with married, especially in the industrial sector. Some researchers have found that factories in Indonesia tend to provide job opportunities for young unmarried women and discriminate against married women (Grijn, 1993; Thamrin, 1993; Wolf, 1990b; Manning and Hardjono, 1990). This factor is also believed to be the main factor increasing the number of female migrants in Indonesia (Jones, 1984: 17). A study conducted by Said (1996: 96) in West Java using the 1990 census found that more than 80 per cent of female migrants who worked at various factories were unmarried. Unmarried women are likely to find it easier to migrate. Married women need to negotiate with their husband, and to some extent they need to get approval from their husbands. Therefore, they are often associated with family migration (Khoo, 1984). However, this pattern is not as significant for short term movers. Short term movers usually involve a separation of the mover from their family (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 217). This is the case for circular migration in Central Java (Hetler, 1989; Lerman, 1983).

2.4. Education Level and Employment

Education level is one of the main factors influencing women to migrate (United Nations, 1994). In LDCs there is a significant relationship between improving the education level of women and increasing the scale of migration among them and the result is that in general, the educational attainment of female migrants tends to be higher than that of the population from which they originated. This is also the pattern for male migration (United Nations, 1994; Bilborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993:6; Smith *et al.*, 1984: 19). In Indonesia, the

pattern is similar particularly for longer distance permanent migrants. The increasing proportion of women being classified as migrants with each passing census (see Table 2.1) is clearly associated with the impact of government education policies since 1970. Between the 1961 and the 1980 censuses the proportion of females aged 10+ having at least some formal education increased from 24 per cent to 64 per cent (Raharjo and Hull, 1984: 101). According to the 1995 Intercensal survey, the proportion had increased rapidly to 84.1 per cent.

Hugo (1992:186-188) when exploring the causes of female migration in Indonesia drew a general conclusion that the education transformation experienced by Indonesia in the last quarter century has had a great impact in not only improving the roles and status of women but also undoubtedly increasing their propensity to migrate. Hence in general female migrants tend to have higher educational attainment than the population from which they come. This phenomenon is regarded by some as a 'brain-drain among the educated elite' (Smith and Carpenter, 1974: 825). This is partly due to the imbalance in growth between the improving education level of women and available job opportunities in rural and urban areas. The Indonesian government has a policy of equal opportunity between males and females in access to education which was not the case during colonial era (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:101). Moreover, the government is strongly committed to extending compulsory schooling to the middle year of secondary school. The Program Wajib Belajar gives more opportunity to young people to enter primary or secondary school free. So, if there is still discrimination by gender in education, it is more at the individual or community level rather than at the national level.

Unfortunately, the improvement of education levels of the population in rural areas has not been followed by an improvement in job opportunities, particularly off-farm opportunities. The higher educational attainment of the women accompanied by the modernisation of the villages brought about by mass-media especially television programmes and return migrants have changed not only local community attitudes toward the roles of women but also their perceptions about work. Agricultural jobs are not attractive any more for young women in rural areas (Wolf, 1990a; Rodenburg, 1993:276; Singarimbun and Sairin (eds), 1996) because they do not give a reasonable income and more importantly these jobs do not give social status or prestige.

From field notes resulting from in depth interviews with migrants concerning this issue in Bekasi, most of the female migrants give at least three main reasons why they do not want to work in agriculture in their origin areas. Firstly, according to them, working in traditional agriculture did not require educational levels whereas most of them had completed secondary school. They felt ashamed toward their local communities and families if they worked in traditional agriculture while their educational levels were high. Secondly, working in traditional agriculture was an insecure job (much depends upon the season) and did not give good wages or job status. Most of them claimed that working in this field is the same as not working. According to them, the wages were not enough to purchase their minimum daily needs such as food or snacks, make up, etc. They and their parents had already spent a lot of money for their education. In addition, agricultural jobs do not give an economic and a social status for their lives in the future. Finally, working in traditional agriculture was hard, dirty and hot which is

not good physically. In her study about young Javanese workers in factories, Wolf (1990b) found that one of the reasons for working in a factory was the migrant's perception that if they worked under a roof it was not so hot and hard as it is in agriculture. The important thing was that this work gave a higher status than having an agricultural job in the village.

Returning to the educational level of female migrants, although studies of the census data of 1971 and 1980 found migrants tend to have a higher educational level than non-migrants (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 217-219), this phenomenon should be analysed case per case particularly if the comparison occurs at destination areas. Since 1990 there has been improvement in educational level in all regions, particularly urban areas as a result of rapid improvements in the coverage of education systems throughout Indonesia (Jones and Mamas, 1996: 69). Table 2.3 shows that only a small proportion of women completed college or university.

Table 2.3: Indonesia: Population 10 Years of Age and Over by Sex and Educational Attainment, 1995 (Per cent)

Educational Level	Male	Female
Primary and less	67.9	75.9
Junior High School	13.9	11.6
Senior High School	15.1	10.7
Academy/University	3.1	1.8
Total	100	100
N	75325628	77189336

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, Jakarta, 1996 (CBS of Indonesia), The 1995 Intercensal Population Survey (SUPAS)

In the case of Jakarta, Table 2.4 shows that migrants have a lower educational attainment than non-migrants. A higher percentage of migrants (60.3) had attained a primary or less educational level, the lowest educational level than

non-migrants (54.1). In addition, among five year female migrants, the proportion of migrants with a low educational level is higher than that of migrants with secondary school, 60.3 per cent compared with only 36 per cent respectively. This has not changed since 1971 (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 21) This pattern is still a reflection of the common pattern of educational achievement in Indonesia as whole in which more people have completed only primary school and less (see Table 2.3). It is partly associated with a greater demand for domestic workers and petty traders in Jakarta as argued by Hugo (1992: 186) which, as discussed elsewhere, do not require a high educational level. Central Java and West Java were the major origins of those migrants with a primary education level and less and 68.6 per cent of female migrants from Central Java had a primary education level and less, while among the migrants from West Java, 66.3 per cent of them just finished primary

Table 2.4: Jakarta: Educational Attainment of Five Year Female Migrants and Non-Migrants Aged 10 Years and Over , 1990 (Per cent)

Educational level	Migrants	Non-migrants
Primary and less	60.3	54.1
Secondary	36.0	41.7
Tertiary	3.7	4.2
Total	100	100
N	415600	2573100

Source: Suharno, 1996: 85

school or less (Suharno, 1996: 85). These two provinces are the main sources of domestic workers and small-scale sellers (Hugo *et al.*, 1987; Sunaryanto, 1992: 94). In addition, the migrants are mostly from rural low educational areas and come to high educational urban areas. This phenomenon also implies that educational

selectivity is more likely to relate to area of origin and is not so much associated with area of destination.

Unlike Jakarta, in the Botabek areas, female migrants have a better average level of educational attainment compared with female non-migrants. A study of five years migrants using the 1990 census conducted by Suharno (1996) found that the proportion of female migrants who completed secondary and tertiary education was higher than that of female non-migrants. The percentage of female non-migrants completing just primary education and less was higher than that of female migrants (see Table 2.5). This was partly due to the fact that the Botabek areas are not only centres for industry in which are established large factories but they also still have a large rural population. Studying female employees in manufacturing in West Java based on the 1990 census, Said (1996: 97) found that 73.1 per cent of female migrant workers had completed secondary education and above, substantially higher than only 28 per cent of non-migrant workers. In addition, the cheaper land and housing compared with Jakarta had clearly attracted many migrant workers from Jakarta and also Jakarta-born workers to live in Botabek (Jones and Mamas, 1996: 54). Many of them were newly married young couples from a middle economic class group with better education levels than the rural native born population (Henderson, Kuncoro and Nasution, 1996: 82; Femina, 1993: 39). This has had an impact in increasing commuters to Jakarta supported by improved access to public transportation. It is estimated that at the moment around 350,000 people commute between Jakarta city and Botabek areas and the number will increased to half a million people by the year 2010 (Firman, 1996: 9).

As discussed earlier, female migrants tend to be young adults and under 30 years old. If this age group is considered in accordance with their educational level, some studies show a similar patterns in which female migrants tend to have a better educational level compared with female non-migrants at destination areas. A study of young female migrant workers using the 1990 census in West Java found that the proportion of migrants who had completed junior high school and above was twice as high as for non-migrants: 59.8 per cent compared with only 27.5 per cent respectively (Mardiyah, 1996: 66). Moreover, a similar study in Riau (Sumatra) using the 1990 census found the same pattern that the percentage of migrants with higher educational levels was significantly greater than that of non-migrants, 47.6 per cent compared with 34.1 per cent respectively (Rumondang, 1996: 61)

From the studies above it is clear that educational selectivity patterns of permanent female migrants are complex, even though, the pattern showed a tendency for migrants to have higher educational attainment compared with non-migrants. It is believed that a number of factors affect this pattern. Some studies have found a significant relationship between distance and educational levels of female migrants (Said, 1996: 97; Suharno, 1996: 85; Sunaryanto, 1992: 59; Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 219).

The issue as to whether short term female migration such as circular and commuting is selective regarding educational attainment is not known (Hugo *et al.*, 1987:219). In a West Java study conducted by Hugo (1978) he found that educational attainment did not appear to be a major differential in circular migration. This was also the case for female circular migration studied by Hetler (1984: 10). Moreover, a study of circular migration in Semarang conducted by

Lerman (1983: 262) found a similar pattern in which most of the female migrants had a primary education or less (97.8 per cent). However, a study in North Sumatra by Rodenburg (1989) showed a different pattern in which many women who migrate to the city have a better educational level compared with the population at the origin areas. This is due to the fact that most of them moved to city in order to continue their education. This of course is mainly associated with permanent migration and indeed also occurs in many rural areas in Java. The limited educational facilities in rural areas are a problem for many young people who would like to continue their schooling, even to the senior high school level. In doing so, they either need to commute a long way to cities or look for some kind of temporary residence (*indekost*) in the cities. Usually such a student goes back to their villages during the weekend. In addition, even when there is a school available in rural areas, the quality is often poor and potential students from relatively well-off households tend to go to the city because the school quality is usually much better there. It is very important for the students because by attending a good school, it gives not only social prestige to the students themselves but also gives them a better opportunity to enter a college or university and the labour market. The larger proportion of the population entering a general school rather than a vocational school is also associated with this perception. According to the 1995 Indonesia Intercensal Survey, of the total population who completed senior high school, 63.8 per cent of them graduated from general education and only 32.2 per cent from vocational education institutions.

With regard to employment, it is widely recognised that the level of formal educational attainment is an important dimension differentiating migrant's ability

to obtain a job, particularly in formal sector activities. An increasing proportion of female migration has been encouraged by the increase of job opportunities since the early 1980s particularly in the manufacturing and service sectors (United Nations, 1993). As argued by Boserup (1970: 177), economic development in many LDCs brings about greater urban employment opportunities for women in both traditional and modern sectors. For Indonesia as a whole, the increase of job opportunities for women in urban areas has been reflected in the faster growth rate of female urban employment than that for their male counterparts, that is 8.5 per cent per annum during the 1980-1990. In absolute terms, female workers increased from 2.8 million in 1980 to 6.4 million in 1990. However, this does not mean that it is easy for women to enter the labour market, particularly the formal sector. In this sector, a formal educational level often is a major determinant as has been analysed elsewhere (Hugo *et al.*, 1987; Raharjo and Hull; 1984).

For female migrants as well as others, levels of educational achievement closely relate to job opportunities, particularly in the formal sector. Jones (1977) argued that female migrants with high educational achievements are more likely to be absorbed in the formal sector. Anaf (1986) studied women workers in a factory in Jakarta and found that certain educational levels were a major requirement for obtaining factory employment. Moreover, Said (1990: 85) found among female migrants who work in manufacturing industries, the proportion of females who had at least completed primary education was higher than among other migrant workers.

In most types of urban destination in Indonesia, there is a higher proportional representation of female migrants in the informal sector than in the

formal sectors (Papanek and Jakti, 1975; Jones, 1977; Crockett, 1983; Lerman, 1983; Hetler, 1986). In the informal sector, a study from Jakarta showed that female migrants were especially over-represented in domestic and service jobs (Hugo *et al.*, 1987). This pattern of employment is typical for many female migrants from LDCs (see Jelin, 1977; Sudarkasa, 1977; Fawcett (eds), 1984; Chant (ed), 1992). This situation reflects the fact that females are more likely to be involved in jobs which have less need for physical strength. In addition, this occupational pattern is also closely related to the lower educational achievement of female migrants (Sunaryanto, 1992:94). Several elements could be involved here, including the fact that entering these jobs is much easier than entering the formal sector which is very competitive and limited (ILO, 1975; Mazumdar, 1976). For recently arrived migrants as first job seekers, informal sector jobs are sometimes a safety valve when waiting for a formal job. Todaro (1969) argued that the informal sector is regarded as a temporary resting place in which migrants wait and search for better opportunities in the modern sector. In line with this argument, it is quite possible for female migrants with better educational achievements to also be working in this sector.

2.5. Migration Determinants

To explain migration determinants in a country as huge and diverse as Indonesia is a complex task and all that can be attempted here is to summarise some of the major arguments that have been advanced. With respect to macro dimensions, Hugo (1992, 1994) reviewed structural changes in Indonesia having a substantial impact in forcing females to migrate and concluded that there were

three major fundamental changes of wider social and economic conditions in the last two decades. The first was the change in economic policy of government fostering rapid economic growth. Recently, the Indonesian government changed its economic policy from an import substitution policy marked by high tariffs and strong government intervention to one of distributing capital, licenses and other means of production to promotion of exports and private investment (Hugo, 1994). This has resulted in the expansion of export-oriented manufacturing and led to the expansion of employment opportunities for unskilled women, especially young unmarried women in the industrial sector. Many factories such as garments, textiles, toys and electronics have been established in Jakarta and the Botabek areas have tended to employ women in preference to men (Femina, 1996; White, 1993:132; Grijns *et al.*, 1992, Anaf, 1986). This is also a common phenomenon in many LDCs (United Nations, 1993, 1994).

The consequent great demand of women workers is one of the factors attracting women from rural areas to move to urban areas, particularly those with industry. This phenomenon seems a reflection of the Harris-Todaro migration model in which one of the postulates is that the expectation of obtaining a higher wage has impelled people from rural areas to move to cities. Indeed, in Indonesia, it is definitely clear that more income earning opportunities are available in the industry sector than in the traditional agricultural sector (Manning and Jayasuriya, 1996: 34-37; Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 228-229).

Secondly, there has been a massive change in the nature of the mode of agricultural production in rural areas which has often displaced a considerable amount of female labour (Naylor, 1992; Timmer, 1973, 1974). This change was

initiated by the government policy to modernise the agricultural sector over the last two decades. This modernisation such as the use of new fertilisers and high-yielding seed varieties has facilitated a tremendous increase in rice production but the employment and income distribution effects of this process appear to have often been unfavourable (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 59).

It was established in the early 1980s that there had been a significant improvement in the welfare of rural people but this was related strongly to increased off-farm employment, much of it associated with circular migration and commuting (Collier *et al.*, 1982; Hugo, 1985). Moreover, the most serious consequence of this process was the reduction in locally available job opportunities. Change in agricultural technology had a great impact upon the nature of women's work (Naylor, 1992; Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 228; Timmer, 1973, 1974). Land preparation, usually done by hand by men, has reduced significantly since the introduction of the mechanical tractor. Naylor (1992: 84-85) based on Heytens's study (1991) estimated that using tractors has reduced male labour inputs for land preparation by more than one half.

One result of this process is that some of the agricultural jobs previously held by women have been taken over by men: examples are planting, harvesting, and selling. In addition, the introduction of the mechanical huller has replaced hand pounding of rice by women (Collier *et al.*, 1974: 120). He estimated that by this change, 125 million woman days of wage labour were lost annually and Naylor (1992: 85) estimated that in Java as a center for employment in the rice production industry, over 70 per cent of the total employment for women was lost which is equal for more than 4 millions jobs in rice production as a consequence of the

technology change. This situation in conjunction with the decrease in agricultural land has pushed women to a great extent into a situation not of lack of opportunities in the village but no availability of jobs at all. The end result of this situation is considered as one of the reasons why many women migrate to the cities (Hugo, 1992: 187).

Thirdly, the increasing educational attainment of women in Indonesia as a result of policies and programs introduced during the 1970s has increased their propensity to migrate. It is undoubted that the educational policies introduced by the Indonesian government has accelerated an improvement of the educational attainment of women (see Table 2.5). Between 1980 and 1995, there was a tremendous increase in the educational levels of women both in rural and urban areas. With regard to educational attainment in rural areas, the proportion of women with lower and upper secondary school or university education have increased from 3.7 per cent and 0.1 per cent in 1980 to 13.3 and 0.5 in 1995 respectively. The consequence of this was one of the reasons encouraging women, particularly young educated women to migrate to cities due to limited job opportunities in rural areas as argued by Hugo (1992). Manning and Jayasuria (1996) argued that the decline in the labour force in rural areas from around 1990 was a response to the increase of educational attainment in rural areas associated with the rapid growth in urban jobs in industry and construction. As argued earlier, for educated young women, agricultural jobs were not of interest any more due to low social status and little future income (Wolf, 1990b).

With respect to micro determinants of female migration in Indonesia, there are few studies which have addressed this issue, particularly for women. Although some information on motivation for migration is provided by the intercensal

Table 2.5: Indonesia: Educational Attainment of the Working Population, 1980-1995

Education level	1980		1995	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
No Schooling	28.8	47.3	8.5	20.2
Incomplete Primary Schooling	27.7	34.3	19.8	32.7
Complete Primary Schooling	19.6	14.6	29.9	33.3
Complete Lower or Upper Secondary Schooling	21.7	3.7	37.5	13.3
Academy or University	2.2	0.1	4.0	0.5
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Source: Hugo et al. 1987 : 283; BPS, Intercensal Survey 1995

survey, it should be interpreted with a degree of caution due to the fact that the reasons are only classified into four limited categories namely transmigration, work, education and others. Within these categories, it was not surprising that the majority of migrant's answers are in the 'other' category (see Table 2.6). It reflects the great variations of migration motivations for women which were not able to be detected by the gross categories in the intercensal survey. Field studies in less developed countries have found that the migration motivations of women are more likely to be multifarious than is the case for men and are more likely to include embarrassing answers such as sex abuse, rape, family or marital breakdown, family conflict, step father, marriage or marriage arrangement

etc.(Feranil, 1994; Williams, 1990; Meyerowitz, 1987; Mather, 1988; Thandani and Todaro, 1984).

Table 2.6: Indonesia: Percentage Distribution of Female Migrants by Migration Motivations and Region, 1985

Motivation	Urban	Rural
Transmigration	0.2	9.1
Work	13.6	10.8
Education	7.1	3.0
Other	49.3	77.0
No answer	0.1	0.1
Total	100	100

Source: Hugo, 1992: 188

From the result of the intercensal survey, some scholars have argued that many of the 'other' category could be 'associational migration'-moving to follow husband or family or other family members (Alatas, 1995: 67; Hugo, 1992: 188). The argument is that the migration questions in the intercensal survey (SUPAS) are asked to all respondents at all age categories so that it can not be avoided that children and older people are taken into account as migrants and are believed to move mainly due to following their parents and families. Moreover, for the wives, there is a tendency for them to move to follow their husbands. Suharso *et al.* (1976) conducted a large survey in Indonesia in which 41.5 per cent of their respondents were females and found the incidence of associational migration for women was dominant (48.8 per cent) (see Table 2.7). In a more detailed analysis, looking at the educational attainment of the migrants, Table 2.8 shows that most of them were categorised as moving to follow parents, spouse or brother and are

commonly called 'associational migrants'. Many of them were in junior high school or less and many of these migrants are children of migrants.

Table 2.7: Indonesia: Percentage Distribution of Urban Female Migrants by Reason for Leaving and Level of Education, 1976 (Percentage)

Reason	No education	Elementary	Junior high school	Senior high school	Academy & University	Total
No job	18.0	10.7	2.6	8.0	8.5	10.9
Job transfer	0.5	0.8	1.5	1.9	3.4	1.1
Follow parents, spouse, brother	46.8	63.7	45.0	38.0	44.0	48.8
Tired of village	1.7	2.3	1.3	0.6	-	1.6
Lack possessions	5.4	3.4	2.2	2.7	1.7	3.7
Family reasons	6.3	1.4	1.4	0.3	-	2.9
School or better life	15.3	15.0	43.9	46.8	40.7	27.5
Encouraged by friends/relative	5.9	2.7	2.1	1.7	1.7	3.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cases	2,368	1,591	1,554	1,152	118	6,783

Source: *Suharso et al. (1976)*

By excluding the 'other' reason from Tables 2.6 and 2.7, it is clear that economic reasons become the major concern of many migrants. This finding is still consistent with the empirical findings of recent research in Indonesia that most females move due to economic reasons (finding jobs, improving income or career). This is also true in most LDCs (United Nations, 1994; United Nations, 1993; Chant, 1993; Fawcett *et al.*, 1984). Sulastri (1993) in her study of female mobility concluded that most women migrating to the city were pushed by the need to improve their family's income.

Anaf's study (1987) of women who migrated from rural areas to work in factories in Pasar Rebo Jakarta found that the majority of working migrants came from Central Java and Yogyakarta and moved to seek employment as a result of limited opportunity locally. In addition, Semarang as the capital city of Central Java failed to play a significant role as a center for industry at that time. However, for many migrant non-workers (household mothers), the main reason for migrating was to accompany their husbands. Other field studies of women in factories also found similar findings where many migrants moved to find jobs (Wolf, 1990a and 1990b; Mather, 1988).

Hetler's research (1986) in circular migration of female headed households in Wonogiri, Central Java pointed out that the migrants move to cities to improve their living standards. This study showed that there were different economic reasons according to the economic status of migrants. The lower economic status migrants viewed migration as a strategy to fulfil basic subsistence needs. The remittances from these went toward providing basic needs. For the better off group, migration was seen as a family strategy to improve the quality of life in rural areas. The remittances of the migrants tended to be invested in tertiary education of their children and building or renovating their houses.

Another circular migration study carried out by Lerman (1983) in Semarang, the capital city of Central Java found increasing landlessness, greater inequality of land distribution and the penetration of mechanised agricultural technology had forced women to migrate to Semarang to find jobs. They worked in the informal sector by selling traditional herbal tonics and working as prostitutes to fulfil basic needs. They implied that the income status gained from the informal

sector in Semarang was much better than that in the agricultural sector in their villages.

It is clear that economic reasons for migration are dominant for male migrants. This also often is the case for many women in Indonesia. This tendency closely relates to the economic situation of the society in which a large number of people live near or below poverty line; 27.2 million according to the World Bank (1992). Furthermore, the overall unemployment rates increased from 1.4 to 2.8 per cent for males and 2.3 to 3.9 per cent for females between 1980 and 1990 (Indonesian Manpower Department, 1996: 82). Looking at their educational achievements, indeed, the greatest increase of the unemployed population was among young adults with senior high school education or better. The proportion increased from 15.1 per cent to 41.9 per cent between 1980 and 1990 (see Table 2.8). Hence it is not an exaggeration to say that for many migrants economic reasons for migration are more associated with finding jobs than others such as improving career, job transfer, and income differentials.

Table 2.8: Indonesia: Distribution of Unemployed Population by Educational Attainment in 1980 and 1990 (Percentage)

Educational Level	1980	1990
No Education	22.5	4.9
Some Primary School	30.5	13.7
Primary School	22.9	24.3
Junior High School	8.9	15.2
Senior High School/diploma I	14.3	37.0
Academy/Diploma II	0.5	1.6
University	0.3	3.3
Total Percentage	100	100

Sources: BPS, 1980 and 1990 Population Censuses of Indonesia

Although economic reasons are often dominant among female migrants, it is believed that there are other important reasons (Hugo, 1981; Pryor, 1975; Mabougunje, 1970). The information about migration reasons provided by the intercensal survey and Suharso's study attempted to cover social and economic motivations of female migration such as transmigration, work, and education but not reasons such as family or marriage break down, step father, social and personal conflict, etc. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive study examining psychological motivations of female migrants in Indonesia. Based on the experience of the present study in Bekasi, it was difficult to collect data regarding the more personal reasons for migration of the respondents. The survey migrants were more likely to avoid answering such questions about personal problems forcing them to migrate to Bekasi as they felt uncomfortable with these questions. From in depth interviews with a few migrants the present study found, however, that there were psychological reasons stimulating the migrants move to Bekasi such as feelings of embarrassment with their communities or families due to an unfavourable marriage or break down of a relationship with their fiancée. From field experience, it seems that it is more appropriate to do research with a participation approach rather than a structured questionnaire.

Other micro factors influencing female migration in Indonesia have been mentioned by scholars. Hugo (1978) in surveying population mobility in West Java and Mantra (1981) in studying population movement in a wet rice community in Yogyakarta reported that the magnitude of intervening variables such as costs of transportation, family and village land ties, social values, social links to relatives

and friends in destination areas, and the nature of available information contributed significantly in affecting the potential migrants' decision to move or not.

In summing up, as happens generally in migration there are a wide range of social and economic determinants affecting females which are commonly classified into macro and micro determinants. In Indonesia macro determinants are closely associated with major changes of government policy in education, agriculture, and industry which has strengthened the economic growth of the country. In addition, those changes have different impacts upon the labour market situation of females in rural and urban areas. The economic policy in the industrial sector has provided increasing job opportunities in urban areas, particularly for women. Agricultural change and policies have displaced women in agricultural jobs in rural areas. Both these changes have been accompanied by improving educational achievements of women in rural areas which have had a significant impact in pushing many women to move to the cities.

In line with micro determinants, there are many determinants covering wider social-economic and physical factors affecting women's decision to migrate to the cities. However, it seems that like males as bread winners, economic factors become major motivations of women to migrate to urban areas such as finding jobs, improving family income, and job transfer. Indeed, this phenomenon reflects the economic condition of many people in Indonesia, particularly in rural areas since around 27 million people lived under the poverty line and the unemployment rate increased among women between 1980 and 1990.

2.6. Consequences of Migration

In line with the migration determinants discussed above, the consequences of internal migration can also be seen in a macro and micro context. Theoretically, in the macro context, there are two broad perspectives which argue about the consequences of internal migration namely, the 'neo-classical economics equilibrium approach' and the 'historical structural perspective'. According to the neo-classical approach the impact of migration toward regional development is positive. The argument is that migration is an equilibrating mechanism in which surplus labour in the agricultural sector in rural areas can be absorbed by the modern sector in urban areas (Lewis, 1954; Fei and Ranis, 1961). In this process both origin and destination areas are enabled to maximise resources and capital to the benefit of regional development (Hugo, 1987 *et al.*, :210). On the other hand, the historical structural approach argues that migration has led to a negative impact toward regional development. Migration is seen as a process creating a resource disparity and dependency between origin and destination areas through draining economic surplus and talented residents or a brain drain (Hugo *et al.*, 1978:210).

However, in the field the reality is more complex than is usually recognised according to the two perspectives. The impact cannot be seen as being only negative or positive in the case of female migration in Indonesia because there are many diverse factors, both micro and macro, affecting female migration. As has been explained before, the surplus of female labour in rural areas as a result of structural forces and the changing economic structure in urban areas has led many females to migrate to the cities. Although, it is clear that this migration has been able to reduce the excess of labour in rural areas in Indonesia, there has not been a

major change in the income gained by those who work in the agricultural sector. The minimum wage in this sector is still far behind minimum wages in the urban industrial sector (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996). Moreover, rural areas lost many talented young women who were possible agents of change (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 210). As is well known in Indonesia the Karang Taruna (youth formal organisation at village level) is one of the village institutions that is expected to play an important role in introducing village development programs. However, it seems generally ineffective. This partly is due to many educated young people moving to cities. In addition, in the past, few women who moved to urban areas were absorbed in the modern sector, most worked in the urban informal sectors such as the domestic and service workers (Crockett, 1983, Hugo *et al.*, 1987; Sunaryanto, 1992;) and were not unemployed. However, there was a significant increase in the female unemployment rate in urban areas from 3 per cent to 7.6 per cent between 1980 and 1990 (Indonesian Manpower Department, 1995:83).

The positive impacts of female migration in both origin and destination areas have also been noted (Lerman, 1983; Hetler, 1986; Wolf, 1990a, 1990b). To some degree migration has had a considerable effect in improving the living standards of the community in the village. Among lower economic status migrants families in Wonogiri, Central Java, remittances sent by the migrants were essential for the support of the rest of the family. Without such remittances, the rural family would almost certainly be worse off (Hetler, 1986; Lerman, 1983). For the better economic status households, the remittances of the migrants tended to be used to further the education of their children and increase rural living standards (Hetler, 1986). In addition, from in depth interviews with selected migrant families in the

origin areas, the present study found that young women become relatively independent in destination areas. The remittances to some extent are transferred to support the educational cost of their siblings so that migration could partly affect human resources development in rural areas.

In the context of urban areas, the positive impact of female migration was that at least, the increasing job opportunities, particularly in the industrial sector as a result of the rapid changes in the urban economic structure could be filled by migrants, particularly women from rural areas. This means that factories are able to maximise all their resources and capital to increase their productivity as suggested by the neo-classical perspective. From many studies of factory workers in Indonesia, most of the workers were women and migrants (Saefullah, 1997: 16).

With regard to the micro perspective, despite the growing research on female migration in Indonesia, relatively little has focused on the social and economic impact of migration on women and their families. Again, due to the limitations of the census and intercensal surveys covering information about consequences of migration, this can only be assessed from micro empirical data. From several field studies, it was recorded that migration had a positive impact on women. In fact, in the cities, the migrants could get not only jobs and income but also to large extent better access to public facilities, more entertainment and a modern life style, which were not easy to obtain in the village. Saefullah's study (1994) in two villages in West Java found the diffusion of knowledge and experience of migrants to their communities in the village. Moreover, it was widely recognised from some studies that the female migration had played a significant role in contributing to the family's income and social changes in rural areas

(Rodenburg, 1989; Hetler, 1986; Lerman, 1983; Mantra, 1981). Many studies addressed more the economic impact of female migrants on their families with little attention focused on the changing role and status of women (Hugo, 1992: 190).

With respect to the economic impact at destination areas, irrespective of migration type or reasons for moving, female migrants are more likely to enter the labour market at destination areas and get a better wage than what they would have had in rural areas (Rodenburg, 1993: 282). Several studies relating to female migration in some provinces using the 1980 and 1990 censuses concluded that the proportion of female migrants in the labour force was substantially higher than that of non-migrants (Mardiyah, 1996: 63; Rumondang, 1996: 56; Said, 1995:95; Sunaryanto, 1992: 74) and reflects the fact that female migrants have greater opportunities to enter the labour force in destination areas. This phenomenon implies that migration has a positive impact on women by providing a big opportunity to enter the work force in destination areas. According to those studies, female migrants were more dominant in the manufacturing, service and trade sectors than female non-migrants.

Even though female migrants were more likely to be absorbed in domestic and service sectors with low wages, the income in these sectors were still much higher than that in the agricultural sector in rural areas. As argued by some scholars, introducing modern agriculture in rural areas has put women in the situation of having no job at all (Naylor, 1992). Although their income is not very high, many female migrants are still able to send remittances to their family in origin areas. Hetler (1986: 274) found that female migrants who were engaged in

petty trading sometimes contributed more than half the total income of their families. Wolf (1990b: 53) studied women workers in a factory in Semarang and found that many of the migrants sent money to their parents even though the amount was small. Circular migrant women in Semarang work selling jamu (a herbal drink) contribute to and strengthen their families incomes (Lerman, 1983). Therefore, remittances have played a substantial role in contributing to the economic survival of the family, especially for those who lived at subsistence.

The social consequences of migration are more difficult to measure than the economic effects because they depend on the socio-cultural background of the society. Indonesia is a multi-ethnic country with more 200 ethno-linguistic groups and represents most of the world's major religions, especially Islam (Hugo, 1992: 174). Thus, whether migration is associated with an improvement or deterioration of the role and status of women in the family or community varies from one ethnic group to another due to the fact that each ethnic group has its own body of customary law (*adat*) which governs the role and status of women within the community among other things. However, in most communities, women have traditionally had dual roles as housewife and wage earner (Mangkuprawira, 1981).

Up to now, there is little information concerning this issue and it has become a major challenge for scholars. One of these issues often assessed by scholars is the role and status of migrant women within the family. Living away from home for many women means living independently (Wilkinson, 1987). Migrants from the Toba Batak area of Northern Sumatra increased their independence in terms of managing their income and lives in destination areas (Rodenburg, 1989). This is also evident for women migrating to factories in the

city of Semarang (Wolf, 1990a). However, these two studies did not mention whether for fundamental matters such as marriage, the migrants are able to decide independently. In addition, by migrating, it seems that married women are more likely to reduce the direct control of their husband and rural based family. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive study to make this point strongly. Migration for married women also has a significant impact on the sexual stereotypes in household decision making. Husbands who are left behind due to migration of the wife took over the daily duties of the wife such as cooking, washing and taking care the children (Hetler, 1986: 251)

Scholars agree that it is not easy to measure the consequences of female migration (Billsborrow, 1993; Rodenburg, 1993; Tienda and Booth, 1988). According to them, one problem in assessing the consequences of migration is that many diverse factors affect the different impacts of migration. From the previous experience of many developing countries, the migration impact differs markedly according to type of migration and decision, migration forms and to whom the migration impact belongs (husband, wife, or children) (Rodenburg, 1993: 275). The consequences of associational migration should differ from independent migration and whether the migrants move circularly or permanently also will affect different consequences. In addition, the decision under which migration takes place also partly contributes to the different consequences of migration. It seems that the migration impact is more likely to be positive for females themselves if they move as a result of their own decisions rather than the decision of their parents or families as they struggle to achieve their goals or expectations (Billsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 13). For example, it has been reported that in

Bangkok some parents sold their daughters into brothels to pay debts (Phongpaichit, 1984). Unfortunately, in Indonesia, there is no comprehensive study of female migration making a comparison of these issues between particular age groups or specific characteristics of women.

More importantly, it remains unclear to what extent migration provides advantages or disadvantages for the female themselves in terms of social and economic aspects. It is quite possible that on one side the impact is positive but negative on the other side. For example, some field studies found that the income earning of a prostitute or sex worker was 5-10 times higher than that of being a worker in the formal sector. However, most of them lose their self esteem because they work in a stigmatised occupation and have difficulty developing social interactions on their return to origin areas . (Rodenburg, 1993: 280; Lerman, 1983: 265). The present study in Bekasi found that although they obtained jobs as factory workers, many of them worked long hours (10 hours a day) with low wages and limited incentives (*tunjangan*). With the 'shift work system'⁵, they often worked during the night and lived in poor conditions. This condition is very hard for women but they have no choice. As is well known, factory workers in Indonesia have a very low bargaining position.

2.7. Conclusion

Over the last two decades, Indonesia has experienced a transformation in the social and economic structure of many rural and urban areas. This

⁵ Because the production process of the factory takes place during 24 hours a day, the factory introduced three working shifts. The first shift starts at 8 am; the second shift starts at 4 pm and the third shift starts at 12 midnight. This system is compulsory for every worker.

transformation has had a substantial effect upon rural-urban female migration in the country. Recently, the levels, types, patterns and other dimensions have grown in significance and it is believed that the volume and complexity are much greater than before. However, our understanding of these issues, particularly the causes and consequences remains limited due to the fact that for some reason the issue of female migration has been neglected. Firstly, female migration has long been associated only with family migration with most females moving to accompany husbands. Secondly, it is often believed that females tend to not concern themselves with activities outside the home because of socio-cultural concerns. Thirdly, in large scale data collections such as census and intercensal survey, the efforts are more focused on males as heads of household or exclude many types and dimensions of female migration. In addition, it appears that migration of women differs in many important and significant ways from that of their men counterparts for which there is better understanding, it needs rethinking of the theoretical approach. Therefore, there is a crucial needs for further exploration to clarify the complex relationship between social economic transformations and the dimension of female migration. This is important for the nature of female migration themselves and more importantly, to obtain a better explanation of female migration in terms of theoretical perspective and methodology.

Chapter Three

Data and Methods

3.1. Introduction

As has been discussed in previous chapters, migration is a complex phenomenon but there are limited data to comprehensively explain migration at the national level in Indonesia. One complexity is that migration has to be defined in terms of both spatial (a political or an administrative boundary) and temporal dimension (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 1). Technically, it is quite possible to make comparisons of population mobility within a particular country but since, the space boundary often changes and the size and characteristics of administrative units vary considerably, there are difficulties in making a comparison of migration between countries. In addition, the length of stay beyond which a person is categorised a migrant also varies ranging from between five/six hours and total permanent displacement (Chapman and Prothero, 1958: 8-9).

There are two main sources of information on internal migration at the national level in Indonesia, namely the population census and the intercensal survey. Even though the population census does not have the problems of sample representativeness compared with the intercensal survey, indeed, the population census is generally not able to capture temporary and internal migration within provinces due to the definitions used. The census provides limited information about important aspects of migration such as the causes and consequences of migration (Hugo, 1982). Nevertheless, the census is still the most comprehensive

source of migration information available for comparisons at a national level and among countries (Singelmann, 1993). Surveys are considerably more flexible instruments for migration study and for particular purposes, even though it is more likely they provide only a partial view of the phenomenon (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 2). Therefore, it is important to outline the data sources actually used for the present study and the methods of data collection used in the survey undertaken in order to facilitate the interpretation of data used in achieving the objective and aims of the study.

The aim of this chapter is to review critically the existing data sources regarding the study of migration in Indonesia especially with relation to female migration and to examine critically their validity and reliability. In addition, it also describes and discusses in detail the sources and methods of data collection used in this study as well as problems encountered in the process of data collection.

3.2. Secondary Data Sources

In Indonesia, the population census and intercensal survey are the main sources of migration data that provide comprehensive and accurate information. Both are able to give precise measurements of the size and direction of migration streams and more importantly to identify the forces shaping the patterns of migration at the national level and between provinces (Hugo, 1982: 23). The following section attempts to examine to what extent those main sources of secondary data satisfy the conceptual requirements of this study.

3.2.1. Population Census

The main data source used for migration study in Indonesia is the census which collects the most comprehensive statistics of migration at the national level. These data provide detailed information about individuals, including their birthplace and province of location five years ago as well as the duration of time they have been at their present residence which allows analysis of the basic socio-demographic characteristics of migrants by place of origin or previous place of residence and makes possible the calculation of migration rates. Hence census data are able to indicate the number of female migrants and their flows from and to certain places and more importantly, to identify socio-demographic factors shaping the pattern of female migration. In addition, these data enable the analysis of the interrelationships between migration and employment structure as well as the type of occupation, living condition and arrangements for migrants.

With regard to studying female migration to Bekasi the census is able to provide information about female permanent migrants by socio-demographic characteristics and employment patterns. It is also able to show the precise number and rates of female migrants to Bekasi and from where they come. Again, because of the administrative boundaries used by the census migration definition, female migrants are those who move across a provincial boundary. It means that those who moved to Bekasi from other Kabupaten within West Java are classified as non-migrants. In addition, by analysing these data, it is possible to identify the female inter-provincial migrants who worked in the manufacturing industry according to their socio-demographic characteristics and living arrangements.

At the outset it should be mentioned that the census suffers from a number of shortcomings which influence the results of migration study. The census definition used a six months period of residence as the time reference in determining whether an individual was classified as a migrant or non-migrant. This definition, according to many scholars, has some weaknesses in relation to determining the nature and level of migration (Hugo, 1982; Standing, 1984; Skeldon, 1985; Zlotnik, 1987; United Nations Secretariat, 1993). This time criteria prevents the detection of most temporary movement (Hugo, 1982: 35). In addition, the combined de jure and de facto principles on which the census is conducted tend to regard individuals as having moved permanently and effectively eliminate non-permanent migrants. With respect to the application of a combined de jure and de facto principle, this method has caused confusion among enumerators in terms of identifying the intention of movement and the place of residence (Hugo, 1982: 33). Most circular migrants from villages spend less than 6 months in the enumeration areas at a time, hence the majority of such movers, if they were enumerated at all, were classified as non-migrant village residents (Hugo, 1981: 3). Since a provincial boundary is used as the administration unit for migrant definition, a person will only be classified as a migrant if he or she move across a provincial boundary. This principle ignores the level and pattern of migration streams within provinces. In fact, most Indonesian provinces are large and relatively heterogeneous.

This limitation is considered to have a substantial effect on the number of female migrants in Bekasi. With regard to the temporal criteria used by the census, all female migrants who had moved to Bekasi for less than six months will be classified as non-migrants, while the spatial criteria used by the census will

systematically eliminate intra-provincial migration within West Java province. As indicated earlier, Bekasi is one of the Kabupaten located in West Java province (see Figure 1.1). So, all female migrants in Bekasi who came from other parts of West Java are classified as non-migrants. Accordingly, using the census as a secondary source of migration data to identify female migrants to Bekasi will ignore a significant number of female migrants, particularly short term and intra-provincial movers since it is believed that since 1980 Bekasi has become not only major destination of female migrants from other provinces but also from other parts of West Java (Jones and Mamas, 1996: 60). In addition, there is also growing evidence from micro empirical studies that the proportion of female rural to urban and urban to urban migration within provinces was high in terms of absolute volume with considerable social and economic consequences for particular regions (Wolf, 1990; Mather, 1988; Hugo *et al.*, 1987; Lerman, 1983; Suharso *et al.*, 1976).

Variations in the size of provinces also cause differences in migration rates. Some short distance movement over adjacent boundaries is taken into account while long distance movement within the province is ignored, this is particularly important in large provinces such as Irian Jaya (Hugo, 1981: 5). Distance is a major determinant in the migration decision process for migrants, particularly for female migrants and the probability of moving between two places increases as the distance decreases (Ravenstein cited in Oberai, 1987: 37; Zipf, 1946; Stouffer, 1940). With respect to female migration to Bekasi, Bekasi is on the east border of Jakarta (see Figure 1.1) and females who come from Jakarta (it is 30 minutes by bus from the city of Bekasi to Jakarta) are identified as migrants but females who

moved from Tasikmalaya (8 hours by bus) are categorised as non-migrants due to them moving within West Java province.

One area of important information which was not detected by the 1990 census is the rapid social and economic changes in Bekasi since the census. Much of Bekasi's development has occurred since 1990 as is reflected in the increase of economic growth from 8.4 to 16.1 per cent between 1989 and 1994 as a result of the increasing activity of the industrial sector. In addition, this also is believed to be a main factor increasing migration streams to this area (Bappeda Bekasi, 1995: 37).

Analysis interpreting the census migration data is usually based on 'lifetime' and 'recent' migration. The term 'lifetime' refers to the place of birth while the term 'recent' refers to last place of residence. Using both of these concepts, the census only captures a single stage of migration and ignores multi-stage migration as suggested by Hugo (1982: 36-7). The census also does not cover the migration type (independent or family migration, etc.) and causes and consequences of migration, both of which are important to this study. Understanding the shortcomings of using the population census as the main data source for migration, the survey is a more flexible and comprehensive instrument to obtain more comprehensive and accurate information on migration for the particular purpose of study even though it tends to provide only a partial view of the phenomenon (Skeldon, 1990).

3.2.2. Intercensal Survey (SUPAS)

Another major migration data source is the intercensal survey (SUPAS) which it is conducted by the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics between the

census. The intercensal survey is usually conducted 5 years after the population census. This survey takes a small size sample and uses the highly clustered nature of sampling technique. For example, the 1995 intercensal survey covered only 20 per cent of Master Sampling Frame at Desa level (Master File Desa). The probability proportional to size was used to choose the enumeration areas and for each selected enumeration area, about 70 households were selected. As a result, the 1995 intercensal survey (SUPAS) only covered 206848 households from 12928 selected segment groups of Indonesia as whole (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1996: xxxiv-xxxv). Like the population census, the intercensal survey also provides information about population mobility data. However, the migration information of the intercensal survey with some extent is more comprehensive compared with the census. The survey provides a greater range of information on individual and household characteristics in terms of migration differentials because it covers information about intra-provincial migration and causes of migration. This valuable information is neglected in the population census. In addition, the use of 5 years as a fixed time reference period for recent migration enables better estimates to be made for recent years than with census data (Hugo, 1982: 42, Biro Pusat Statistik, 1997: 33)

Like the census, migration data from the intercensal survey, however, has similar problems relating to the temporal definition of migration (limited to only permanent migrants). A major shortcoming using the intercensal survey relates to the sample size and sampling method adopted (Hugo: 1982: 43, Biro Pusat Statistik, 1996:). With the small size of the sample and the highly clustered nature of the sampling technique used, the intercensal survey fails to give a clear picture

of migration patterns and socio-demographic characteristics of migrants as well as accurate numbers of actual migrants, since migrants tend to be distributed and differ in socio-demographic and economic backgrounds (Hugo *et al.*, 1987). Moreover, for areas of transmigrant destination outside Java, the estimation of migration streams will not be accurate in these areas, if no transmigration communities are included. Therefore, these data could not be used to estimate the volume of migration streams (Hugo, 1982: 43).

In summing up, both the census population and intercensal survey only capture a small part of total population mobility in Indonesia. These data do not generate detailed information on causes of rural to urban migration, type of migration decision and involve the consequences of migration. They do not give a comprehensive picture of female migration to and from Bekasi which is the major objective of the present study. Even though the intercensal survey asked a question on the reason for moving and enabled us to capture some rural-urban migration, the answer to this question was in very broad categories and did not reflect detailed reasons. Hence the vacuum of secondary data on migration necessitates the conducting of a sample survey in the present study because from such a survey, more adequate information can be obtained to meet the objectives of the study.

3.3. Selection of Research Areas

The present study decided to choose Bekasi in West Java as the study area. Some reasons for the selection of Bekasi have been explained in the previous chapter. In short, since the last decade Bekasi has experienced tremendous social and economic development. The expansion of export-oriented industry in this area

during 1980-1995 not only has led to a rapid change in economic structure but has made Bekasi one of the most important Kabupaten in Indonesia with its economic growth at 16.1 per cent in 1995. It also has a large number of job opportunities, particularly for women. This has caused Bekasi to become one of the most important destination areas for migrants, particularly females in Indonesia (Jones and Mamas, 1996).

The purpose of the study is to have a reasonably representative sample of the total population of female migrants to Bekasi. Bekasi is divided into two different basic areas of administration, namely the Administrative city of Bekasi (Kota administratif Bekasi) and district of Bekasi (Kabupaten Bekasi). The city of Bekasi (a recognised urban unit without the status of a municipality) has four sub-district areas with 26 village administrative units (Kelurahan). In 1990 the total population of this urban area was 644,284. The district of Bekasi has five regions of assistant to Bupati (wilayah pembantu Bupati) divided into 22 sub-districts. This district has 210 villages (desa) and the population numbered 508,599 according to the 1990 census.

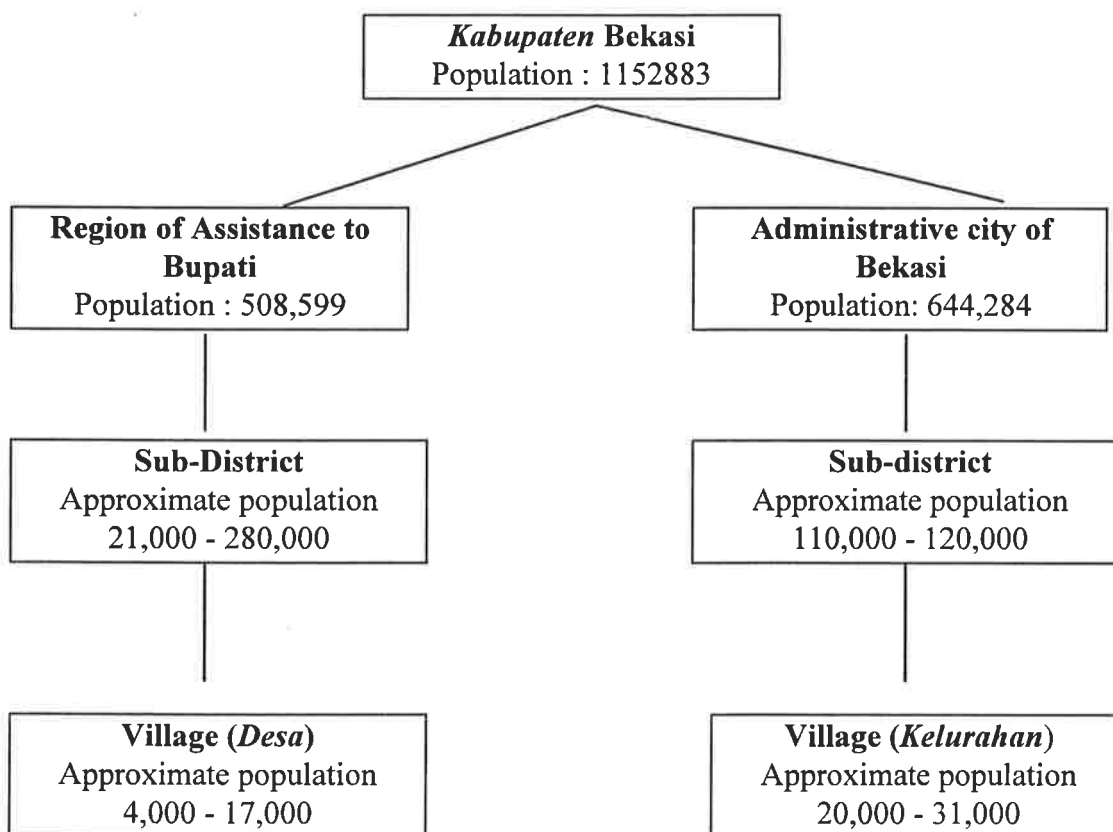
The difference between Kelurahan and Desa is that the kelurahan is located in urban areas, while the desa is located in rural areas. The head office of the kelurahan is chosen by the government. So, he or she is the government official, while the head of village is chosen by the village society through the general elections. However, both areas have a similar administrative function and are the smallest administrative unit in Bekasi. As the smallest administrative unit, the village is chosen as the focus of the study. It was decided that two sub-districts and four villages based on certain characteristics were required to achieve the objective

and aims of the study. The next section describes in detail the collection of the data in these areas.

3.4. Primary Data Collection

Due to the limitations of census and the intercensal survey in providing information regarding the objectives and aims of the present study, the following sections will discuss comprehensively the methods of primary data collection used here.

Figure 3.1: Administrative Units in Bekasi by Their Population



Source: Compiled and computed from Kantor Statistik Bekasi, 1991: 5-11.

3.4.1. Sampling Procedure

The research population of this survey consists of inter Kabupaten female migrant workers who work in formal sectors (manufacturing enterprises) in Bekasi. For the purposes of the present study that examines determinants and consequences of migration, it is very important to gain a reasonably representative number of female migrant workers who worked at various types of companies.

According to the census between 1980 and 1990 the annual population growth in Bekasi was 6.29 per cent which was the second highest population growth rate for a Kabupaten in Indonesia after neighbouring Bogor regency. This high growth rate is due to the high rate of in-migration into the area. The in-migration stream contributed 21.5 per cent of the total population of Bekasi during 1980-1990. This number did not include the in-migration streams within the province and non-permanent migrants. This is one of the major disadvantages of using the census data because it excludes these migrants. Indeed, from many various empirical studies the absolute volume of those migrants was significant and they differed in socio-economic background (Wolf, 1990; Mather, 1988; Hetler, 1986; Lerman, 1983; Hugo, 1978, Suharso *et al.*, 1976). With regard to labour force, in 1994 there was 917,058 people who worked in the various occupations and 30 per cent of them were women (Bappeda Bekasi, 1995). They were distributed in 22 sub-districts within Kabupaten Bekasi with different characteristics.

Hence, it was decided to use stratified multi-stage cluster sampling in order to achieve some concentration of field work areas as well as an adequate

representative number of female migrant workers in large companies while reducing time and money costs (Moser and Kalton, 1971; De Vours, 1990). For this purpose, centres of concentration of large scale industrial enterprises at the sub-district level and of places of residence of female migrants were used as the main criteria to determine the primary sampling unit.

There were no available data sources that would permit the construction of a comprehensive sampling frame of an accurate listing of female labor migrants at the sub-district level at the time of the survey. Data available at the sub-district office only captured total in-migration and out-migration without sex, age and occupation being recorded. Moreover, only migrants who applied for a local population identity card (Kartu Penduduk) were recorded. In fact, most female migrants held only a temporary approval permit for staying in Bekasi and did not change their official present place of residence from their home village. This was because it was not easy to obtain a new identity card and it could cost Rp 30-50,000 (between US\$ 10 and 20) to get it and for most migrants, it was equivalent to 7 days of their wages. Hence, many women chose not to obtain an identity card. Furthermore, due to the time and cost of transportation, migrant workers tend to choose their place of residence to be close to their place of work. This means that if the company is located in X sub-district, the migrant workers tend to stay at villages within this X sub-district.

3.4.2. Sampling Frame

The crucial criterion in determining the research areas was that the selected villages were known to have a high representation of female labour migrants who

worked in large factories. The selection of these localities was completed through a number of stages. Firstly, it was decided that the study would concentrate upon female labour migrants in big companies. According to the Biro Pusat Statistik definition a large company is defined as a company employing more than 100 workers (Kantor Statistik Bekasi, 1990).

In line with the purpose of the study and in order to get a better understanding of where most large companies were located, information from the manpower office at Bekasi was used. The information available at this office not only covered the name and location of the companies but also the number and the gender of workers. From this information, it was recognised clearly which sub-districts in Bekasi were more prominent than others in terms of the number of companies and female workers.

Unfortunately, the data did not distinguish whether the workers were migrants or non-migrants. The verbal reports of key informants and informed opinion from various local departments such as the District Development Planning Authority Office (Bappeda Tk.II Bekasi), Social and Political Office (Sospol), Local Statistics Office, and Sub-district Offices, suggested that most of the female workers in the large companies were in fact migrants.

Data from the local manpower office, then, were needed to classify Kecamatan according to the number of female workers and only the companies which had more than 100 female workers were considered. In late 1995, there were 572 such large companies (more than 100 workers) and 13,208 small industries established in Bekasi district (Bappeda Bekasi, 1995). It was found that 7 sub-districts were the main centres for large factories dominated by female

workers in Bekasi (see the Table 3.1). These sub-districts were used as the primary sampling units for this study.

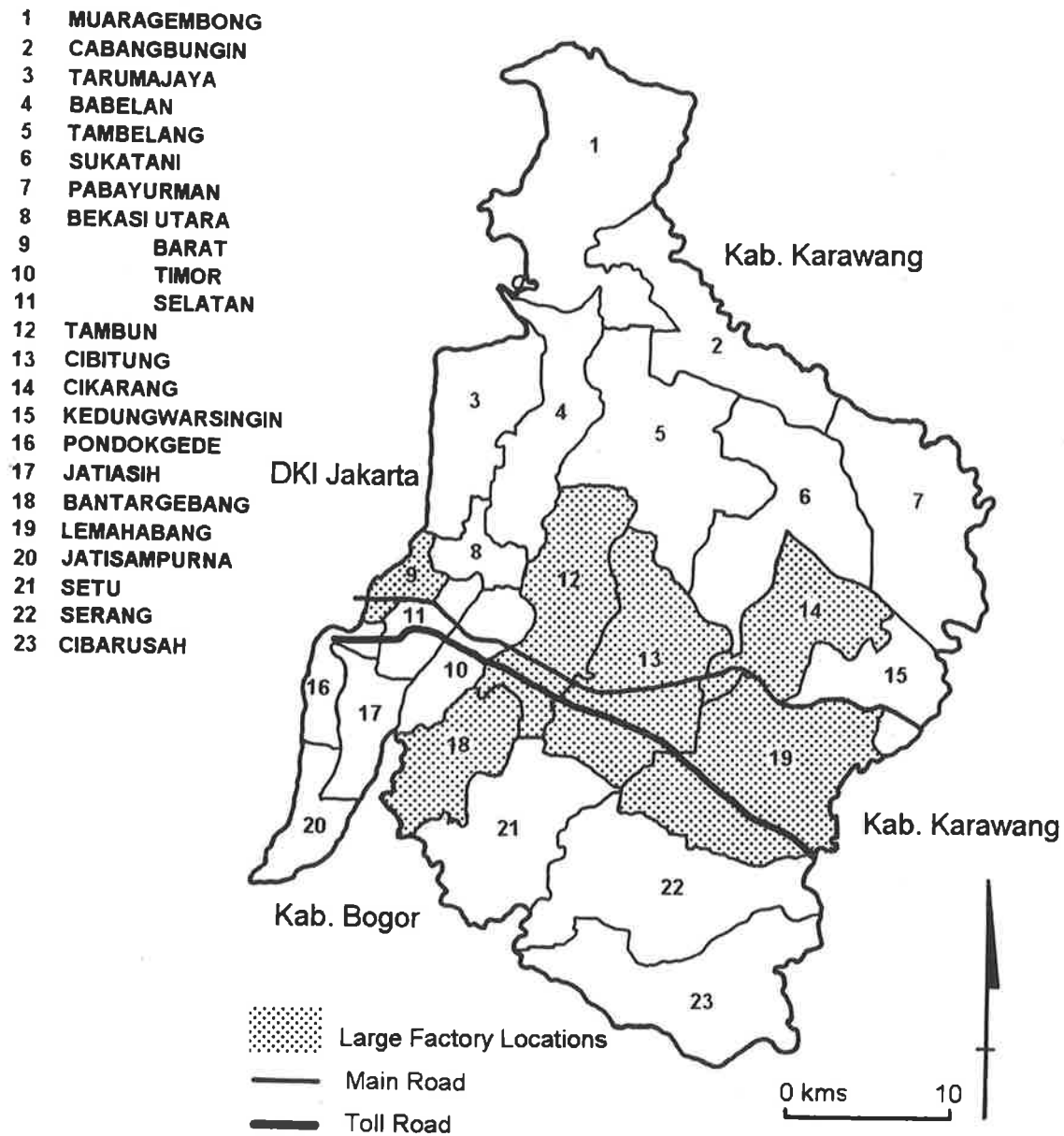
Table 3.1: Bekasi: The Location of Large Factories with More than 100 Female Workers by Sub-District and Number of Female Workers, 1995

Sub-district	Number of factories	Number of female workers
Cibitung	29	15,038
Tambun	20	14,587
Cikarang	17	9,693
Bantar Gebang	11	6,619
Lemahabang	8	2,612
Pondok Ungu	6	3,439

Source: Bekasi Manpower Office, 1995

From these seven sub-districts, the present study took two only sub-districts as secondary sampling units to select villages as study areas, namely Cibitung and Tambun (see Figure 3.2). The reason was that based on available data from the Manpower office, most of the large companies in Bekasi were found in these areas. In addition, Cibitung and Tambun are close to each other and were located on the main road between Karawang and Bekasi Kabupaten (see Figure 3.2). Many workers lived along this road to afford easy access to transportation both public buses and company buses. It also facilitated access of the survey team to cover the area and maximised the utility gained from the limited time and financial resources available.

Figure 3.2: Map of Large Factory Locations in Bekasi



Source: Data Pokok Pembangunan Daerah Bekasi

Like Cibitung and Tambun, Cikarang sub-district is also located along the main road linking Karawang and Bekasi and is one of the main centres for industry. However, Cikarang at present tends to be a purely industrial area rather

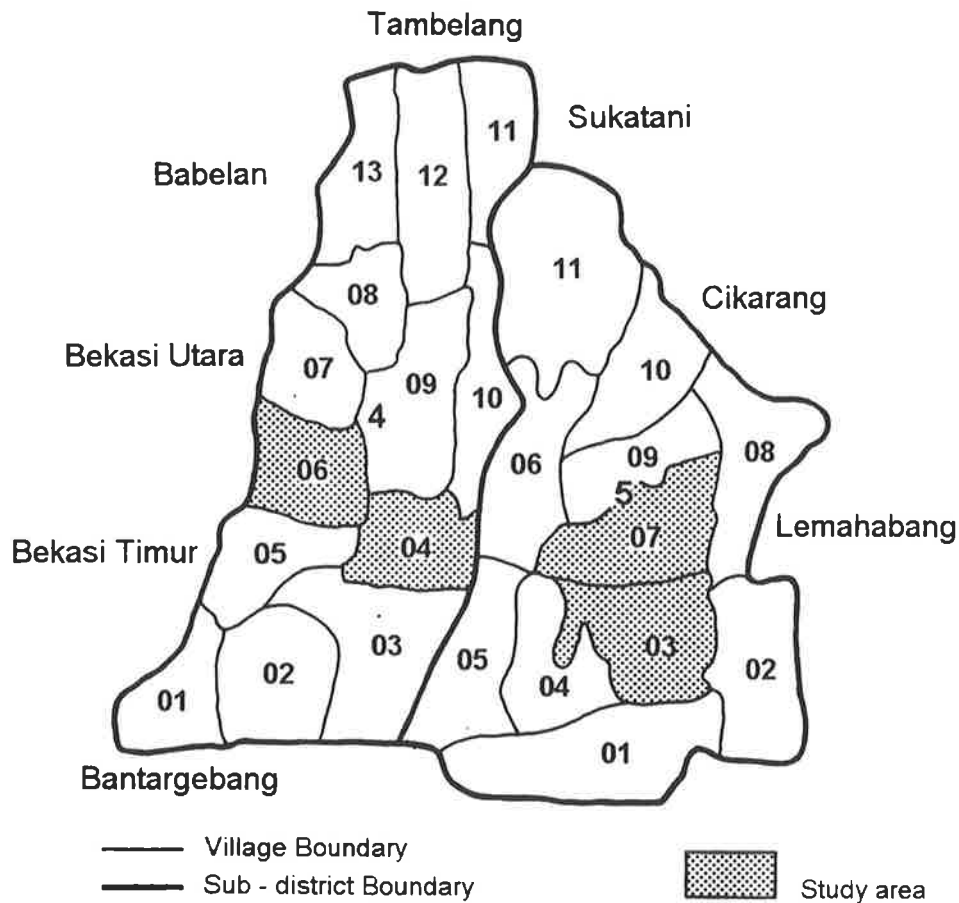
than a dormitory area for the workers because according to many respondents, there was a big problem with availability of water.

Since there was no comprehensive information about the exact place of residence of female migrant workers, the choice of villages to study necessarily had to be made on the basis of verbal reports and informed opinion from knowledgeable persons. On this basis, Telaga Asih and Sukadanau village in Cibitung sub-district and Tambun and Setiadarma village in Tambun sub-district were chosen as tertiary sampling units (see Figure 3.3).

For people who live in Cibitung and Tambun, it is not so difficult to recognise places where most of the company workers live in. Everyday, during the day, it is a common sight that a large number of female workers, some with a uniform identifying which company they work for, stand along the main road waiting for the public or company buses to collect them. At noon or early morning the traffic jams along this main road can not be avoided and it takes a long time to travel only a very short distance. This phenomenon reflects the fact that many of the women live close to the main road in order to get better access to transportation. Hence, it was not difficult to identify the major dormitory villages and four villages were selected for the study on this basis.

In addition, these areas were close to the capital of the sub-district and this is very important for most of the migrants. Even though they have to pay a more expensive rent compared with other places, facilities such as the center for public health (Puskesmas), Police, bank, post office, mosque, mini market, food stalls as well as schools are located in this area. Since time is important for migrant workers and they spend most of their time preparing for going to work and working, good

Figure 3.3: Map of Tambun and Cibitung Sub-districts



4. Tambun Sub-District

- 01. Desa Bojong Rawalumbu
- 02. „ Mustikajaya
- 03. „ Lembangjaya
- 04. „ Tambun
- 05. „ Jatimulya
- 06. „ Setiadarma
- 07. „ Karangatria
- 08. „ Satriamekar
- 09. „ Mangunjaya
- 10. „ Sumberjaya
- 11. „ Srimahi
- 12. „ Srijaya
- 13. „ Sriamur

5. Cibitung Sub-District

- 01. Desa Jatiwangi
- 02. „ Mangunharja
- 03. „ Sukadanau
- 04. „ Gandasari
- 05. „ Cibuntu
- 06. „ Wanasari
- 07. „ Telaga Asih
- 08. „ Sukajaya
- 09. „ Wanajaya
- 10. „ Kartamukti
- 11. „ Muktiwari

Source: Modified from Map of West Java, BPS, Jakarta, 1992

access to the services is crucial. Many even did not have time for cooking and preferred to buy food at small food stalls as is common in Indonesia.

Another step involved collecting information from the village level about the place of residence of female migrant workers. Again, there was no accurate data regarding migration at the village office level. The main problem was that the only migrants recorded were the minority who applied for a new population identity card by lodging the required approval letter for changing their official place of residence from their previous place of residence. Many of the migrants did not have this card but hold a temporary approval letter from the leader of their village or neighbourhood group. To get such an approval letter, the migrants should have a place of stay and a referee (friends or family) and pay an administration cost of Rp 10,000 at the time. Indeed, this has become a profitable business for the leaders of neighbourhoods. Therefore, the leaders of the neighbourhood knew a great deal about who rented out his or her housing unit to migrants, although there was no official record of migrants.

Information from the village leader and their staff as well as initial visits to some neighbourhood groups enabled the identification of areas where most of the female labour migrants live. These areas, then, were selected for the present study. These included the areas within the selected villages which were located along the main road connecting Karawang and Bekasi because most of the female migrants tend to rent units close to the main road. At Telaga Asih village, this involved five neighbourhood groups while at Sukadanau village only three neighbourhood groups were chosen because most areas along the main road were used for hotels, factories and agriculture. The seven neighbourhood groups chosen have good access to the administration office of Cibitung sub-district.

Table 3.2: Summary of Sampling Method Used

Stage	Sampling unit	Main criteria	Source of information
One	Sub-district	Center for industry	Local Manpower Office
Two	Sub-district	Center for large company (more than 100 females)	Local Manpower Office
Three	Sub-district	The large number of large companies	Local Manpower Office
Four	Village	Residential place of female migrants	Verbal reports and informed opinion from key persons at the sub-district office
Five	Neighbourhood group	Center for residential place of female migrant workers	Verbal reports and informed opinion from key persons at the village office

At Tambun sub-district the sampling frame consisted of seven neighbourhood associations. Four neighbourhood groups belonged to Tambun village and the others were located at Setiadarma village (Table 3.3). In each neighbourhood group, a population listing was done by identifying each individual according to their migration status, gender, status of work and marital status. With regard to the purpose of the present study an individual who was listed was a female migrant worker at a company, either ever married or unmarried, made up the sampling unit used.

In doing this, information from landlords was used. The names and addresses of each landlord were provided by the leader of the neighbourhood group. This was possible because each landlord was required to give a report to the neighbourhood leader about his/her tenants. This record was very useful in collecting money for contributions to village development. Information from the leader was used to trace and visit the landlords to do the listing about the migrants.

In general, the landlords knew how many tenants they had, their gender and job status. If they were not sure about these, they would call one of the tenants to help them. Therefore, the information collected from the landlords was very comprehensive. Table 3.3 presents the results of the listing.

Table 3.3: Number Female Labour Migrants by Neighbourhood Group at Cibitung and Tambun

Area		Cibitung	
Telaga Asih		Number (%)	
NG. 1		96	(25.7)
NG. 2		85	(22.8)
NG. 3		63	(16.9)
NG. 4		81	(21.7)
NG. 8		48	(12.9)
N (a)		373	(100)
Sukadanau			
NG. 6		56	(27.3)
NG. 7		65	(31.7)
NG. 8		84	(41)
N (b)		205	(100)
Total(a+b)		578	
		Tambun	
Tambun		Number (%)	
NG. 1		105	(30.5)
NG. 2		96	(27.9)
NG. 4		57	(16.6)
NG. 6		86	(25)
N (c)		344	(100)
Setiadarma			
NG. 3		59	(27.2)
NG. 5		76	(35)
NG. 7		82	(37.8)
N (d)		217	(100)
Total(c+d)		561	

Note: NG = Neighbourhood Group

3.4.3. Data Collection

Field work was carried out from April 1995 after approval was gained from various levels of government and finished in January 1996. This period was divided into a number of phases shown in Table 3.4. The first month of this period was devoted to collecting informed opinion and secondary materials from the Local Development Planning Board (Bappeda TK.II), Local Manpower Department, and Local Industry Department. The main purpose of this stage was to gain better information about the centres of industry at the sub-district level.

Table 3.4: Summary of Phases and Types of Data Collected for the Present Study

Phase	Time spent	Activities
One	2 weeks	Collecting secondary data from various local departments and levels of department.
Two	2 weeks	Searching for an alternative sampling unit at sub-district level.
Three	3 weeks	Verification of the sampling unit through visit and collecting secondary data and conducting interview with the leader of sub-district office.
Four	4 weeks	Sample frame selection at the village level through visit and conducting listing.
Five	2 weeks	Pre-testing and rechecking the sampling frame.
Six	20 weeks	Data collection, in depth interview and coding .
Seven	4 weeks	Sample selection, survey, in depth interview with some key person at destination areas.
Eight	6 weeks	Sample selection, survey, in depth interview with selected migrant families at selected origin areas.

The next phase was to determine the sub-districts to be studied. In doing this, the main activity involved collecting information from selected sub-districts by interviewing the head or other senior staff of the sub-district office. The main information targeted was to identify the number of female migrant workers in large

companies and which rural localities they mainly lived in. These activities consumed some three weeks. The next four weeks were spent in selecting the neighbourhood sub areas in where most of the female migrant workers stayed and developing a comprehensive sampling frame listing all workers in each areas.

Pre-testing did not take much time (two weeks). While data collection and in depth interviews with several selected respondents took up almost half of the period, in depth interviews with key persons to gain information about the consequences of migration on the community in the destination areas took four weeks, while collecting information and tracing the families of migrants in the villages of origin took 6 weeks. This phase was time and money consuming.

There were two main different methods of data and information collection adopted in this study. Firstly, data from the female migrants were collected through application of a structured questionnaire in which most questions were closed. It is very important to mention in relation to this questionnaire that even though it uses many open-ended questions, the respondents have a substantial opportunity and freedom to answer the questions in detail and expand upon their aspirations, knowledge and migration experiences in order to gain an accurate picture of their experience and avoid guiding respondents. The answers, responses and other related information which were not covered by the questionnaire were noted in the field book maintained by the researcher. Indeed, there was much fruitful and valuable information collected in this way which was not covered by the questionnaire.

The questionnaires used in this study were initially constructed at the University of Adelaide before the field work began. However, there were some

changes and modifications made after two pre-testings in the field. The changes included not only a reduction in the number of questions because some were found to be redundant or too private and intrusive but also the addition of some questions originally not anticipated to be relevant. Modifications also were made to the terminology and concepts used in the questionnaire to bring it in line with the day to day experience of the respondents.

The questionnaire comprised sets of questions concerning the migrant's demographic, economic and social profile, the physical environment context of the migrant in the origin area, the migration process, social networks and living arrangements, expenditure patterns and living conditions, employment characteristics, migration consequences for the migrants, their family as well as the community, details of the place of destination, detailed information on remittances, future plans regarding jobs and settlement, and aspirations for children and marriage.

Secondly, information was collected through in-depth interviews as well as participant observation in the field. All of the questions asked of key informants were devised in the field in Bekasi after intensively observing the situation in the field. The questions were mainly addressed to key local persons (non-migrants) and some selected respondents in destination areas to gain better information concerning the impact of female migration on several socio-economic aspects of the village in the destination area. Unlike the structured questionnaire, the in-depth interviews involved more open ended and general questions. The questions were much influenced by the course of the interview and discussion was relatively open ended. For the migrant family at the place of origin, detailed questions were asked

about local responses to migration, attitudes of the community towards families of migrants and their absent daughters, social network arrangements, remittances as well as their expectation toward their absent daughter's future. Table 3.5 provides a summary of the content of data collection methods and the types of respondent interviewed.

Table 3.5: Method of Data Collection Used in the Study by Type of Respondent

Method	Respondent	Information sought	Type of sample
Questionnaire	Landlord	Number of tenants, gender, migration and job status of tenants	Non-migrants at destination
Questionnaire	Female worker	The migrant profile, the physical environment profile of the migrant at origin area, the migration process, social network and living arrangements, expenditure patterns and living conditions, employment characteristics, migration consequences for the migrant, family as well as the community at the place of destination, detailed information on remittances, future job plans and settlement, and aspirations for children and marriage.	Migrants at destination
In depth interview	Key person	Impact of migration on socio-economic aspects of the community at destination	Non-migrants and migrants
In depth interview	Head or spouse	The migration decision making, migration impact on the family and his/her daughters, social network arrangements, remittances as well as expectations of the daughter	Migrants' families at origin

3.4.4 The Number of Respondents

It is widely known that there is no precise prescription about the optimum size of a sample particularly in LDCs because of the limitations imposed by

resources or the accuracy which is a basic requirement of sampling theory (Zarkovich, 1983: 101; Bulmer and Warwick, 1983: 92; de Vaus, 1990: 70). Even though a lot of sampling text books have been written, most have been concerned with developed countries rather than less developed countries (Bulmer and Warwick, 1983: 93). Therefore, it is believed that the level of estimation of the sample size in developed countries should, in principle, be more precise than in less developed countries (Zarkovich, 1983:106).

Table 3.6: Sample Sizes Required for Various Sampling Errors at 95% Confidence Level (Simple Random Sampling)

Sampling error %	Sample size	Sampling error %	Sample size
1.0	10000	5.5	330
1.5	4500	6.0	277
2.0	2500	6.5	237
2.5	1600	7.0	204
3.0	1100	7.5	178
3.5	816	8.0	156
4.0	625	8.5	138
4.5	494	9.0	123
5.0	400	9.5	110
		10	100

Source: De Vaus, 1990.

It was decided to limit the sample size to 608 for the total number of respondents interviewed. This covered 53.4 per cent of the sample frame (1139) which is substantially more than the 10 per cent which is usually recommended. This sample size suffers from a sampling error of only around 4 per cent (de Vaus 1990: 71). This means that one can be 95 per cent confident that the results of the sample will be the same as in the population plus or minus the sampling error (see

Table 3.6). Thus if in a sample of 608 cases there is found to be 60 per cent who gave their reason for migration as the need to look for a job, we can be 95 per cent confident that between 56 and 64 per cent of the population had the intention to look for job as a reason for migration. As mentioned previously, there are two sub-districts which are the basic units of study namely, Cibitung and Tambun. The 608 targeted respondents from the sample frame (1139) were distributed among the two main study areas, 50 per cent (304 respondents) in each area. The total number of female workers was 578 at Cibitung and 561 at Tambun. These respondents were distributed throughout 15 neighbourhoods within 4 villages. Table 3.7 shows the distribution of the sampling frame across these sub areas and number of the respondents interviewed in each neighbourhood.

Most of the respondents lived in small dwelling units with three or more people sharing together. Some of them also rented a room in the house of a non-migrant family. Only a small number (2 per cent) of migrants lived with non-migrant families which they were related to. The initial sampling was on the basis of dwellings. The respondents at each dwelling were chosen randomly by visiting their units and directly interviewing those who were found at that unit at the time of visiting. This method was used because it was not easy to complete interviews or even make appointments with the respondents. They were very busy with their jobs which meant that they spent most of their working hours at their place of work and only one hour on average was available for effective interviewing. Accordingly, most interviews were conducted in the evening and often several visits had to be made to get a single interview.

Table 3.7: Sampling Distribution by Neighbourhood Group

Area		Cibitung			
Telaga Asih	Number	A(%)	B (A : N)	C (B.x 304)	D (A x C)
NG. 1	96	(25.7)			50
NG. 2	85	(22.8)			45
NG. 3	63	(16.9)			33
NG. 4	81	(21.7)			43
NG. 8	48	(12.9)			25
N (A)	373	(100)	64.5	196	196
Sukadanau					
NG. 6	56	(27.3)			30
NG. 7	65	(31.7)			34
NG. 8	84	(41)			44
N (B)	205	(100)	35.5	108	108
N (A+B)	578		100		
Tambun					
Tambun	Number	A(%)	B (C : N :)	C (Bx304)	D (Ax C)
NG. 1	105	(30.5)			57
NG. 2	96	(27.9)			52
NG. 4	57	(16.6)			31
NG. 6	86	(25)			46
N (C)	344	(100)	61.3	186	186
Setiadarma					
NG. 3	59	(27.2)			32
NG. 5	76	(35)			41
NG. 7	82	(37.8)			45
N (D)	217	(100)	36.7	118	118
N (C+D)	561		100		

Note : NG : Neighbourhood Group

A = % of total population at each village

B = % of total population at each sub-district

C = B . Total sample (304)

D = %A . C

3.4.5. Pre-testing the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was pre-tested twice at four selected neighbourhood sub areas. The first one involved 20 respondents while the second one covered 15 respondents. The purpose of the first pre-test was to check the accuracy and consistency of the answers and to identify difficult concepts or jargon from the

respondents' point of view or perceptions. In addition, this pre-test was intended to help avoid similar responses to different questions that often confuses the respondent such as questions about place of origin, place of birth, previous place and place of parent's residence, reason for migration and reason for choosing Bekasi as the destination area. Then, the pre-test attempted to identify the questions claimed to be too personal such as amount of salary, parent's main job and property.

The second pre-test was undertaken to re-check the questionnaire after modifications had been made based on the recommendations arising out of the first pre-test. Through discussion with respondents, both individuals and groups, as well as with key knowledgeable persons, some modifications were made to the questionnaire. These included the reduction and addition of some items. With this pre-test, therefore, misleading questions and chances for misinterpretation of questions were minimised.

3.4.6. Conducting the Survey

The survey involved 12 interviewers including the author, only one of whom was female. Nine of these interviewers were recruited from the Islamic University located near one of the research areas (Tambun). All of them had nearly finished their first degree studies. Another two interviewers were university graduates in economics and education. Males were nominated as interviewers because the interviews were done during night when the respondents had returned from work. In fact, almost all interviews were conducted at night after 8 pm.

Before going into the field, all of them had been trained intensively for 5 days (two hours a day) about the purposes of the study, understanding and probing every item of the questionnaire, developing interview techniques and asking difficult questions believed to be of a personal nature, and identifying any aspects which were considered to be related closely to the study and were not covered by the questionnaire. This was facilitated by the fact that the training took place after the author had finished interviewing all targeted respondents in Cibitung. The fruitful experiences gained by the author in the field enabled the training to be carried out efficiently and effectively.

Nine of the interviewers lived in a dormitory provided by the university at Tambun and another 2 interviewers stayed with the author at Cibitung. This situation allowed considerable opportunity to supervise, control and develop the survey and to monitor the course of the survey. The interviewers were young and enthusiastic and had a high level of commitment and motivation to doing the research. Their ages were relatively similar to the age of the respondents. It is very important in conducting such interviews to avoid a generation gap and this is significant in giving the results of the survey a high level of accuracy. As mentioned by Bailey (1987: 183) the results of an interview are improved, if there is similarity in the ages of interviewer and interviewee.

For respondents who lived in the Cibitung sub-district, all interviews were done by the author, while in the Tambun sub-district, the researcher personally interviewed almost half of the total respondents targeted. In doing so, the author stayed in the field during the research and was thereby able to engage in a great deal of participant observation and control the progress of the survey.

In depth interviewing with several selected key persons in Cibitung and Tambun was conducted by the researcher personally. The purpose of this was to gain better information about the impact of female migration on the community. The respondents represented all segments of the society including teachers, students, youth activists, women activists, formal leaders, Moslem figures, party activists, and some respondents.

Similarly in depth interviews were also conducted with migrants' families at the origin areas. This included only 10 selected families from the total urban based respondents (608). The imbalance was due to the fact that it was very difficult to trace the address of the respondent in the origin areas. Most of them lived far away from the city and it was difficult to travel to, and find, the origin families. Moreover, in some cases, the respondents did not give a detailed address because there was no street name and clear number and when in the field, there were several families with the same given names. For example, three people called 'Solichin' lived the same neighbourhood group. This 'tracer' part of the study was very difficult and consumed considerable costs and time. In addition, the main focus of the study was from the destination end of the migration process and the small in depth study at the origin end was used as a check on results obtained at the destination end.

3.4.7. Problems of Collected Data

It is well known that it is not easy to develop interviews in the field. Problems arise because of the different socio-cultural backgrounds of an interviewer and an interviewee in LDCs (Bailey, 1987). The interview is a social

interaction between a respondent and an interviewer (Bailey, 1987: 176; Manheim and Simon, 1977: 225). Problems are created where according to the respondent the interviewer is a total outsider and that problem was certainly confronted in this study.

As mentioned before the main respondents of this study were low status female labourers in large companies. In Indonesia at the time of the survey the topic of this study became a burgeoning national issue. The issue related to a wide range problems such as the application of a minimum salary standard, exploitation of workers, job safety, social welfare and assurance and labour dismissal (PHK, Pemutusan Hubungan Kerja) and job environment in large factories. During the research, there were several strikes in response to these issues organised by the workers themselves in several places in Java (Kompas, 1995; Pos Kota, 1995). Unfortunately, the result in many cases was disadvantageous to the worker's position such as dismissal for those who were involved in the strike. Some of the respondents had this experience before.

This situation really affected the attitude and mental state of some respondents. It meant that the respondents sometimes felt insecure or had misgivings in providing information. They felt afraid that the information given to the interviewer could affect their future in the company or it could lead to them being dismissed from their jobs. They were really aware that they had never seen the interviewer before. Therefore, even though there were a lot of respondents, 37 migrants refused to be interviewed and around 12 respondents accepted with some misgiving.

At the beginning of survey, it was difficult to find respondents to be interviewed but later on it was easier. The information about the essence of the research that was communicated to other respondents by the first interviewed respondents had a great impact on improving the understanding of the others of the purpose of the research and increased their willingness to participate. At least, this avoided what was often asked by some of the respondents: 'Why should you ask me?' because they seemed to believe themselves too unworthy or unimportant to be interviewed, a common response in many MDCs and LDCs.

It was quite often that the author used the earlier respondents to introduce him to their friends or to guide him to the their friends' houses. Then the first interviewed respondent explained the purpose of the research. Indeed, this approach was able to improve acceptance and trust so that the interviews proceeded well.

In addition, much depends on the approach used to develop a social relationship with the respondents. The crucial thing that should be done by the interviewer is to put himself or herself in the situation of the respondent (Manheim and Simon, 1977: 225). In doing so, the researcher uses primordial sentiments such as ethnic, language and regional sentiment (as argued by Bulmer, 1983: 214; Hurs-Cesar and Roy, 1976: 305). It was lucky because most of the migrants came from Java which is the home land of the author. This area (Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java) made up 66.7 per cent of the origin of the total respondents (608).

Another problem related to the duration time of the interview. The most effective time to interview was during the evening. However, this made only two hours available. Usually, the interview started at 8.00 pm and went until 10.00 pm.

The respondents were at home around 6.00 pm after they returned from their place of work and were ready to be interviewed around 8.00 pm. The problem was that when the researcher had finished interviewing at one house, most of the other potential respondents were asleep because they worked during the day and, indeed, they looked very tired upon their arrival at home. After 10.00 pm, interviewing had to stop because the respondents had to go to bed to wake early in the morning to work.

During the weekend (Sunday), some of them also went to work overtime. This time was determined more by the company than the workers. The others usually spent this time going to the city for shopping or looking for entertainment. The weekend, in fact, was not the best time for conducting an interview in this context.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has assessed critically the main sources of data and methods used to select the sample units and to collect data for the present study. It has also provided details of problems regarding the conducting of the survey and collecting data at both origin and destination areas. With this survey and methods, comprehensive information regarding the migration causes and consequences of the respondents were obtained. This information was very important for the present study to achieve its main objectives and aims. Indeed, this information could not be obtained from secondary data sources such as the census and intercensal survey which are main data sources of migration in Indonesia.

Chapter Four

Conceptualising Migration in the Indonesian Context

4.1. Introduction

In population mobility research, there has been a great amount of discussion about 'who is a migrant?' due to the complexity of migration measurement. It is generally accepted that compared with the other demographic fields, fertility and mortality, measuring migration is more complex (Skeldon, 1990; Bilborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Weeks, 1996). The complexity involves two main dimensions in migration phenomenon, namely spatial and temporal dimensions. Considering these two dimensions in a migration concept, migration becomes a very flexible and dynamic event in human life. It can occur in a short or long duration of time and involve two or more geographic areas with one or several acts of movement.

In addition, the complexity also relates to the fact that researchers tend to have viewed migration from a particular discipline perspective (Willenkens, 1982: 81; Skeldon, 1990: 11). Sociologists and anthropologists tend to place considerable emphasis on socio-cultural characteristics of different areas. Social distance, according to them, is a key determinant in classifying a person as a migrant (Einstadt, 1953: 1). However, geographers tend to focus on geographical or spatial differentials as an indicator to define a person as a migrant (Lewis, 1982: 7). As a result, it is difficult to formulate a systematic generalisation of migration definition and to overcome the problem of conceptual ambiguity.

Therefore the present chapter attempts to conceptualise migration in the context of Indonesia. It will review migration concepts commonly used in migration studies in Indonesia and examine critically the conceptual ambiguities from a number of perspectives. In addition, the present chapter attempts to operationalise and formulate migration concepts used to suit the objectives of the present study.

4.2. Definition of Migration

The concept of migration is based on spatial and temporal dimensions that form distinct types of migration (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 170). The following discussion will examine definitions of migration based on these dimensions and also attempt to identify a number of types of migration in the context of Indonesia.

4.2.1. The Spatial Dimension

The spatial dimension is usually considered in terms of distance, direction or geographic location (Gould and Prothero, 1975: 39, Goldscheider, 1980: 49; Parnwell, 1990: 17). According to some researchers, the concept of distance consists of three dimensions: geographic, economic and social (Goldscheider, 1980: 49; Standing, 1984: 32; Parnwell, 1990: 16). Geographic distance is considered to be a crucial factor (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 1) and according to the geographic distance, migration involves crossing an administrative boundary and can only be recognised if the boundary is crossed by a mover (Skeldon, 1990: 13; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 1). Normally, the administrative boundary is drawn for the political or administrative

purposes of the country. In Indonesia the regional administrative hierarchy divided into 6 different administrative units namely, Province (Propinsi), District (Kabupaten), Sub-District (Kecamatan), Village (Desa/Kelurahan), Village Association (Rukun Kampung), and Neighbourhood Association (Rukun Tetangga). The province is the largest administrative unit, while the neighbourhood association is the smallest one.

Hence migration can occur within or between administrative units such as inter/intra provincial movement, inter/intra district (Kabupaten) movement, inter/intra regional movement. In the Indonesian census, the provincial boundary is the administrative unit to classify a person as a migrant. The intercensal survey besides using the provincial boundary also employed the district (Kabupaten) boundary as an administrative unit to determine migrants. Therefore, the intercensal survey can identify both inter- and intra-provincial movement (Hugo, 1982). The direction of movement can also be distinguished into rural-rural movement, rural-urban movement, urban-urban movement, periphery-core movement or core-periphery movement (Parnwell, 1990: 17). For example, the transmigration program in Indonesia involves mostly movement from rural areas in Java to rural areas outside Java (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 179), while migration to Jakarta reflects movement to urban areas. It could be rural-urban migration or urban-urban migration (see Anaf, 1986; Alatas, 1995: 47).

The concept used will have a great effect on the volume and characteristics of the migrants identified. As stated by Skeldon (1990: 13), migrants tend to move over a short distance and most of them are young adults. So, the number of migrants captured will differ significantly according to whether province or sub-

district is used as the administrative unit. For example, according to the 1985 intercensal survey of Indonesia, the proportion of females in urban areas who moved over a provincial boundary was lower than that of males, 4.28 compared with 4.57 per cent, while the intra-provincial movement showed that in urban areas females outnumbered males, 4.43 per cent compared with 4.37 per cent.

The disadvantage of using the spatial dimension is that in some cases migration is not directly associated with distance moved (Skeldon, 1990: 14). This is due to the different size and characteristics of administrative unit (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 1). Some administrative units are large in terms of population size and area compared with other provinces. So, it often happens that a person who moves over a short distance is classified as a migrant, whereas those who move over long distances constitute non-migrants. There is an enormous range in the size of provinces in Indonesia and they vary in areal extent from 656 to over 400,000 sq km. As a result, a person from a tiny province like Jakarta has to move a much shorter distance on average to be qualified as a migrant, than a person from a large province such as Irian Jaya (Hugo, 1982: 35).

With regard to social distance, sociologists and anthropologists tend to place considerable emphasis on the socio-cultural characteristics of different areas. Social distance, according to them, is a key determinant in classifying a person as a migrant. Migration has been defined as :

....the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one (Einstadt, 1953: 1).

Come in China - discrimination against migrants⁹⁹

People who move to other areas may become 'outsiders' because they are identified as strongly different in religion, ethnicity, colour, and social norms. They may have to change their attitude and behaviour to adapt to their new surroundings. In line with this, some scholars have underlined the importance of socio-cultural factors in influencing the migration decision making process (Hugo, 1981; Skeldon, 1990; Chant, 1992; Guest, 1993; Rodenburg, 1993). Skeldon (1990: 133) said that 'the disadvantage of macro-level structural approach is that the explanations developed tend to be deterministic and do not take into consideration the variety of cultures and forms found in the real world'.

In Indonesia, the application of the social distance concept is significant because of the high level of heterogeneity in the society. Indonesian people are distributed between more than 300 distinct ethnolinguistic groups and have significant representations of most of the world's major religions (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 11; Hugo, 1992: 174). Here, it is generally the case that the longer the distance a person moves from their origin area the greater will be the contrast in social and cultural environments between which he or she moves. However, empirically, it is difficult to identify social distance. Individually, the boundary of the social distance becomes a blur when a person is very mobile or far away from his/her origin area for long time.

Economists are more likely to emphasise economic characteristics differentials between areas. According to some scholars, migration has been defined as movements between sectors, from traditional agriculture to modern industry (Lewis, 1954; Fei and Ranis, 1961; Todaro, 1976) and from the informal to the formal sector (Hart, 1973; Todaro, 1976). In this context, urban areas as

destination areas are not only assumed to give better employment wages but also are expected to be a source of modern employment opportunities compared with rural areas (Todaro, 1969, 1976).

In Indonesia, the latter reason is assumed in most migration studies to be a major determinant of people migrating to urban areas (Anaf, 1986; Hugo *et al.*, 1987, Hetler, 1986, Singarimbun and Sairin (eds), 1995). This is due to limited job opportunities in rural areas as a result of urban bias in investment (Hugo, 1985) and the adoption of capitalistic modes of production in the agricultural sector (Manning, 1988; Naylor, 1992). In addition, the expansion of off-shore industry in Indonesia has attracted women from the agricultural sector in rural areas and informal sector in urban areas (Mather, 1983; Wolf, 1990; Grijns and van Velzen, 1993). The movement between sectors and labour markets is also accelerated by the improvement of transportation and greater access to information about a wider range of job opportunities in urban areas through mass media and social networks (friends, families, and return migrants) (Saefullah, 1997: 14).

4.2.2. The Temporal Dimension

Like the spatial dimension, the temporal dimension is a crucial factor in defining migration and understanding the different forms of migration (Skeldon, 1990; Parnwell, 1983; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993). It determines how long must a person be away from her place of origin before she is counted as a migrant. In fact, the application of the temporal dimension varies considerably according to the purpose of the study and indeed it has led to a significant difference in terms of volume and type of migration. Most population

censuses in LDCs impose three or six months criteria to identify the migrant population. Consequently, people who move over a short term period (less than 3 or 6 months) will be treated as non-migrants (Skeldon, 1985: 18-19).

The Indonesian census used six months as a temporal criterion and a person is classified as a migrant if she is absent from their home base for more than six months or less than six months but intended to stay permanently (Hugo, 1982: 35; Skeldon, 1990: 18). The application of six months criterion for the Indonesia census has produced some criticism. The Indonesian census only captured permanent migrants and systematically omitted short-term migrants such as circular and temporary (moving less than six months) migration as non-migrants (Hugo, 1982). However, there is growing evidence from empirical surveys that the number of short-term migrations has become very significant with the improvement of transportation and rapid economic change over the last two decades (see Suharso *et al.*, 1976; Hugo, 1981; Lerman, 1983; Hetler, 1986).

Micro studies use a different time interval in classifying the individual movement of migrants because of the research objectives of each study (Skeldon, 1990: 24). Mangalam (1968) defines a migrant as someone who changes his residence over the pre defined boundaries of an area for a period of one or more years. In similar vein, in the migration history study designed by ESCAP, people will be recorded as migrants if they change their residence for more than one year or live less than one year for reasons of work, seeking for job, or to study in order to avoid short social or recreational visits. Clearly, much movement is not covered by this definition but the purpose of the study is to formulate relevant government planning and policy for those migrants (United Nations, 1980: 4). Chapman (1975)

studied population mobility in the Solomon Islands and adopted an overnight stay away as the lower limit or a period of over ten months to define migrants.

With regard to the time interval, Hugo *et al.* (1987: 169) reviewed short-term mobility in Indonesia and identified two types of migration, namely commuting and circular migration. According to him, commuting is defined as regular travel outside the village for between six to twenty four hours, while circular migration is defined as a continuous movement but temporary absence for more than one day. Moreover, in more detailed concepts of types of mobility, Mantra (1981: 166) attempted to use the Javanese indigenous concepts of mobility regarding the time criteria and explained:

....*nglaju* is used for those who travel to a place but return back to their home within the same day, *nginep* for people who stay in another place for several days before returning and *mondok* for those who lodge in a destination for several months a year.

Clearly, the temporal dimension is very important in defining migrants and the duration of stay beyond which an individual is classified as a migrant is associated with the research objectives of the study. One important thing which should be borne in mind is that such temporal limits may exclude various types of mobility that have important social and economic implications (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 1).

4.3. Types of Population Mobility in Indonesia

In the absence of comprehensive data regarding population mobility, the concept of a typology of population mobility is very important. As has been discussed previously, the Indonesian population census only captured inter

provincial permanent migration and systematically excluded both intra provincial movement and short-term migration. A typology of population mobility is useful in detecting the range of mobility strategies adopted by a significant proportion of the population and assists in indicating which subset of total mobility is actually represented in the available data (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 169).

Hugo *et al.* (1987: 170) has developed the spatial and temporal dimension to identify the great variety of movements which have to be considered in examining mobility in Indonesia (see Table 4.1). The left-hand side of the table differentiates mobility largely according to the distance and direction which

Table 4.1: A Simple Typology of Indonesian Population Mobility

Spatial dimension		Temporal dimension		
Distance	Direction	<i>Commuting</i>	<i>Circular Migration</i>	<i>Migration</i>
1. Movements within local community				
2. Movements outside the community but within the province	Rural - Rural Rural - Urban			
3. Inter-provincial moves within an island	Urban - Rural Urban - Urban			*
4. Inter-island moves				*
5. International moves				

Note: * Moves detected by census

Source: Hugo *et al.* 1987: 170.

movers travel beyond what is familiar to them. The right-hand side of the table identifies the variety of forms of movement according to the temporal dimension.

'Commuting' is defined as regular moves outside the village (usually for work or education) for between 6 to 24 hours (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 169). There is evidence from some micro empirical studies that people commute both intra- and inter-provincially in Indonesia. Mantra (1981) studied population movement in two villages (Piring and Kadirojo village) located in one of the districts in Yogyakarta and found that migrants from these villages also commute to the capital city of Yogyakarta for working and studying. The surveyor's personal experience while studying at Gadjah Mada University (1979-1983) was that friends would commute (nglaju) from their origin areas (Kabupaten Bantul, Sleman, and Kulon Progo) to the capital city of Yogyakarta for study. Some of them even came from sub-districts outside Yogyakarta province such as Muntilan, Prambanan and Kalasan in Central Java province because it was not too far from the city of Yogyakarta (30 minutes by bus). Moreover, it is also evident that people from Botabek areas commute to the city of Jakarta. It is estimated that at the moment around 350,000 people commute between the city of Jakarta and the districts of Tangerang, Bogor, Bekasi, Karawang and Serang (Firman, 1996).

'Circular migration' is defined as movement to other places in which the mover needs to stay at the destination for continuous periods of up to six months (Hugo, 1980: 76). Circular migration has long been recognised since the colonial era and the 1930 census of Indonesia also gave much attention to the importance of temporary forms of mobility in Java (Hugo, 1980: 73; 1982:28). The absence of statistics on this type of mobility from post-independence censuses has resulted in a limited discussion of this type of mobility in the literature in Indonesia (see Hugo, 1978; Mantra, 1981; Lerman, 1983; Hetler, 1986).

Table 4.2: Typology of Population Mobility

Type of mover	Characteristics of move	Commitment to city	Commitment to village
Spontaneous migrants 1. Short term visitor	Adventitious shoppers, tourists, visitors, etc.	None	Total
2. Seasonal or shuttle migrants	Search for work to augment meagre agricultural incomes	Very little financial or social investment in city. Sleep in open, group-rented room or employer provided barracks. Social interaction almost entirely with other migrants from village. Employment in traditional or day-labouring sectors.	Family or procreation remains in the village. Retain all political and social roles in village. Remit bulk of income (after living expenses) to village. Retain village citizenship. Almost total orientation to village.
3. Target migrants	Come to city for limited period (though longer than a season) to accomplish a specific purpose (e.g. reach a particular educational level).	Moderate. May bring family or procreation. Seek more permanent accommodation, e.g. individually rented room. Have more interaction with settled urban population but retain close contact with fellow villagers in city. Usually employed in traditional sector	Strong link maintained with family in village through visits and letters, although some roles may be temporarily given up. Remittances remain regular and high. Usually retain village citizenship.
4. Life cycle stage migrants	Migrants who move to the city at one or more specific stages of their life cycle.		
5. Working life migrants	Migrants who spend their entire working lives in the city but intend, and eventually do, retire to their home village.	High. Family or procreation always accompanies. Purchase or builds individual housing, occupies employer (e.g. government) supplies housing or rent housing a long term basis. Often in formal sector occupation. High level of interaction with settled urban population but retain contact with fellow migrants through associations etc. Always transfer citizenship to the city. Assist new arrivals to city from home village.	Sufficient links maintained with village to ensure acceptance eventual return. Investment in housing and land although unable to maintain most social and political roles. Periodic remittances to family. Return visits made at end or fasting month and for important life cycle ceremonies.
6. Permanent migrants	Migrants committed totally to exchanging a rural for an urban way of life.	Total	None
7. Undecided migrants	Migrants who have no clear intentions to either stay in the city or return to the village	Unknown	Unknown

Source: Hugo (1980: 88)

By developing a concept of the mover's degree of commitment to home places, Hugo (1980), based on his migration study in West Java, has expanded the typology of population mobility in Table 4.1 to be comprehensive of types of population mobility in Indonesia. This is presented in Table 4.2.

Basically, this concept is adopted to distinguish between permanency and non-permanency of population mobility in Indonesia. The complexity relates to the overlapping between the space and time characteristics of movement which are commonly used in the indigenous concepts of mobility: pindah (permanent) and merantau (temporary) out-migration from the village (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 169). Based on his study on population movement in West Java, Hugo (1980: 88) proposes at least six different types of population mobility that commonly occur in Indonesia (see Table 4.2).

Hugo's typology of population movement will be applied as a basis to identify migrants in the present study. It is clear that this typology has the capacity to detect different forms of population mobility that commonly occur in Indonesia. However, this model still needs modification to become useful for sample selection and to meet the research goals and objectives of the present study.

4.4. Defining and Measuring Migration

From this review of population mobility, it is apparent that population movement is a multifarious phenomenon in which the distance of movement varies from a few yards to many miles or kilometres, and which the time interval at the destination varies from one day to many years. With respect to the objectives and goals of the present study, this study will use Hugo's model as the basis for

defining a surveyed migrant and attempts to make modifications to his formulation. Without modification, it seems that this model is not useful for sample identification at destination areas. For example in the present study it can be assumed that a migrant may or may not transfer her citizenship (identification card or Kartu Penduduk) from the origin area to destination area. According to local regulations, it is compulsory for the migrants to change their identification cards, if they stay one month continuously, even though they do not intend to live permanently. The problem is that it is expensive for many migrants to get a Kartu Penduduk in Bekasi. To do so, they must spend between 10 000 and 50 000 rupiah at the time. To solve this problem, the policy of the village is to give migrants an approval letter to stay (izin tinggal). As a consequence, they do not have the right to participate in public elections to chose village leaders. Hence considering Kartu Penduduk to identify the type of mover (permanent or non-permanent migrants) as has been argued by Hugo (see Table 4.2) can lead to misunderstandings, if the personal intension is not grasped.

In addition, modification to the model is needed with regard to the spatial dimension and the current phenomenon of female migration in Indonesia. As has been discussed, Hugo's typology is based on West Java in which the derivation of his model could not be separated from the migration phenomena at that time when female migration tended to be neglected. However, rapid social and economic change in the last two decades has had a significant impact in female migration (Hugo, 1992). There are indications that the number of female migrants has increased significantly in Indonesia, particularly those who moved over short-distances within provinces (see Chapter Two). They tend to be young, unmarried,

independent (autonomous migrants) and responsive to labour market. Spatial distance is considered to be a 'crucial factor' in identifying migrants in this study whether they move between or within province, district (Kabupaten), sub-district (Kecamatan) as well as the direction rural to urban, urban to urban, urban to rural or rural to rural. Therefore it is important to use the distance concept in Hugo's model.

Like the spatial dimension, the temporal dimension is also a 'crucial factor' in identifying different forms of movement as has been discussed earlier. Among contract workers in factories in general, the actual duration of their movements is influenced significantly by the duration time of the contract. This varies among factories and a contract can be renewed when it expires if the factory still needs the employee. For example, there were migrants who had already worked for more than two years but their status was still as contract labourers. Therefore, it is important to take into account the intentions of the migrants in this study. Moreover, the present research is concerned with the dimension of female labour migrants in factories and does not make comprehensive comparisons between different types of migration.

From the sampling frame, it is possible to capture all typologies of migration as suggested by Hugo and fulfil all the indices of commitment. However, to meet the objectives and goals of the present study, it is crucial not only to select some of the variables from these indices but also consider the recent phenomena of female migration to set up the sample selection. In line with such considerations, in this study, a migrant is defined as:

A female who is either married or unmarried and moves inter-Kabupaten. She comes to destination the area for the specific purpose of work and generally seeks more permanent accommodation. She may remit a fairly substantial proportion of her income and maintain strong links with the area of origin.

Each of the variables in this definition will be measured to validate the adequacy of the migrants in order to meet the objectives of the study. Inter Kabupaten movement is indicated by the administrative unit of Kabupaten (District) and regardless of whether a migrant has an identification card of Bekasi (Kartu Penduduk) or not and she may come from rural or urban areas outside Kabupaten Bekasi. As has been discussed previously, this type of migration is not detected in the census population. In fact, females tend to have a high propensity to move over short-distances (intra-provincial mobility) (Hugo, 1994: 51). The present study found that the surveyed migrants came from 107 districts of 269 districts in Indonesia as a whole and represented 18 provinces of 27 provinces in Indonesia as a whole (see Table 6.2). This indicates that the migrants came from various different distances in Indonesia. In addition, most of the migrants came from Sumatra and Java which are close regions to Bekasi, 26.7 per cent and 71.8 per cent respectively.

A specific purpose of migration that is the characteristic of target migrants as suggested by Hugo (1980: 88) is indicated by the involvement of migrants in labour market. In this study only female migrants who are working in factories in Bekasi are selected as the sample selection. The commitment to the destination area is indicated by the accommodation facilities of the migrant. The migrant usually stays in more permanent accommodation by sharing a rental house

Table 4.3: Detailed Indicators of Migrants and Their Commitment to Their Place of Origin and Present Place of Residence.

Indicators	Number
Space dimension:	
Origin areas (number)	107 of 269 districts in Indonesia
District (Kabupaten)	18 of 27 provinces in Indonesia
Province	
Purpose:	
Working at factory	all migrants (608)
Commitment to destination area:	Percentage
1. <i>Duration time</i>	
0 - 1 year	57
2 - 3 years	33.5
> 3 years	8.9
Total	100
N	608
2. <i>Ownership status of the present residence</i>	
Rented house	91.9
Factory house	2.3
Family house	5.8
Total	100
N	608
Commitment to origin area:	Percentage
1. <i>Sending remittances (percentage)</i>	
Yes	54.4
No	45.4
Total	100
N	608
2. <i>Relation with family</i>	
Letter	93.1
Phone	2.8
Family visiting at destination area	13.2
Visiting at origin areas	all migrants
3. <i>Future intension of residence</i>	
Return back to origin area	79.6
Looking new areas	14.3
Others	6.1
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

or unit with friends or family for a certain time or sharing a house provided by the employer (factory). The study found that 91.9 per cent of the survey migrants lived

in a contract house/unit (see Table 4.3) and only 2.3 per cent of them stayed in houses provided by the factory. In addition, 43 per cent of them had stayed more than a year in Bekasi. Although, 57 per cent of the migrants were categorised as new migrants, they showed their commitment to stay in Bekasi by renting permanent units.

The commitment to origin areas is identified by the social relationship with their family in the origin through visiting their origin areas, sending letters and remittances to their families in origin areas. The study found that for remittances, 54.4 per cent of the surveyed migrants had ever sent remittances to their parents in origin areas. This excludes goods and money that they gave to their families when they visited them, especially on Lebaran⁶ day (see Table 4.3). Moreover, most of them had a high tendency to return back to their origin areas (79.6 per cent).

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed important dimensions regarding the concept of migration used in migration studies in Indonesia. From the discussion, it is clear that the spatial and temporal dimension and intensions are important factors in better understanding different forms of population mobility. Like in many LDCs, in Indonesia the application of those dimensions is significant in migration studies in both macro and micro contexts. However, because of their complexity, the application of those concepts varies among countries and studies with regard to the research objective of the studies.

⁶ Moslem celebration day after finishing fasting called *puasa Romadlon*. Traditionally, migrants return back to origin areas (*pulang kampung*) to celebrate the Lebaran day (*Idul Fitri*) with their families, friends and communities. This occurs once a year.

With respect to the complexity, Hugo (1980, 1987) reviewed population mobility in Indonesia and proposed the concept of a typology of migration based on the commitment of migrants. This typology is important and reliable in understanding the different types of population mobility in Indonesia and considered to be the basis in defining and measuring the surveyed migrants in the present study with regard to the recent phenomenon of female migration.

The commitment of migrants in the survey is indicated by their commitment toward the destination and origin area. Factors such as duration of stay and place of residence are indicators which identify the commitment of migrants to destination areas, while social contact with their families, remittances and their future intentions are factors which identify the commitment of migrants to their origin areas. These factors are considered to be important determinants in assessing the commitment of migrants (Nelson, 1976: 7; Hugo, 1980: 87).

Chapter Five

The Context of Migration to Bekasi

5.1. Introduction

Migration starts with an idea of moving. It takes place whenever an individual or family is challenged by a problem or feels unsatisfied with the present situation in terms of their economic, social, physical, and cultural environment (Wolpert, 1965; Janis and Mann 1977; Haberkorn, 1981; Hugo, 1981). Thus migrations generally occur in response to the circumstances with which potential migrants are faced both in their home communities and in areas of destination. In other words, to understand why people are more likely to move but others stay, it is important to analyse the context in which this is taking place (Forbes, 1981; Mitchell, 1985). Following Mitchell (1985: 35), the context is more likely to refer to a social setting within which the movement of an individual takes place. The social setting is represented by the economic, political and administrative structure of the region.

The increasing stream of female migration in Indonesia has occurred in a particular type of social setting in the last two decades which has been marked by the expansion of export-oriented industry, the increasing commercialisation of agricultural production and processing and the improvement of female educational attainment (Hugo, 1992: 186-87). The interrelationship of these factors is believed to be important in stimulating females to migrate to Botabek areas (Hugo, 1994; Jones and Mamas, 1996). Thus an understanding of the social setting is very important, particularly in relation to the migration decision-making process. This

not only gives insight into a great variety of factors which underpin the motivation of movements but also indicates the nature of such movement (Parnwell, 1993: 72).

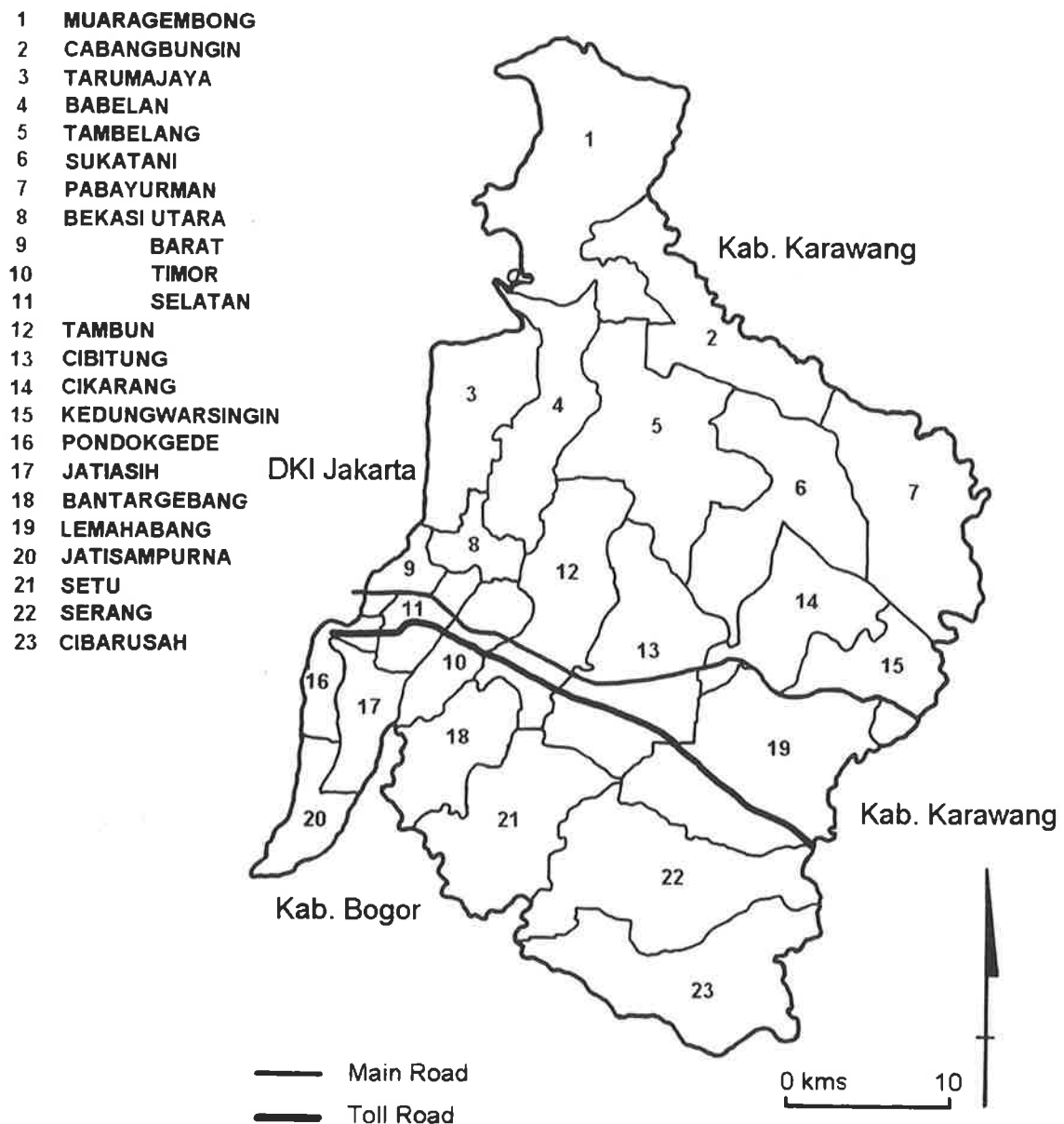
This present chapter attempts to establish the context in which the female migration streams to Bekasi occur. It reviews the change in economic, social and administrative structure in this region that has led Bekasi to become an important area in contemporary Indonesia. In addition, this chapter attempts to assess briefly the community setting where the present study was mainly conducted.

5.2. Location of Bekasi

The location of *Kabupaten* Bekasi is more advantageous for industrial development compared with many other districts within West Java province. Bekasi is situated in the northern part of West Java province and adjoins Jakarta capital city (see Figure 5.1). This area is also passed through by two important roads connecting Jakarta with other cities in Java. Bekasi occupies low ground and is crossed by six important rivers namely the Cipamingkis, the Bekasi, the Cikarang, the Citarum, the Cikeas and the Cibeet. These rivers are the water sources irrigating 68,490 hectares of agricultural land, 69.8 per cent of which uses technical irrigation systems rather than rain flooding. In the context of rice production, Bekasi is one of the rice barns (*lumbung padi*) in West Java and has played a great role in providing rice for the national food stock.

The West side of Bekasi is bordered by the capital city, the special district of Jakarta. With this position, Bekasi has played a significant role as a buffer zone

Figure 5.1: Map of Bekasi



Source: Data Pokok Pembangunan Daerah Bekasi

for migration flows to Jakarta and as a spill over area for industrial and residential development from Jakarta. In doing so, since 1976 the Indonesian government has planned for Bekasi become one of the targeted areas for industry and housing development in Indonesia. This plan was called the Botabek zone development strategy (*Departemen Perindustrian RI, 1991*). Botabek stands for the name of the

three *Kabupaten* adjoining Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi. This has led the area to experience a dramatic change physically and administratively and become a major destination area for many migrants (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995).

Its position on the east side of Jakarta has given Bekasi the role of a main gateway for land transportation streams to enter Jakarta. Like Jakarta, all public land transportation, both trains and buses, travelling to the most important cities in Java pass through Bekasi. Two important main roads leading to Jakarta pass through Bekasi, namely the regular main road and the toll road (Cikampek-Jakarta). Hence it is not surprising that there is a huge flow of transport through Bekasi. During the day, the large commuter traffic from and to Jakarta, accompanied by public transportation between cities and factory buses picking up and dropping workers causes acute traffic jams, particularly in the morning. It seems that the size of road is not sufficient for the number of vehicle. During the night, big trucks (trailers and diesel trucks) also pass through those roads to bring big containers and materials to supply Jakarta or to be exported through Tanjung Priuk port in Jakarta. This high stream of transportation has a significant impact on economic activities, particularly along the roads where many kiosks or food stalls are open 24 hours.

On the North side Bekasi is bordered by the Java sea. This has enabled the development of a sea fishery. In 1960 only a few of people had access to the sea fishery because most of the area was covered by jungle and only a small number of people lived there. Most of the fisherman who operated in this area were from outside Bekasi such as Cilincing, Marunda and Tanjung Priok (all in DKI Jakarta) (*Pemda Bekasi*, 1969: 54). However, nowadays, this sector has developed further.

In 1990, the production of this sector increased to 1,325 tons (*Kantor Statistik Bekasi*, 1991). However, it seem that it did not develop as fast as the land fishery that produced 6,540 tons at the same time. According to the Fisheries Department, the capacity to exploit sea fishery production can be increased to 30,360 tons. If so, the production is far behind the target (only 4.4 per cent of the total potential production) (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1994:26)

The main problem in developing this sector was that the increasing activity of the industry has increased water pollution in this area (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995: 22). Industrial cesspools or waste thrown away into rivers not only has poisoned and destroyed the river environment itself but also to some extent infiltrated and poisoned the wells of the population and finally has polluted the sea⁷. The Bekasi government has paid much attention to how to prevent this pollution in order to increase the contribution of the fishery sector to GDRP. Furthermore, the government is also aware that environmental conservation will be a big challenge for the future of the district with the increase of industrial activities. So far, the capacity of the government to control pollution in Bekasi is very limited (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995: 22).

To the South of Bekasi is *Kabupaten Bogor*. The southern part is low ground and dry compared with the northern and eastern parts. This area was planned as a development zone of horticultural and commercial agricultural enterprise (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1994: 26). It is well known for the production of fruits like rambutan and durian which have a good market share due to a high demand

⁷ In surveying in Cibitung, the researcher found that fifteen people were brought to hospital due to drinking water from poisoned wells and two children died while they were taking a bath in a river although they were accustomed to bathing there. Unfortunately, at the time they were not aware that the river was poisoned by the waste generated by industry.

from Jakarta and other areas within Java. The development of this sector provides better prospects for economic development in the district. In the east the *Kabupaten* is bordered by *Kabupaten* Karawang and in this eastern part most land is used for agriculture.

5.3. History and Administrative Changes

In the colonial era, Bekasi was private land controlled by landlords who bought or rented land from the Dutch colonial government (*Pemda* Bekasi, 1969). The role and status of the landlords seems similar to the role and status of the subdistrict leader in the new order era in which administratively they control *mandors* (kinds of village leader in Indonesian modern government administration who controlled labour on plantations in the area). All of social and economic aspects of life in the private lands was planned and under the control of the landlords. The relationship between the landlords and the Dutch government was limited to an economic one whereby the landlord had to pay a tax regularly to the government (*Pemda* Bekasi, 1969: 13-20). Under Japanese colonialism (1942), the status of Bekasi improved to become *Kawedanan*⁸ that was a part of Jatinegara regency (now a suburb in eastern Jakarta) and controlled some subdistricts.

Recently, Bekasi has changed dramatically administratively, socially and economically especially since this district has been established as an industrial and housing zone in accordance with the development strategy of Botabek areas promulgated in 1976. With regard to the administrative aspect, Bekasi was established as a *Kabupaten* in August 1950 based on government decree No.

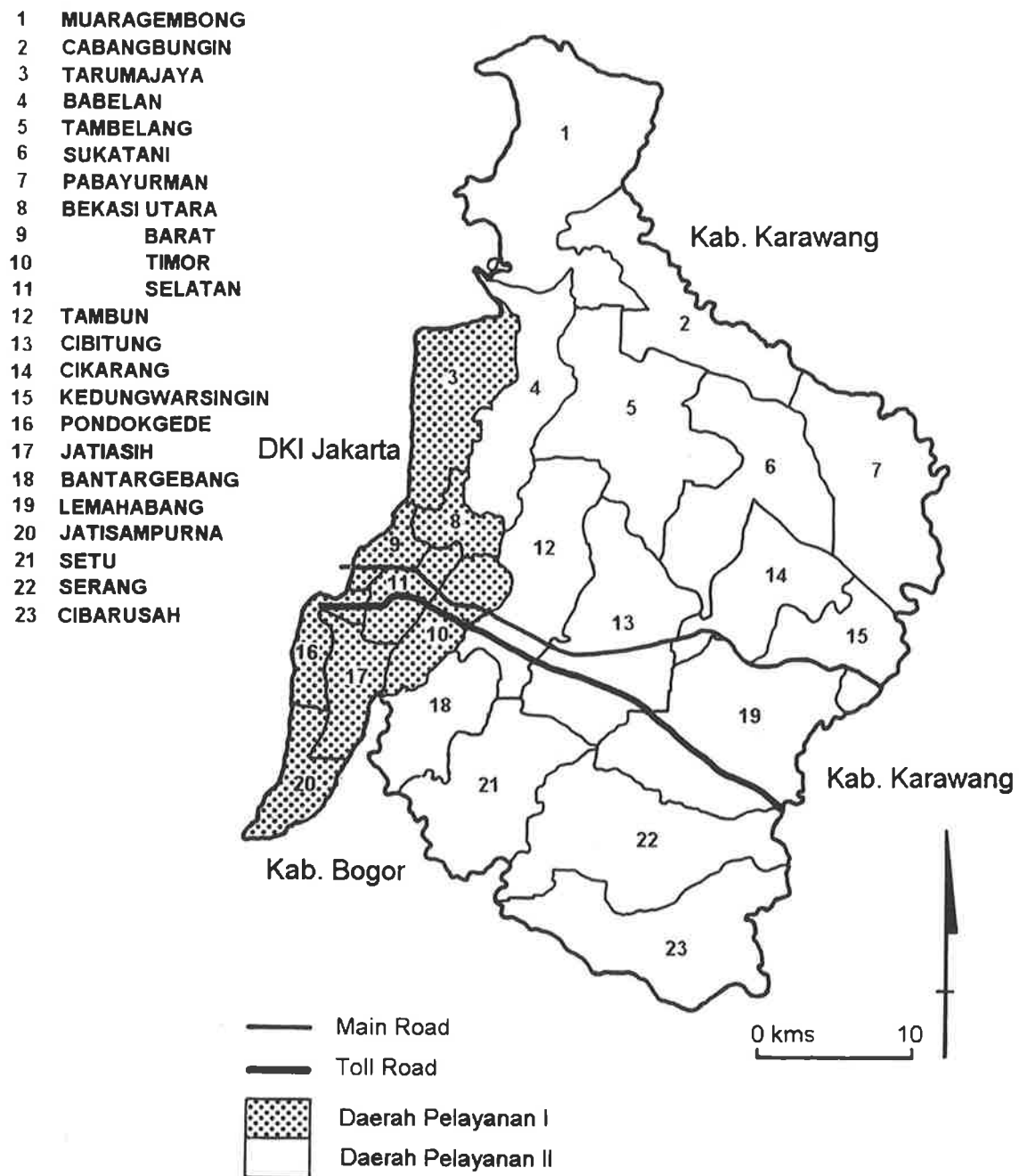
⁸ An area between present day *kabupaten* and *kecamatan* (sub-district) in size

14/1950. At the beginning, Bekasi district was divided into 13 subdistricts and 95 villages where 691,192 people lived (*Pemerintah Daerah Bekasi*, 1969) occupying around 159,996 hectares. Most of the population worked in traditional agriculture as workers and only a few people owned land. This was due to the fact that historically most of land has been occupied by the landlords. Therefore, even though for a long time Bekasi was claimed as the center for rice production in West Java, most of the population lived in poor conditions (*Pemda Bekasi*, 1969) as agricultural workers not owners of land.

The increase of administrative activities as a result of rapid development since the first five year plan (*Repelita I*) has improved the status of *Kabupaten* Bekasi. In 1981 based on government decree No. 48/1981 Bekasi was divided into two parts, namely the district and urban administrative area of Bekasi (*Kota Administratif*). The Bekasi urban administrative area was where the primary growth centre for Bekasi as whole developed. Nowadays, with a population of 2,920,188 (*Kantor Statistik Bekasi*, 1997), Bekasi is divided into one Administrative City, one district, 23 sub-districts, and 237 villages covering 148,437 hectare of land. Between 1970 and 1996 the land size of Bekasi decreased from 159,996 to 148,437 hectares due to the expansion of DKI Jakarta.

The rapid change of Bekasi has been characterised by a high level of migration streams into the area and increasing industrial activities and this has encouraged the government to create a strategic plan of development. Between 1985 and 1993 the economic growth of Bekasi increased from 4.02 to 16.1 per cent per annum (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995a: 44). However, the economic development was

Figure 5.2: Map of Daerah Pelayanan I and II



Source: Data Pokok Pembangunan Daerah Bekasi 1994/95

mostly concentrated in certain areas and so did the migration streams, especially toward the city of Bekasi including Bekasi Timur, Bekasi Selatan, Bekasi Barat and Bekasi Utara sub-district and limited industry areas such as Tambun, Cibitung,

Cikarang, Bantargebang (see Figure 5.1) (*Kantor Statistik Bekasi*, 1993). Consequently, this has resulted in substantial differences between the sub-districts.

The government has proposed a strategic plan dividing Bekasi into two major areas of development (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995: 15-17). The first zone is called *Wilayah Pelayanan I* and is shown in Figure 5.2. This zone covers more developed areas and has a role as a centre for administration, trade, education, health, services and urban settlement with Bekasi urban centre as the centre of growth. Included in this zone are the Bekasi urban administrative area, Pondokgede, Jatiasih, Tarumajaya, Jatisampurna and Babelan subdistrict. All these areas are located on the west side of Bekasi close to Jakarta. Compared with other subdistricts, these areas developed earlier due to the spread of effects from Jakarta.

The other zone is called *Wilayah Pelayanan II* which is made up of newly developing areas. This zone covers the remaining 10 subdistricts namely Cikarang Baru, Tambun, Cibitung, Serang, Setu, Bantargebang, Lemahabang, Cibarusah, Muaragembong and Hegarmanah. The major role of this zone is as a centre for industry and new settlement. In this zone, Cikarang Baru has developed as a center for administration, trade, education and settlement, although, this subdistrict was designated as a centre for industry. Administratively, there is no clear difference in functions between the *Wilayah Pelayanan II* and the *Wilayah Pelayanan I*. The difference concerns the level of development of the areas. The administrative function of the *Wilayah Pelayanan I* is more concentrated on the developed areas where these areas have greater administrative loads as a result of rapid economic and social changes due to the spread of effects from Jakarta. While the *Wilayah Pelayanan II* is more associated with the newly developing areas.

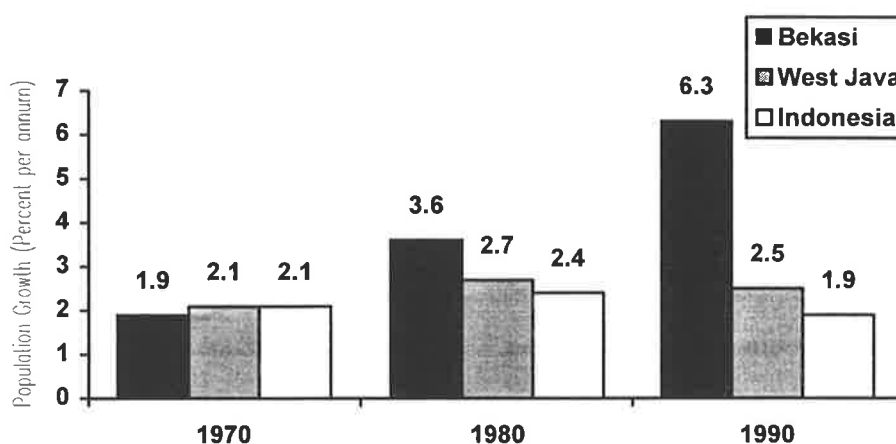
5.4. Demographic Changes

Figure 5.3 shows that Bekasi has experienced extraordinarily rapid population growth. Between 1971-80 and 1980-90 the population growth of Bekasi increased from 1.9 to 6.3 per cent per annum which was much higher than West Java and Indonesia as whole during the same periods. In addition, this population growth rate was also the highest rate among regencies within West Java (Dhanani and Sanito, 1993). This rapid growth was more likely to be associated with the developing role of Bekasi as an industrial center and its function as an overspill area for Jakarta. Some scholars have argued that industrial areas in less developed countries tend to attract more people to come as a consequence of the population explosion and the limits of the agricultural and other sectors to absorb massive growth of the labour force (Lewis, 1954; Fei and Ranis 1961). In addition, the industrial sector also promises better salary and job opportunities compared with the agricultural sector (Todaro, 1969, 76).

With the overall decline of fertility in Indonesia, the high level of population growth in this area is associated with migration flows rather than a high level of natural increase. The results of the 1990 Indonesian census showed that net migration contributed 4.7 per cent per annum growth to Bekasi while natural increase provided only 1.48 per cent per annum growth (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995b: 5). Moreover, Table 5.1 shows five year inter-provincial in-migration data into the Botabek areas from the 1990 census. Between 1980 and 1990, the in-migration streams of five year inter-provincial migrants increased by 445.2 per cent in Bekasi which was the highest increase among regions within the Jabotabek region

(Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi). This suggests that Bekasi has become a more attractive place for migrants than other areas within the Botabek area.

Figure 5.3: Population Growth Rate by Region, 1970-90



Source: Source: Hugo et al. 1987; BPS Bekasi, 1990; BPS Jakarta, 1990

Table 5.1 also shows that Jakarta was still a main destination of five year migrants but it is likely that this role will be gradually replaced by Botabek in the future. During 1980-90, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi showed a rapid increase in the size of migration streams particularly Bekasi and Tangerang, while the size of in-migration streams to the Botabek area as a whole was higher than that to Jakarta, 922,088 compared with 833,000 migrants over the same period. In addition, since 1971 these areas have experienced increasing rates of population growth while Jakarta has experienced the reversal. Between 1961 and 1971 the annual rate of population growth of Jakarta was 4.7 per cent but decreased to 2.4 per cent between 1980 and 1990. Over the same period, the annual rate of population growth of each of the areas within Botabek increased significantly, particularly in

Bekasi and Tangerang (see Table 5.2). Since migration streams were a significant factor affecting the annual population growth of Jakarta, the decrease of the annual growth of Jakarta during 1980-90 reflects the fact that migration streams to Jakarta decreased in significance. This reflects the overspill of Jakarta into adjoining areas in the 1980s.

Table 5.1: Five Year Inter-Provincial Migration Stream to Jakarta and the Botabek Area, 1980-90

Area	1980 Number	1990 Number	Per cent Increase 1980-90
Jakarta	766,400	833,000	8.7
Kab. Bogor	143,007	259,320	81.3
Kab. Tangerang	99,408	339,225	241.2
Kab. Bekasi	56,505	308,039	445.2
Kodya Bogor	13,741	15,504	12.8
Total Botabek	312,661	922,088	194.9

Source: Suharno, 1996: 49 and 52.

The rapid growth of population has made a significant contribution to rapid urbanisation and increased population density in Bekasi and the other two *kabupaten*. Between 1980 and 1990 the annual growth rate of Bekasi's urban population was 19.8 per cent which was more than six times of the growth rate of DKI Jakarta and was the highest growth rate among urban areas in Indonesia after Tangerang (Table 5.2). Over the same period, the annual rate of population growth in rural areas in Bekasi was minus 0.03 per cent which also occurred in the other Botabek areas (Suharno, 1996: 17). Part of this was due to the reclassification of formerly rural areas as urban at the 1990 census (Gardiner and Oey Gardiner, 1991). However, there is a tendency that migrants as well as the rural people of

Bekasi have tended to move to the urban areas of Bekasi so that the population density increased to 3,678 persons per sq. km. The spatial development plan (*Rencana Tata Ruang*) which divided Bekasi into two development zones (*Daerah Pelayanan*) reflects this tendency (*Bappeda Bekasi, 1995: 35*). It is intended that new development will be located at the eastern part of Bekasi to reduce the concentration of population in the already crowded western zone.

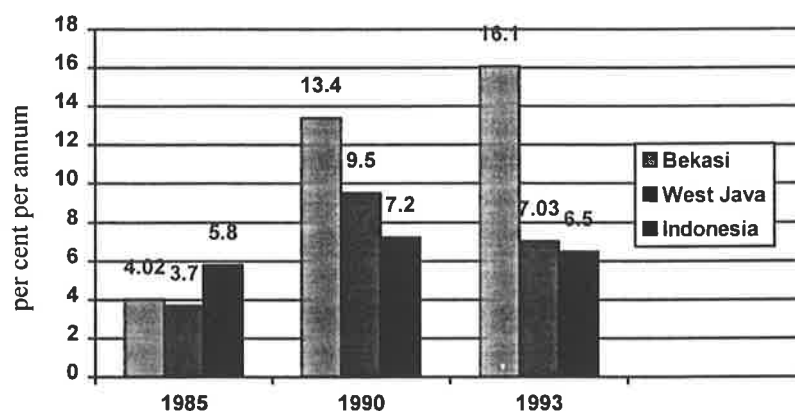
Table 5.2: Jakarta and Botabek Areas: Population and Urban Growth, 1971-90

Region	Annual Growth Rate (per cent)			Urban Growth Rate (per cent)		
	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990
Jakarta	4.7	3.9	2.4	4.6	4.5	3.1
Bogor	2.5	4.6	4.1	2.4	9.5	9.5
Tangerang	2.3	4.1	6.1			20.63
Bekasi	1.9	3.2	6.3	6.5	11.9	19.8

Sources: BPS, *Sensus Penduduk Jawa Barat, 1971, 80, 90*; Hugo, 1994: 38

5.5. Economic and Employment Change

Economically, as with population growth, Bekasi grew tremendously after 1980. Despite its location close to Jakarta, Bekasi like many districts in Indonesia did not develop significantly economically until after 1980. In the late 80s and particularly since 1990 there was massive change in the economic structure of the district in which the domination of the agricultural sector was replaced by the industrial sector with a great impact on economic growth and employment creation.

Figure 5.4: Economic Growth by Region, 1985-93

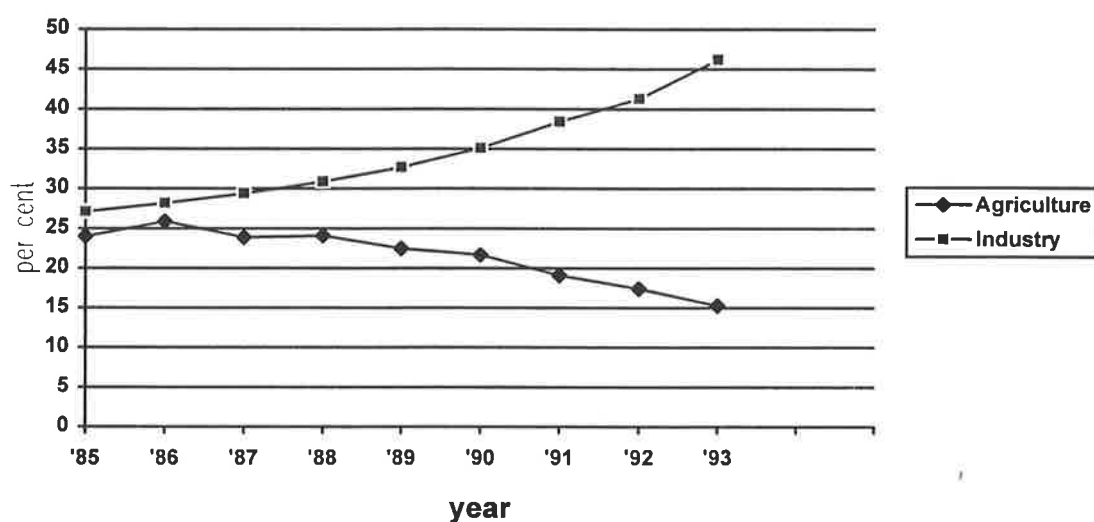
Source: *Bappeda Bekasi, 1995a: 44; BPS, Jakarta, 1997*

Since 1985 Bekasi has experienced rapid economic growth as a result of the expansion of export oriented industry. In 1969 the main industrial activities were milling and hulling rice. At that time, there were only 5 hulling companies in partnership with government co-operative enterprises (*Koperasi*) located in *Kecamatan* Pembayuran, Cikarang, Cibarusah, Tambun, Cibitung and Bekasi and only one yarn spinning industry located in *Kecamatan* Bekasi (now the city of Bekasi) (*Pemda* Bekasi, 1969: 61-62). However, two decades later a number of large scale industries have been established in this area and fostered rapid economic growth. Between 1985 and 1993 the annual rate of economic growth of Bekasi increased tremendously from 4.02 to 16.1 per cent which was much higher than that of West Java and Indonesia as whole (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.5 shows the contribution of the industrial and agricultural sectors toward Bekasi's GDRP (Gross Domestic Regional Product). It is clear that the industrial sector has developed quite rapidly in this area since 1985. In 1990 the industrial sector contributed more than one-third of the GDRP of Bekasi but only three years later (1993) the contribution of this sector increased to almost half (46.2

per cent). On the other hand, the agricultural sector showed the reverse trend, from 23.9 to 14.7 per cent between 1985 and 1993. This suggests that Bekasi has experienced rapid urbanisation.

Figure 5.5: Bekasi : The Contribution of the Agricultural and Industrial Sectors toward Gross Domestic Regional Product (GDRP), 1985-93



Source: Kantor Statistik Bekasi, 1991, 93 and Bappeda Bekasi, 1995a

The industrialisation of Bekasi has been characterised by the rapid growth of large scale, modern sector capital intensive industry. In 1994, around US\$5091 million had been invested in this district for 572 middle sized and big industries with 54.1 per cent based on foreign capital and 45.9 per cent on domestic investment. Between 1987 and 1994 the number of industrial establishments has increased from 226 to 572 (Table 5.3). This figure does not include small industries⁹. All of these companies are export-oriented.

The changing economic structure also has had a significant impact upon

⁹ Factories or companies with less than 100 workers (*Kantor Statistik Bekasi, 1994*)

employment structure and creation. Between 1970 and 1990 the proportion of the population who participated in the industrial sector increased rapidly from 5.3 per cent to 21.2 per cent. On the other hand, the proportion of workers in the agricultural sector

Table 5.3: Bekasi : Type of Investment in Industry in 1987 and 1994

Kind of Investment	Number of Companies	
	1987	1994
Foreign	24	158
Domestic	202	444
Total	226	572

Source: Bappeda Bekasi, 1995a

Table 5.4: Bekasi Employment by Sector, 1971, 90, 95 (Per cent)

Sector	1971	1990	1995
Agriculture	77.5	15.1	14.4
Manufacture/Industry	5.3	21.2	22.9
Construction	1.4	4.7	3.9
Trade, Restaurant, Hotel	7.3	24.2	25.8
Transportation and Com	1.2	8.5	8.9
Finance, Insurance, Business Service	2.9	0.02	1.8
Services	7.2	21.8	19.9
Mining and Quarrying	0	1.2	0.8
Electricity, Gas, Water	0	0.38	1.3

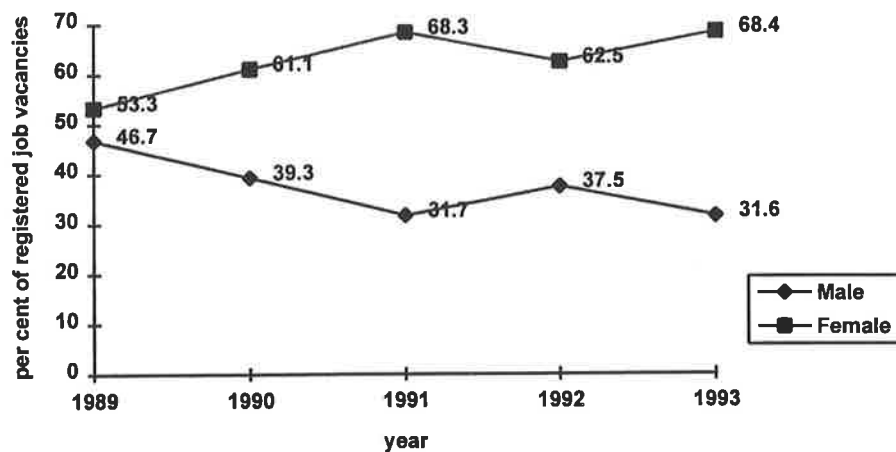
Source: Kantor Statistik Bekasi, Census 1971, 90 and Supas 1995

decreased substantially from 77.5 per cent to 15.1 per cent in the same period (see Table 5.4). Table 5.4 also shows that the sharp decrease in the agricultural sector was due not only to the rapid increase of job opportunities in the industrial sector but also the fast growth of other sectors particularly the trade, restaurant and hotel

sector, transport and communication, and services. Over the two decades the proportion of workers who worked in the trade, restaurant and hotel sector increased more than three times to 24.2 per cent and by 25.6 between 1990 and 1995, while in the service and transportation and communication sectors, the proportion of workers had increased from 7.2 to 21.8 per cent and 1.2 to 8.5 per cent respectively between 1971 and 1990. However, between 1990 and 1995, the proportion of workers in the service sector slightly decreased from 21.8 to 19.9 per cent while the communication and transportation sector slightly increased from 8.5 to 8.9 per cent (Table 5.4). In addition, the decline of the agricultural sector was partly due to the decrease in the area of agricultural land as a result of increasing industrial and housing uses. In 1971, 77.5 per cent of the population of Bekasi worked in the traditional agricultural sector. Although Bekasi was the eastern gate for entering Jakarta at that time the spread effect of Jakarta had not yet been significant. According to the government of Bekasi, in 1970 Bekasi was a poor area with around 80 per cent of the population living in poor conditions (*Pemerintah Daerah Bekasi*, 1969: 46). Between 1980 and 1990 the growth of industry in Bekasi tended to provide more job opportunities to females rather than males. The 1990 census showed that 27 per cent of female workers were in the industry sector, substantially higher than the 18.91 of male workers (Dhanani and Sanito, 1993: 51-53). The role of foreign and domestic capital in recent industrial development in Bekasi was very important in influencing job opportunities for women, especially in larger scale companies. In 1994 there were 572 large companies in Bekasi with more than 100 workers (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995a) and which were export oriented industries. Those factories relied primarily on women

as workers for production (United Nations, 1993, 94). The reason were that women worked with a relatively high degree of efficiency, were paid lower wages, were less demanding and more controllable (Lim, 1993). The present study also found that female workers were more dominant than male workers in those factories. At factories such as toys, electronics, textile, garments and food processing around 90 per cent of their workers were female.

Figure 5.6: Bekasi: Registered Employment Opportunity by Gender, 1989-93



Source: *Bappeda Bekasi 1995a: 69*

Figure 5.6 shows the registered employment opportunities by gender in Bekasi and indicates that females had greater opportunities to find jobs than men. The number of registered job vacancies for females was almost twice those for males over 1989-93. The figures show that the proportion of job opportunities for women increased while for males decreased. Between 1989 and 1993, the proportion of job opportunities for female increased from 53.3 to 68.4 per cent, while those for males decreased from 46.7 to 31.6 per cent. These data were

limited to the job vacancies that were reported to the Manpower Office of Bekasi. Indeed, there are many job vacancies that are not reported to this office because of the recruitment system of workers commonly applied by the companies. The present study found that when recruiting workers, the companies usually informed internal persons (*orang dalam*) such as supervisors or company security staff (*Satpam*) about job vacancies or sought workers through an announcement board (*papan pengumuman*) within the factory. The companies inform the Manpower office about only a small number of vacancies. Some 87 per cent of the survey respondents got information about their present job from their social networks and only 6.1 per cent got it from the Manpower office.

5.6. Land and Housing Issues

Like the industrial sector, the housing sector also has grown rapidly in Bekasi since 1980 (Firman, 1996). Again, this is related to the Botabek development strategy which recognises the changing function of DKI Jakarta, from being a center of manufacturing activity to becoming a center for finance and services. So, the Botabek areas on the fringe of DKI Jakarta have replaced the function of Jakarta as the largest industrial focus in Indonesia (Firman, 1996: 8). Since that time, like Tangerang and Bogor, Bekasi has experienced rapid physical as well as social-economical change.

Physically, the restructuring process is characterised by the massive conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural land uses, especially for industry estate and large scale housing development including the mushrooming development of new towns like Kota Legenda (Legend City), Kota Cikarang

(Cikarang City) and Lippo City. According to Firman (1996: 7), there were 26 new towns and prospective new towns in the Botabek area with a land area of over 500 hectares. The thriving development of housing complexes in Bekasi was significant due to the high demand of immigrants particularly from Jakarta. The 1990 population census data suggest that Jakarta now has a net migration loss of 160,348 partly due to a reversal of movement of permanent migrants from Jakarta city to the Botabek area (Dharmapatni, 1991: 7). In Bekasi, this was reflected by the fact that about 400,000 people lived in Bekasi but still hold a residency card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk*) of Jakarta and many of them were people with middle and higher level incomes (Firman, 1996: 8).

With respect to housing development, up to 1994 there were 469 housing developers operating in 435 locations for housing over 22,450 hectares of land in Bekasi (*Bappeda* Bekasi, 1995a: 88). It seems that the demand for housing in this district will increase since the migration streams to this area still continue. The utilisation of land for housing and industry needs a better and strict policy due to the rapid loss of arable land in this district. Statistics shows that the land available for harvesting decreased from 120.058 hectares to 106.423 hectares between 1989 and 1994 (*Bappeda* Bekasi, 1995a:50). It argued that the loss of agricultural land is due to the expansion of housing and industrial estates (Firman, 1996: 7). During 1994-95, the government gave approval for housing development at 111 locations covering approximately 3000 hectares of arable agricultural land (*Post Kota*, 19 Oct. 1995: 1).

The present study found another problem regarding this phenomenon. Land has become a potential commodity for business and communities have been

encouraged to sell their land so that land speculation has become rife and land has been taken prematurely and unnecessarily out of production. This needs more attention from the local government otherwise Bekasi's role as a centre for rice production (*lumbung padi*) will be destroyed. Even though land prices in Bekasi are lower than Jakarta, they are much more expensive than in many other districts in Indonesia. In 1995, the price was between 50 and 400 thousand Rupiah per square meter. Different prices refer to different locations. The problem was that the high land price had encouraged land owners, particularly farmers to sell their land to developers. Then, they bought cheaper land in another district such as Cikampek in Karawang. Economically, it is advantageous to the farmers because by doing this they not only owned more land for production but also could afford to buy other things such as housing, private transportation and so forth.

In addition, a number of the farmers sold their land to increase their social status by buying a private car or going for *hajji* (pilgrimage to Mecca). If this phenomenon continues, Bekasi will not be a major rice producing area and this will have a detrimental impact on rice production in West Java. Furthermore, there were cases in the field where some farmers selling their land had later experienced economic difficulties or become poor after selling their land and wasting the proceeds on buying a private car or going on the *hajji*.

Land use policy is a big challenge for the future of Bekasi. The thriving development of housing complexes in Bekasi is a consequence of the urbanisation process and urban development of this area which has seen it become one of the largest industrial centers in Indonesia and integrated spatially and functionally into the economy of Metropolitan Jakarta (Firman and Dharmapatni, 1995; Firman,

1996). Bekasi has become an important destination area for migrants from Jakarta, West Java and other areas in Indonesia. This means that housing demand will continue but the development needs to take place carefully so that agricultural land in Bekasi can be retained and protected.

5.7. The Community Setting in Bekasi

Tambun and Cibitung subdistrict are located in the middle part of Bekasi around 10 Km from the city of Bekasi in a low lying area (see Figure 5.1). The subdistricts are neighbouring and have been in existence since Bekasi was formally proclaimed as a *Kabupaten* in 1950. The location of Tambun and Cibitung is more advantageous than some other sub-districts because they are located along the two roads namely the regular main road and the toll road connecting Bekasi city and Jakarta. In addition, the main train railway connecting Bekasi to other major cities within Java passes through them. These transportation facilities have played a substantial role in the development of these sub-districts as industrial areas.

When the Botabek development plan was designed, Cibitung and Tambun were recommended as areas of development for industry and housing (*Departemen Perindustrian*, 1991). Unfortunately, because of poor data collection and recording, it is difficult to collect comprehensive data concerning social-economic changes during the 1970s from these two sub-districts. So, the following discussion tends to focus on the changes in the 1980s and 1990s when these two sub-districts experienced rapid change.

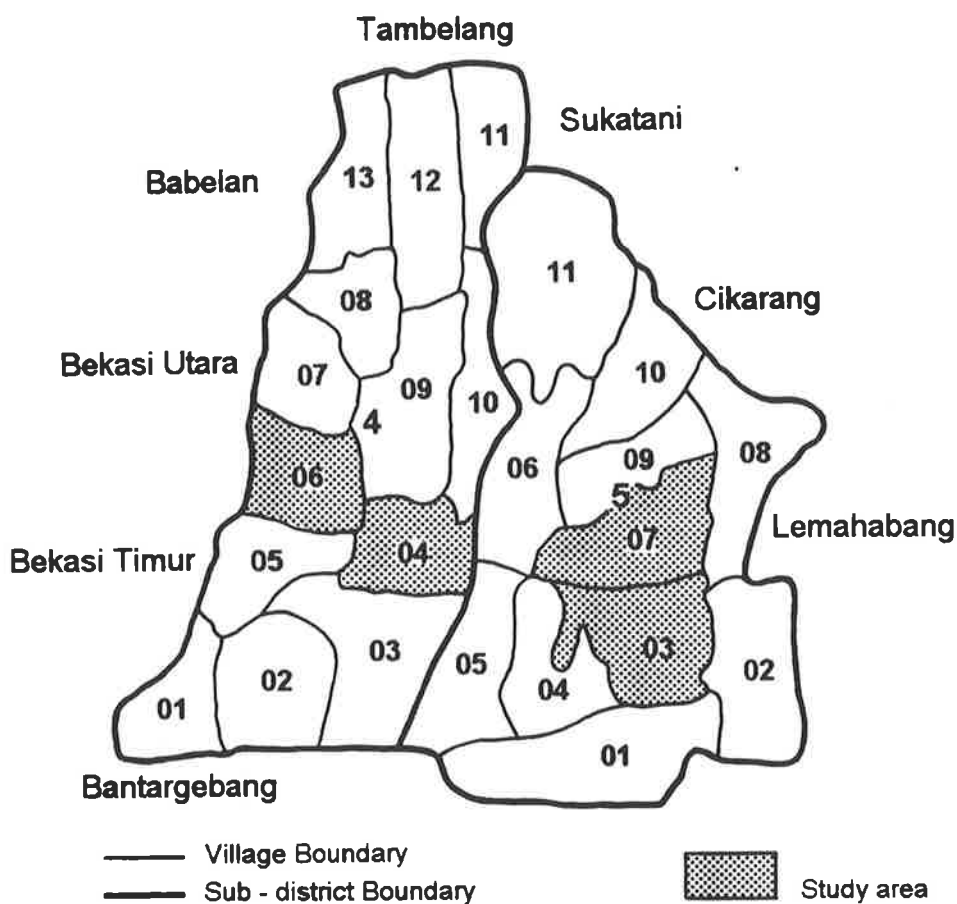
In 1969 Tambun and Cibitung consisted of 8 and 7 villages respectively. The population of Tambun and Cibitung was 84654 and 67215 respectively

(*Pemda Bekasi*, 1969: 6). Since then, both of the sub-districts has changed very much. In 1990 Tambun controlled 13 villages with an area of 7,878 hectares where 159,690 of the population lived while Cibitung consisted of 11 villages occupying 9,503 hectares of land with a population of 132,051 (*Kantor Statistik Bekasi*, 1990) (see Figure 5.7).

Hence, between 1970 and 1990 the population of Tambun and Cibitung increased 88.6 and 96.5 per cent respectively. The rapidly growing population in these two districts has been closely associated with the development of these areas as a centre for industry within Kabupaten Bekasi. By 1994 there were 88 small and large scale industries in Tambun and 109 small and large scale industries in Cibitung (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995c). According to data from Manpower Office at Bekasi, during 1994 and 1995, there were 29 big companies employing 15,038 female workers in Cibitung and 20 big companies employing 14,587 female workers in Tambun (Manpower Office, 1995).

The high level of industrial activity in these areas has not only provided job opportunities for local people but also other people from outside Bekasi and West Java. This has become a significant factor attracting people to come to these areas. Even though there was no accurate information collected administratively about the number of migrants in both sub-districts, it suggested that a large number of migrants, particularly women from outside Bekasi, came to these areas to work in factories. The Bekasi development plan has designated these two areas as growth centres for the *Daerah Pelayanan II* (*Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995b: 16).

Figure 5.7: Map of Tambun and Cibitung Sub-districts



Source: Modified from Map of West Java, BPS, Jakarta, 1992

4. Tambun Sub-District

01. Desa Bojong Rawalumbu
02. „ Mustikajaya
03. „ Lembangjaya
04. „ Tambun
05. „ Jatimulya
06. „ Setiadarma
07. „ Karangsatria
08. „ Satriamekar
09. „ Mangunjaya
10. „ Sumberjaya
11. „ Srimahi
12. „ Srijaya
13. „ Sriamur

5. Cibitung Sub-District

01. Desa Jatiwangi
02. „ Mangunharja
03. „ Sukadanau
04. „ Gandasari
05. „ Cibuntu
06. „ Wanasari
07. „ Telaga Asih
08. „ Sukajaya
09. „ Wanajaya
10. „ Kartamukti
11. „ Muktiwari

In the future these two sub-districts will have different characteristics due to different orientations in their development. Cibitung is planned as an agricultural and industrial area while Tambun has been planned as a settlement, housing area. *Kecamatan* Cibitung will have allocated 46 and 34 per cent of its total land area (4,535 and 3,225 hectares) for agriculture and industry respectively and only 11.8 per cent for settlement (1,116 hectares). However, *Kecamatan* Tambun has been allocated 83.5 per cent of its total land (4558 hectares) for settlement (*Bappeda* Bekasi, 1995b: 45 and 57). Even though both of these two sub-districts have different plans for the future development, it seems that they will both encourage migrants to come for different purposes. Migrants who come to Tambun may be more concerned with looking for housing but migrants who come to Cibitung tend to be associated with seeking employment.

Compared with Cibitung, Tambun was a more crowded area with a population density of 2238 persons per square kilometre while in Cibitung the population density was 1503 persons per square kilometre in 1995. In addition, the population of Tambun increased faster than that of Cibitung, 4.2 per cent per annum compared with 0.4 per cent between 1990 and 1993 (see Table 5.5). This is more likely due to the location of Tambun adjoining the Bekasi administrative city so that the urban atmosphere influences Tambun more than Cibitung (see the Figure 5.1).

Table 5.5 shows the different trends of population in Tambun and Cibitung. The table points out that between 1990 and 1995, the population of Tambun increased by 4.7 per cent per annum, while the population of Cibitung decreased

0.1 per cent. Since 1993, Cibitung has lost 723 hectares of its land due to land restructuring for the

Table 5.5: Number of Population Size by Sub-District, 1990-1995

Sub-district	1990	1993	1995	Increase (%) 1990-1993	Increase (%) 1990-1995
Tambun	159,690	166,466	176,276	4.2	10.4
Cibitung	132,051	132,566	131,963	0.4	- 0.1

Source : Monografi Kecamatan Tambun and Cibitung, 1995.

development of industrial zones located in *desa* (village) Gandasari and Mangun Harjo (Jababeka Industrial Zone and Bekasi Fajar Industrial Estate) (see Figure 5.7). *Desa* Mangun Harja lost 83 per cent of its total land (446.5 hectares), while *desa* Gandasari lost 51 per cent of total land (507.6 hectares). All of the people who lived in these zones had to move and according to information from the Sub-district office, around 80 per cent moved out to other districts. Hence, between 1993 and 1995, Cibitung's population decreased from 132,566 to 131,963 (Cibitung Sub-district, 1994: 25).

Table 5.6 shows the educational characteristics of the population for both subdistricts and there was a similar pattern in Tambun and Cibitung. However, the proportion of population who had completed college or university in Tambun sub-district was higher than in Cibitung. This phenomenon may relate to the fact that as mentioned before Tambun was more urbanised than Cibitung. The development of housing complexes in this areas has encouraged in movement of middle and high income people from Jakarta and they commonly have high educational levels. As shown by Firman (1996: 8) most of the buyers of housing in Bekasi were people from Jakarta. In addition, there is an Islamic University established in Tambun.

Table 5.6: The Percentage Distribution of Population by Completed Educational Level and Area, 1995

Variables	Subdistrict	
	Tambun	Cibitung
Not Finished Primary	16.6	22.9
Primary	28.8	37.6
Secondary	15.9	15.3
High School	10.8	13.5
College/University	4.0	1.2
Total	176,276	131,963

Source: Subdistrict Monograph of Tambun and Cibitung, 1995

With regard to employment, Table 5.7 shows the distribution of population by employment sector and area. The table demonstrates that both Bekasi as a whole and the two subdistricts showed a similar pattern of employment in which each area has a high proportion of workers in the industrial sector and trade, restaurant and hotel sector. The proportion of the population who worked in the industrial sector was higher than that in the agricultural sector, 21.3 per cent compared with 14.9 per cent for Bekasi as whole, 20.8 per cent compared with 19.1 per cent for Tambun and 21.2 per cent compared with 18.9 per cent for Cibitung. This was partly associated with the increasing industrial activity in these areas as centres for industry. Both of the sub-districts have large-scale industries such as pharmacy, garment, textile, toy, furniture, electronics and shoes. Most leading electronic companies such as Sony, Panasonic, Sanyo and Aiwa in Bekasi were located in the Cibitung sub-district, while large shoe, textile and garment companies such as the large shoe factory, Tong Yang Indonesia, with 5106 female workers, and Intermitra Ragammulia Industry (a garment company) with 1315 female workers, tend to locate in Tambun.

Table 5.7: Percentage Distribution of Employment by Sector and Area, 1992

Sector	Bekasi	Tambun	Cibitung
Agriculture	14.9	19.1	18.9
Manufacturing/Industry	21.3	20.8	21.2
Construction	4.7	4.5	4.6
Trade, Restaurant, Hotel	23.5	24	23
Transportation and Com	8.9	8.8	8.5
Finance, Insurance, Business Service	2.8	2.25	3.7
Services	20.7	17.5	17.2
Mining and Quarrying	1.7	1.9	1.9
Electricity, Gas, Water	1.1	0.9	0.9
Others	0.4	0.25	0.25
Total	100	100	100
N	721517	54411	45217

Source: Kantor Statistik Bekasi, 1992: 18

Even though there were indications that the development of the industrial sector has encouraged local people to move out of the agricultural sector, the fact is that the decrease of workers in the agricultural sector was associated with the decreasing availability of agricultural land due to the development of industry and housing complexes. Up to 1995 It was recorded that in Tambun that 734 hectares of land changed its function from agricultural to industry and settlement uses (*Monografi Tambun*, 1995: 8), while in Cibitung, 730 hectares of land of society had changed from agriculture and housing to industrial uses (*Laporan Tahunan*, 1995).

In the context of the spatial development policy of Bekasi (*Kebijakan Tata Ruang*), Tambun and Cibitung will be developed as important growth centers within the *Daerah Pelayanan II*. The strategic location of these two *Kecamatan* that are crossed by the main road, toll road and national train railway (see Figure

5.1) enable these areas to develop more rapidly. The government of Bekasi has planned intensive land uses and urban facilities in these areas to support industrial zones and migration streams to and from Jakarta (*Bappeda* Bekasi, 1995b: 33). Moreover, this is integrated to Botabek development planning on the fringe areas of the Jakarta Metropolitan area. This policy focuses on the development of corridor areas - areas along regular main and toll roads, into urbanised zones (see Figure 5.1) (Firman, 1996).

However, future development in Tambun and Cibitung differs. Tambun due its location neighbouring the Bekasi administrative city will be developed as a zone for housing and education rather than as an industrial zone. Its main role will be to buffer Bekasi city. Migrants who come to Bekasi will be distributed in this area. In the process 83.51 per cent (4,558 hectare) of available land will be allocated to housing (*Bappeda* Bekasi, 1995b). Residential development will be concentrated in the middle and southern part of the district.

Unlike Tambun, Cibitung will be developed more as an industrial and agricultural area. The Bekasi government has allocated 34 and 46 per cent of available land respectively for industry and agriculture. Agricultural development will be focused in the northern part of the district where the irrigation system has been long established, while industry will be in the southern part of the district along the toll road and the regular main road.

In summing up, Kecamatan Tambun and Cibitung have experienced a great deal of social and economic change and have become important areas in the development of Kabupaten Bekasi. This is reflected in the rapid increase of population during last two decades and more importantly, these two areas have

provided more job opportunities than many sub-districts in Indonesia not only to the local community but also to other people outside these regions. This is because of increasing industrial activity in these areas over the last decade. These *Kecamatan* will play a greater role in absorbing migrants both from Jakarta and other areas outside Bekasi in search of both employment and housing. At the moment, Tambun and Cibitung have become main destination areas migrants looking for jobs and somewhere to live.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide background knowledge of the macro setting of *Kabupaten* Bekasi to better understand the population movements into this sub-district, particularly those of women. Over the last two decades Bekasi has experienced rapid social and economic change partly as a result of a national policy to develop the fringe areas of Jakarta called the Botabek region (Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi). As fringe areas of Jakarta, these areas including Bekasi have been developed for manufacturing activities and housing due to the changing function of Jakarta from being a centre of manufacturing to centre for finance and services (Firman, 1996: 7). Over that time Kabupaten Bekasi has become one of the most important and fastest growing areas in contemporary Indonesia, marked by a rapid increase in population growth and expansion of export oriented industry. Moreover, this area also has become one of main destination areas for migrants due to its great role in attracting migrants from both Jakarta and other areas outside Bekasi. This is reflected in the contribution of migration streams (4.5 per cent per

Moreover, this area also has become one of main destination areas for migrants due to its great role in attracting migrants from both Jakarta and other areas outside Bekasi. This is reflected in the contribution of migration streams (4.5 per cent per annum) toward population growth in Bekasi (6.29 per cent per annum) between 1980-90.

Over the last two decades, the expansion of export-oriented industry has been an important factor increasing the scale and significance of migration, particularly female migration in LDCs (Jones (ed), 1984; United Nations, 1993, 94). With the new role of Bekasi as a centre for manufacturing activities , it is argued that this area has become one of the main destination areas for female migrants from both Jakarta and other areas outside Bekasi who move to find jobs. This has been caused by the greater increase of job opportunities for women than for men (Figure 5.6). The next chapter will highlight patterns and socio-demographic characteristics of these female migrants before examining comprehensively the causes and consequences of their migration.

Chapter Six

Socio-Demographic Selectivity of Female Labour Migrants to Bekasi

6.1. Introduction

Understanding of the characteristics of migrants is very important since these can have a substantial impact not only on the structure of the population at the destination area (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 211) but also, can assist in better formulation of regional planning and human resource development (Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1984: 131). Moreover, for migration study itself, migration selectivity is crucial for gaining a better understanding of the causes as well as consequences of migration for migrants themselves, their families and communities in both origin and destination areas (United Nations, 1993). This is due to the fact that migrants are not randomly selected from the population in the areas of origin (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 211). For example, studies in LDCs found that females migrants are more likely to be concentrated in the age group 15-29, be unmarried and better educated compared with non-migrants from their origin areas (Fawcett *et al.*, 1984; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Hugo, 1993; United Nations, 1994). Studies of the census in Indonesia have found a similar pattern of peak mobility occurring in the younger adult years (15 to 29 years)(Sunaryanto, 1992; Hugo, 1987; Alatas (ed), 1995).

The present chapter provides an analysis of major characteristics of migrants such as age, marital status, education level, employment and migration background to determine who the migrants are. As was discussed in Chapter Two,

studies have established that female migrants have different socio-demographic characteristics from the total population at destination areas due to the selectivity of the migration process (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 6). This chapter establishes to what extent the characteristics of the female labour migrants in this present study¹⁰ are consistent with the general pattern of migration in LDCs. In doing so, the socio-demographic characteristics of the survey migrants and non-migrants as well as those in the 1990 population census for Bekasi are outlined. Analysis of five-year female migrants as a whole to Bekasi is also made to assist in achieving a better understanding of the pattern of female labour migration to Bekasi.

The migration definition used by the census (as has been discussed in Chapter Four - a migrant is defined as a person who moves across a provincial boundary), results in a lot of migrants who move over short distances (inter-Kabupaten movement within province) not being detected by the census and classified as non-migrants. As a result, when studying migration at district level using census population data, it is quite possible that included in the non-migrants are migrants who move among districts within a province. In the case of Bekasi, it is believed that there are a lot of short distance migrants from other districts within the West Java province classified as non-migrants (Jones and Mamas, 1996). However, the census is the only accurate source of migration data in Indonesia.

¹⁰ For the following discussion these migrants are identified as 'present migrants' as distinguished from recent migrants (five year migrants).

6.2. Area of Origin

For some people, distance is a barrier to their migration due to factors such as time, social-economic cost, information and risk inherent in distance (Pryor, 1971: xiii; Oberai, 1987: 37). The ability of a person to cope with those factors varies. For instance, not all individuals who intend to move, are able to move. The longer the distance, the greater the effort that is required to move. It is hence argued by Zipf (1946) that the probability of moving between two places increases as the distance decrease. Therefore, distance has played a great role in affecting not only the streams of migration (Ravenstein, 1885; Stouffer, 1940; Zipf, 1946; Pitts and Morril, 1967) but also the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants (Stub, 1962; Jansen, 1970). Some studies of female migration in Southeast Asian countries have found that females have tended to migrate over shorter distances than men (Fawcett, *et al.*, 1984; Eviota and Smith, 1984) and this also has been the case in Indonesia (Suharno, 1996: 51; Hugo, 1994; Sunaryanto, 1992: 47). For example, Hugo (1994: 51) studied migration using the 1985 intercensal survey in Indonesia and found that females outnumbered males among short distance movement and intra-provincial migrants living in urban areas, while men tend to be more numerous among longer distance inter-provincial migrants in cities. Sunaryanto (1992: 83) studied single female migrants to Jakarta and found that the educational attainment of female migrants from outside Java was much higher than that of those from within Java.

Table 6.1 shows the origin areas of the present and five year female migrants in Bekasi. It is clear that both the survey and five-year migrants, come from a range of areas of origin and distances. Generally, the pattern for both the

present and five year migrants seems to be consistent with the typical pattern of female migration in which migrants come from provinces within Java or origin areas close to Bekasi, 71.8 and 91.5 per cent of the present and five year migrants respectively. It needs to be mentioned here

Table 6.1: Bekasi: The Present Migrants by Place and Distance of Origin

Origin areas	Present Migrant (%) 1995	5 Years Migrants (%) 1990	Distance ** (km)
Jakarta	4.8	69.9	30
West Java	15.0	-	40 - 289
Central Java	37.0	17.6	255 - 730
Yogyakarta	5.6	1.6	600 - 660
East Java	9.4	4.01	750 - 1000
Sumatra	26.7	4.7	214 - 2851
Kalimantan	0.2	0.8	800 - 2000
East Indonesia*	1.3	1.4	1400 - 3500
Total	100	100	
N	608	151833	

Note: * Including Bali, Sulawesi, NTB, NTT, Maluku, Irian Jaya and Timor Timur

** Adapted from 'Travel Planner: Environment and Heritage '93, Directorate General of Tourism, Republic of Indonesia, 1993/94

Source: Bekasi migration survey, 1995; CBS, Census tape, 1990

that the survey migrants are not representative of all migrants but concentrate upon women factory workers. So, the differences between the survey migrants and five-year migrants for certain regions such as Jakarta and Sumatra are likely to be due to the nature of the present study rather than to the distance itself.

In addition, the topography of Java and the outer islands are very different. The improvement of public transportation in Java over the last two decades (Hugo

et al., 1987: 231) has made it easy to cover the distance between Bekasi and the other Java provinces by bus or train. Table 6.2 shows the cost of travel from Bekasi to other cities by bus and plane. The fares from Bekasi to the closest city and the furthest city within Java was between 700 rupiah and 20,000 rupiah. On the other hand, transportation from the outer islands is much more expensive than within Java, particularly for Kalimantan and East Indonesia because there is no direct bus and the survey migrants have to go

Table 6.2: Cost of Travel from Bekasi to Other Areas by Bus and Aeroplane, 1994 (Rupiah)

Area Destination	Bus*	Plane**	
		City	Fares
Jakarta	700	Jakarta	-
West Java	700 - 4700	Bandung	56,600
Central Java	7000 - 10,000	Semarang	105,000
Yogyakarta	10,000	Yogyakarta	117,100
East Java	12,000 - 20,000	Surabaya	166,600
Sumatra	3200 - 42,800	Bandar Lampung	64,300
		Banda Aceh	399,800
Kalimantan	-	Pontianak	179,000
		Banjarmasin	220,500
East Indonesia	-	Bali	200,700
		Jayapura	668,200

Note: * The bus fares from Bekasi to the closest city and the furthest city.

**From Jakarta - because Bekasi does not have airport. Distance from Bekasi to Jakarta is around 30 km.

Source: Directorate General of Tourism Republic of Indonesia, 1993/94.

either by ship or plane, indeed, it is very expensive (see Table 6.2). So, besides the closer distance, the easy access to public bus transport was a significant factor affecting the high proportion of the survey migrants coming from origin areas within Java.

Aside from the distance and cost, the bulk of migrants coming from Java can be related to the absolute population in these provinces which comprise almost two thirds of Indonesia's population as a whole in 1995 (60 per cent). For the five year migrants, more than two thirds of the migrants came from Jakarta which reflects the trend of inter-provincial in-migration into Botabek as a whole in 1990 (Jones and Mamas, 1996; Suharno, 1996). It partly relates to the rapid expansion of job opportunities and housing estates in Bekasi and Botabek as the fringe areas of Jakarta (Jones and Mamas, 1996: 61). As has been discussed previously, Jakarta has overspilled its boundaries into the adjoining *Kabupaten* of Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi. This overspill is so noticeable that the Botabek areas have been integrated, spatially as well as functionally, into the economy of metropolitan Jakarta (Hugo, 1994; Firman, 1996).

With regard to the present migrants, the survey migrants were from 107 *kabupaten* (60.1 per cent of total *kabupaten* in Indonesia) spreading over 17 different provinces in Indonesia (see Table 6.3). Within Java, migrants from Central Java came from 84.4 per cent of the total which was a higher proportion than from any other province and represented the largest number of *kabupaten* among the provinces in Indonesia (27). Only in Bengkulu and Lampung are a large proportion of *kabupaten* represented among the migrants. Geographically, Lampung and Bengkulu are closer to Bekasi than other provinces outside Java. Hence it is clear that distance has a significant effect in influencing the number of female migrants from different areas.

Focusing on the present migrants within Java, Table 6.1 shows that the proportion of the migrants from Central Java was substantially higher than that of

the migrants from other provinces. Indeed, Jakarta and West Java adjoin Bekasi. However, the proportion of the migrants from those provinces was significantly lower than that of the migrants from Central Java. Here, the distance seems to not have such a strong effect on the pattern of these migrants. This partly relates to the

Table 6.3: Bekasi: Origin Districts of Present Migrants by Province

Province	Number of Districts Represent (%)	Total Districts (%)
D.K.I. Jakarta	4 (80)	5 (100)
West Java	16(66.7)	24 (100)
Central Java	27(84.4)	32 (100)
East Java	14 (48.3)	29 (100)
Bali	1 (11.1)	9 (100)
Lampung	4 (100)	4 (100)
Bengkulu	4 (100)	4 (100)
South Sumatra	7 (53.8)	13 (100)
West Sumatra	7 (58.3)	12 (100)
Jambi	1 (16.7)	6 (100)
Riau	2 (22.2)	9 (100)
North Sumatra	8 (42.10)	19 (100)
D.I. Aceh	3 (33.3)	9 (100)
Central Kalimantan	1 (10)	10 (100)
West Nusa Tenggara	1 (16.7)	6 (100)
Maluku	1 (20)	5 (100)
Irian Jaya	1 (20)	5 (100)
Total	107 (60.1)	178 (100)

Source: Bekasi migration field survey 1995

nature of the survey in which the present study only concentrated on female factory migrant workers and also the employment situation in Central Java. Semarang (the capital city of Central Java) is the main centre for industry in Central Java and has not been able to absorb the employment growth of the region. Moreover, this also is partly associated with the minimum wage differential between Central Java and

West Java. In 1995, the minimum regional wages in West Java (Bekasi) was 4,600 rupiah per day, while in Central Java was only 3,000 rupiah per day (Department of Manpower, 1996: 163).

Physically, distance is easy to identify but the most important point is whether a long or short distance has an equal effect on the tendency of potential migrants to move. As has been long argued by some prominent scholars, the number of migrants and some measures of distance is not linear because migration is not one dimensional (Rose, 1970; Wolpert, 1967; Morrill, 1965). Wolpert (1967) when studying migration in the United States concluded that the migration and distance relationship shows a significant 'U' or 'J' shape distribution. This means that there are other factors affecting the streams of migration. Distance could be a barrier, but for a significant number of migrants, distance is of relatively less consequence. Factors such as socio-cultural ties, job opportunities and information flows can be more important in influencing people to move than physical distance (Rose, 1970; Brown *et al.*, 1970; Hugo, 1981). In addition, Hugo *et al.* (1987: 231) argued that in the decision making process of migration for permanent and semi-permanent migrants, distance traversed between origin and destination areas had generally played a minor part. If so, unlike the migrants from outside Java in general, the migrants from within Java, especially Central Java, are more concerned with other factors as suggested by Wolpert and Hugo rather than the distance itself.

Moreover, this province has a higher labour force participation rate among females than is the case with the closer provinces. This pattern of high labour force participation rates among female migrants from Central Java was also the case in

Botabek as whole and Jakarta (Jones and Mamas, 1996; Suharno, 1996). This reflects the fact that Semarang as the capital city and center for industry in Central Java has not played a significant role in providing job opportunities like Bandung in West Java and Surabaya in East Java.

6.3. Duration of Residence

Table 6.4 shows the period of residence of the present and five year migrants to Bekasi. This table indicates that most of the present migrants were new migrants compared with the majority of the five year migrants as 57.6 per cent of them had stayed in Bekasi less than one year and only 8.9 per cent of them lived at this district more than 3 years compared with 57.7 per cent of the five year migrants. Again, this phenomenon partly relates to the nature of the survey in which the present study only covered female migrants who were working in factories. It has been shown that the turnover of labour in off-shore factories is high due to the fact that the factories tended to be concerned with new workers (Foo and Lim, 1989). However, this phenomenon is very interesting since it is often believed that entering the formal sector is not easy. As argued by Todaro (1970), the probability of a migrant being employed in the modern sector was directly proportional to the time he/she has been in urban areas. So, the high proportion of migrants with short duration time in this formal sector (factories) reflects that there are other factors that are not considered by the Todaro model. For example, in this case the role of social networks (friends and family).

This does not, however, mean that entering those factories is easy. One of the factors enabling migrants to be quickly absorbed into the factory sector was the

role of friends or family who worked at the same factories helping new migrants to get employment, as observed by Temple (1975) and Hugo (1975). The present study found that 88.3 per cent of the migrants got information about their current

Table 6.4: Bekasi: Duration Time of the Present and Five Year Migrants (Percentage)

Duration time	Present migrant	Five year migrant*
0 - 1 year	57.6	7.2
2 - 3 years	33.5	35.1
4 - 5 years	8.4	21.3
6 + years	0.5	36.4
Total	100	100
N	608	178417

Note: * Migrants 10 years and over

Source: Bekasi migration survey, 1995; CBS, Population census tape, 1990

job from their friends or family. The process takes place as indicated by Naning (not real name), one of the respondents to the present survey who assisted in the recruiting of a friend from her place of origin:

Usually the announcement of job opportunities is put on the announcement board (*papan pengumuman*) at the factory or through supervisors or security guards (*Satpam*). With this information including all the requirements needed, I contact my friends in the rural areas who are interested in working at the factory to come here to apply for the job. Sometimes, I personally contact a key person in order to assist her. If she is lucky within a week my friend gets approval to begin work.

The low proportion of present migrants who had been in Bekasi more than four years was partly because of a weak commitment to the job at the factory. This perhaps relates to ideologies which emphasise the primacy of women's role in reproduction and the domestic sphere. When they get married or begin child bearing, they tend to give up their job at the factory or in fact are forced to resign. So, it is not surprising that the proportion of migrants who are married was low.

These ideologies have been found as factors causing high turnover of labour force in these factories (Foo and Lim, 1989:221). This argument was also made by some respondents when they were asked about their future expectations regarding their job during the next five years. Some 17.9 per cent of them indicated they would like to change their jobs and 81.2 per cent of them had no clear plan. Of this 82.1 per cent, many of them explained that they would follow their husband's decision regarding their future job, when they were married. This would effect whether they would continue or give up their factory job. This is partly due to the working system of factories which involves 3 different work shifts for workers. Night shift was one of the hard shifts, particularly for married women, as they had to work from midnight until morning. There were five cases in the field in which women gave up working in factories when they got married.

6.4. Living Arrangements

Table 6.5 shows the relationship between the present migrants and their room mates. This phenomenon reflects the importance of migrant network theory. Almost all of them stayed with other migrants and only 0.8 per cent lived alone in their units¹¹. Those who stayed alone usually inhabited only one room. In many cases, they shared with one person depending on the size of the unit. This is done in the context of their survival (it is discussed in more detail in the next chapter). It was clear that more than half of the present migrants stayed with friends rather than their families (68.4 per cent). This suggests that many of them are autonomous

migrants, moving without their parents. The table showed that only 0.5 per cent of them stayed with their parents. This phenomenon also was the case for female labour migrants in manufacturing industries in other Asian countries (United Nations, 1994; Foo and Lim, 1989) and also some other studies in Indonesia (Singarimbun and Sairin, 1995; Wolf, 1990). This trend substantially differs from the conventional assumption that females tend to be associated with family migration, moving following their parents or families (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 3; Guest, 1993: 223; Khoo, 1984: 180).

Table 6.5: Bekasi: Migrant's Relationship with Room Mates (Percentage)

Roommate	1st Person	2nd Person
Friend	58.5	68.4
Brother/sister	27.9	19.9
Husband	2.0	0.4
Parents	0.5	0.4
Other Relative	10.9	10.5
Children	0.2	0.4
Total	100	100
N	605	497

Source: Bekasi migration field survey, 1995

In addition, it also reflects the changing social norms for women in Indonesia. It is probably due to penetration of modernisation into the traditional values of women's domain through mass media communication such as TV, newspapers and magazines. Traditionally, in many Asian countries, females have

¹¹ Most of them stay in one block or house divided into several units or rooms of various sizes with a public toilet and bath room. These are similar to barracks (*rumah bedeng*). They share with 2 -5 persons depending on the size of the unit.

tended to be forced to commit themselves to roles in reproduction and the domestic sphere (Fawcett *et al.*, 1984; Foo and Lim, 1989; Trager, 1988) but this is changing.

Although to some extent migrants lived with others from the same ethnic or similar cultural background, many of them had roommates from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This is interesting since many of them came from rural areas in which traditionally, the social interaction is often based on familial or personal relationship compared with individual or impersonal relationships. Experiencing the urban life style and their high level of educational attainment seems to have influenced their frames of reference in terms of their social interaction with the community in destination areas. Their social relationships tend to be based more on impersonal interests rather than ethnic or cultural factors. For example, Sri (not her real name) who is Javanese shared with two other friends of Minang and Sundanese background because they worked in the same division at the same factory. They were happy and helpful with each other.

6.5. Place of Work

At the macrolevel, the literature suggests that the rapid changing of economic structure in many LDCs including Indonesia, indicated by the rapid growth of manufacturing industry, has played a significant role in increasing the tendency of females to migrate (United Nations, 1994; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Guest, 1993; Hugo, 1993, 1992; Chant, 1992; Jones, 1984). Several studies in Asian countries have concluded that industries such as electronics, textiles, garments, dolls and food processing commonly called offshore

industries, have a greater tendency to absorb female migrants compared with the others (United Nations, 1994, Lim, 1984, Wolf, 1984).

Table 6.6: Bekasi: Present Migrants by Place of Work (Percentage)

Factory	Percentage
Electronics	35.0
Textile	22.7
Doll	14.3
Garment	14.8
Shoes	5.9
Others	13.2
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi migration field survey, 1995

Table 6.6 shows the nature of the factories where the present migrants worked. The table indicates that 80.9 per cent of them worked in electronics, textile, doll and garment factories as suggested by United Nations above. According to some scholars, the tendency for these factories to recruit women as workers was partly caused by the characteristics of these jobs that are supposed to rely upon so called feminine characteristics. These include manual dexterity, experience with precise manual tasks such as sewing, and conscientiousness (Foo and Lim, 1989: 221), while on the negative side, it is also because to some extent women are easy to exploit, are more docile, can be paid low wages and have a short working life (United Nations, 1994: 1; Foo and Lim, 1989; Lim, 1984; Wolf, 1984). The important point is that the factories get more benefit from employing women than the women themselves (Lim, 1984).

Table 6.6 shows that there was a higher proportion of the present migrants who worked in electronics factories than in other factories. This does not mean that the electronics factories are more committed to recruiting female migrants than other factories. However, it, probably, suggests that electronics factories currently provide more job opportunities for women in Indonesia. Based on the experience of other East and Southeast Asian countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, the Republic of Korea, and Malaysia, over the past two decades, electronics factories have replaced the domination of textile factories in recruiting large numbers of women as workers (Jones, 1984: 23).

In addition, the data in Table 6.6 are affected by the method of sampling since the research area (Cibitung) is the centre for electronics factories in Jabotabek. In Bekasi, electronics factories have expanded rapidly since 1990 when almost all of the leading electronic companies established factories in this area, although a few established factories in Tangerang West Java (see Figure 1.1). For example, the Sony Electronics Indonesia Company had 2,687 workers and 68.7 per cent of them were women. As discussed previously, at least four electronics companies, namely National-Panasonic, Sony, Aiwa and Sanyo were located in Cibitung sub-district. Based on observation in the field, companies such as dolls and textiles also employed a majority of women. Indeed, one of the doll companies which the surveyor stayed very close to, employed around 95 per cent women.

Almost all of the migrants in the present study worked as production workers and only 1.6 per cent of them worked as administrative staff. This is quite understandable since the opportunities for administrative jobs were very limited compared with that of production jobs. This is a general pattern in manufacturing

employment, particularly in offshore industries in East and Southeast Asian countries in which the motivation of multinational corporations is to take advantage of cheap mass labour (United Nations, 1994: 1; Jones, 1984: 46). As production workers, they need not necessarily have a special skill or degree to participate. Bilsborrow and the United Nations Secretariat (1993: 7) concluded as follows:

In a number of developing countries, the expansion of export-oriented manufacturing has led to the expansion of employment opportunities for unskilled women in the industrial sector.

Some scholars have claimed that this type of job status is the lowest rung in the system and lacks prospects for advancement (United Nations, 1994: 1; Lim, 1984: 131). The workers (survey migrants) were aware that it was impossible for them to get promotion. So, they never demanded opportunities from the companies to improve their skills by taking courses or training. The survey data showed that only 3.8 per cent of them had attended a course to improve their skill and career prospects but used their own money. The lack of ambition is reflected in the fact that with regard to future expectations, 85 per cent of respondents did not know what they would like to do in the next five years.

6.6. Age Selectivity

Table 6.7 shows the age distribution of females in Bekasi by migration status. In general, female migrants were younger than female non-migrants with most of the migrants concentrated between 10 and 24 years of age. Among present female migrants and five years female migrants, 90 per cent and 47 per cent respectively were between 10 and 24 years of age compared with 43.5 per cent of

the non-migrants and 44.2 per cent of the total female population. This pattern follows the general pattern of age selectivity of female migrants as discussed in Chapter Two. Studies from many LDCs found a dominance of young adults among female migrants (United Nations, 1994, United Nations, 1993; Chant, 1992; Khoo, 1984; Fawcett, *et al.*, 1984).

However, this general pattern is not as significant for five year female migrants. Some 47 per cent of the five year female migrants were in the 10-24 age group, only slightly higher than the 43.5 per cent of female non-migrants. The main reason behind this phenomenon is that it may be closely related to the shortcomings of the migration definition used in the census in Indonesia as argued previously. Only those who moved across provincial boundaries were classified as migrants. In this definition, females who migrated to Bekasi from other parts of West Java, both short and long term were categorised as non-migrants. Unfortunately, until recently, there was no study that attempted to take into account the total number of female migrants from other districts within West Java who moved to Bekasi to breakdown this missing link. If those female migrants are accounted for, it is believed that the proportion of migrants will be much higher than in the present proportion. As an example, the present study found that of the total female migrants interviewed (608 migrants) at destination areas, 28.8 per cent of them were born in other parts of West Java. Moreover, of the 129 migrants who undertook multiple migrations, 47.3 per cent said West Java was their previous province of residence.

Table 6.7 indicates that there is a different pattern of age selectivity between the present female migrants and five year female migrants. Two-thirds of

the present migrants (67.5 per cent) were concentrated between 20 and 24 years of age while the five year migrants tend to be concentrated in the group 30 years of age and over. This implies that the manufacturing sector where the present migrants worked tended to employ young adult women following the pattern in many LDCs (United Nations, 1994; United Nations, 1993, Chant (ed), 1993).

Table 6.7: Bekasi: Age Distribution Pattern of Females* by Migration Status

Age group	Present Migrants	Five Year Migrants	Non-migrants	Total Females
10-19	23.0	28.0	30.5	30.1
20-24	67.5	19.2	13.0	14.1
25-29	9.4	19.0	12.9	13.9
30+	0.2	33.9	43.6	41.9
Total Number	608	130819	629415	760234

Note: *Population 10 years and over

Source: Bekasi migration field survey 1995; Census population data tape 1990

The reason partly relates to the fact that female migrants in the present study were those who were working in factories. Indeed, the labour recruitment process for factories in Bekasi was selective in terms of age and education (Table 6.7). Although there was no formal regulation about maximum age of workers for those who worked at factories, indeed, the companies were more likely to employ labourers below 25 years old. This was stressed by the respondents. It seems that working in the production jobs in which most of the present migrants currently were involved required physical endurance due to the high demands made by the companies for manual dexterity, conscientiousness and the velocity of production. Quite often it was necessary to work more than eight hours a day and during the

night. This seems more appropriate for younger than older women. For example, one of the doll factories employed workers from 7.45 am to 8.00 PM every working day (Monday to Saturday). Moreover, this may be associated with the large number of job seekers among females in the young adult age group (20 -24 years old). The results of the 1991 National Labour Force Survey in Indonesia indicated that the unemployment rate of this group was 9.3 per cent which was the highest unemployment rate among the age groups (The Minister of Manpower of Indonesia, 1993: 88).

6.7. Educational Selectivity

Table 6.8 shows the educational level of female migrants and non-migrants in Bekasi. The data shows that the migrants were relatively more educated than non-migrants and also than the female population as a whole although these comparisons are effected by the different age compositions of the two groups (Table 6.7). Specifically, 65 and 38.2 per cent of the present and recent (5 year) migrants had completed at least senior high school and this was substantially higher than the 11.1 and 17.1 per cent of non-migrants and total female population.

This pattern of education was typical among women migrants from several provinces in Indonesia and is the general pattern for female migrants from several countries in Asia (Feranil, 1994; Abeyewardane, 1994; Khoo, 1984). It is believed that the educational selectivity pattern of female migrants is a result of the educational transformation, particularly in rural areas which has not been followed by increasing job opportunities and that this condition has forced educated females

to migrate (brain drain process). However in Bekasi, this pattern is associated with the strong attraction of Bekasi as a new housing and industrial centre. The 1990 census indicated that of the total female recent migrants in Bekasi (907,612 migrants), 12.3 per cent of them came from Jakarta, a higher proportion than from other provinces. This was also evident for Botabek as whole (Jones and Mamas, 1996: 64), even though Jakarta itself was the main destination for many migrants from other parts of Indonesia.

Table 6.8 Bekasi : Educational Pattern of Females 10 Years and Over by Migration Status

Education level	Present Migrants	Five Year Migrants	Non-migrants	Total Females
Primary and Less	8.9	33.6	74.9	65.9
Junior High School	26.1	28.4	14.0	17.1
Senior High School	63.8	37.0	10.6	16.4
College/University	1.2	1.2	0.5	0.7
Total Number	608	102060	366439	468499

*Source : Bekasi migration field survey 1995
Census population data tape 1990*

Table 6.8 also supports the argument above as the percentage of present female migrants with senior high school and above (65 per cent) was significantly higher than that for the five years female migrants (38 per cent) and non-migrants (11.2 per cent). This implies not only that the opportunity to work in the manufacturing sector is affected by the educational level of job seekers but also that the survey migrants had been selected in terms of their educational level more than the five year female migrants and female non-migrants. It is argued by some scholars that one's education level effects opportunities to gain a job in the formal

sector (Gardiner, 1991: 70). Anaf (1987) studied female migrant workers in Pasar Rebo, Jakarta and found that the educational attainment of the migrants was a major requirement for obtaining factory jobs. The demand for educated workers from factories was because they could more easily understand their jobs and were more readily trained. Moreover, the supply of these labourers with higher educational attainment was substantial. Table 6.9 shows female unemployment rates in Indonesia by education and indicates that women with senior high school and above had a higher unemployment rate than those with lower levels of education. One fifth of women with a general senior high school education were unemployed in 1990. This was the case with an eighth of those who graduated from an academy and a seventh of those from university.

Table 6.9 Indonesia: Female Unemployment Rates and Education Level by Region, 1990

Education Level	Urban	Rural
No Education	0.7	0.29
Some Primary School	1.64	0.56
Primary School	2.51	1.12
Junior High General	7.55	4.02
Junior High Vocational	4.58	5.1
Senior High General	21.05	20.17
Senior High Vocational	12.2	10.99
Diploma I/II	7.51	2.55
Academy/Diploma III	12.91	12.14
University	14.49	17.88

Source: The Ministry of Manpower, Indonesia, 1993

Table 6.8 also shows that 65 per cent of the survey migrants graduated from senior high school and above. However, this does not guarantee that they are able to do better with jobs in factories and to get higher wages than those with lower

educational levels. They received special training to better understand their jobs and to improve their skills in relation to their jobs. They had to follow a probation period (*masa percobaan*) of between one and three months depending on the type of company. The evaluation results of this process determined whether they continued or had to give up their job. With these educational levels, they only got a minimum standard wage (Rp. 4800 - equal to around \$US 2 a day) in West Java in 1995 in their jobs as production workers. Most of them had completed senior high school but many of the present migrants had also taken other courses.

Table 6.10 indicates the proportion of the present migrants who had ever taken a course before moving to Bekasi. The table shows that 35.9 per cent (218 respondents) of the total present migrants took various courses and most of them took courses closely relating to the typical skills of jobs often associated with women namely sewing, computing, and typing. The selection reflects that many of them intended to get a job as a typist which it is totally different from the job which they actually obtained in the companies. As a typist, in Indonesia, it is very important to be capable of at least typing with ten fingers and understanding some basic computer programs for word processing. This is due to the fact that the computer has become an important tool in many offices both in private and government institutions. Hence, it is not surprising that 21 and 44.5 per cent of the present migrants had taken courses in typing and computing, respectively.

For many of them, the additional course (skill) meant more job opportunities, although there has not been any analysis of whether this is the case in Indonesia. The rapid growth in these kinds of courses could suggest that this is the case. Some 49.5 per cent of the migrants took a course to assist in finding a job

(see Table 6.10). Moreover, the present study found that some companies were still concerned with the additional courses that relate to the migrants' current job (Table 6.11). To what extent these additional courses contributed to labour recruitment is not clear because there is no information provided from the companies. As mentioned previously, the researcher

Table 6.10 Additional Training Courses of the Present Migrants and Reasons for Undertaking Them, 1995

Course	Percentage
Sewing	20.2
Computer	44.5
Typing	21.0
Accounting	8.3
Language	0.8
Others	5.2
Total	100
N	218

Source: Bekasi migration field survey, 1995

Table 6.11 Bekasi: The Proportion of the Present Migrants with an Additional Course by Type of Company, 1995

Company	Additional course				
	Sewing	Computer	Accounting	Typing	Others
Textile	25.0	11.3	11.1	21.7	27.2
Doll	22.7	9.3	16.7	10.9	9.1
Garment	25.0	5.2	-	6.5	9.1
Shoes	13.6	2.1	5.6	-	-
Electronic	4.5	63.9	61.1	54.3	54.6
Others	6.9	8.3	5.6	6.6	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	44	97	18	46	11

Source: Bekasi migration field survey, 1995

found difficulty in getting direct access to the companies. However, in many cases, it is believed by the migrants that the additional courses played a role in assisting the women in finding jobs.

Although total labour force growth in Indonesia has slowed in the 1990s in response to earlier fertility decline and continuing increases in school enrolment, there was still excess labour in the labour market in Indonesia (Manning and Jayasuriya, 1996: 32). Over the last decade Indonesia has had one of the fastest growing labour forces in Asia. Census data showed that between 1980 and 1995 the number of economically active females and males increased significantly. Over the 1980-1990 period, the number of economically active females increased by 55 per cent and during 1990 and 1995 the number increased by 19.2 per cent. While the number of economically active males increased by 35.5 per cent during 1980-1990 and 15.5 per cent between 1990 and 1995. Unfortunately, this change has not followed by changes in job opportunities and as its consequence, between 1980 and 1990 the unemployment rate increased from 1.7 per cent to 3.2 per cent and between 1990 and 1995 the rate increased from 3.2 per cent to 7.8 per cent (The Ministry of Manpower, 1993: 81, *Biro Pusat Statistik*, 1992, 1996)

This situation, indeed, has allowed the companies to decide on higher requirements in recruiting workers, even for simple jobs and on giving people low wages as experienced by the survey migrants. For example, the difficulty in finding a job has forced many of the present migrants to accept jobs that are not compatible with their educational levels. Many of those who completed senior high school felt that indeed their jobs were able to be done by workers with junior educational

levels as explained by Susi (not real name) who came from Blitar district, East Java and had already been in Bekasi one year when interviewed on September 1995:

I have worked at one of the leading electronic companies for eight months. During this time, I worked in component soldering. Before I did not have this skill at all because I had graduated from senior economic vocational high school in my origin area and also had never taken an electronic course. However, I had training for 2 weeks from the company before holding my current job. For me, indeed, this job is not so difficult and can be done by other workers even though they just graduated from secondary school because it uses a special tool. Actually, I am already bored with this job because I always do the same old thing but I have no choice.

Another interesting point is that more than a half of the respondents took a course just to improve their knowledge. From an economic perspective, this is difficult to understand since in doing so, they had to spend a lot of money without any economic purpose such as seeking job or improving career. However, it is probably related more to psychological issues. It is believed that becoming unemployed without a specific reason such as becoming a housewife, helping parents or being disabled is shameful for many people, particularly those with senior high educational levels. While waiting for a job, rather than doing nothing, it is better for some of them who have enough money to look for activities to take a course to improve their knowledge and skill in a more specific field. The important thing in this situation is how they handle their time by doing regular useful activities for their lives. Whether in the future this knowledge or skill is able to help to find a job is another thing. Staying home without doing any useful activity is frustrating as described by Rusdi (not real name), one of the migrant's parents when interviewing in the origin area.

..... one of main reasons why I gave permission to my daughter (Esti, not real name) to work at Bekasi, even though I was heavy

hearted because she is far away from home (around 600 Km) is her psychological situation. She became sensitive and introverted. I quarrelled with Esti even over simple things. I also felt sad and depressed with this situation, particularly, when I could not afford to fulfil Esti's demands. So, when Esti needed my support to follow her friend looking for a job in Bekasi, I had no choice. I am aware that I can not provide a proper job for Esti who graduated from senior high school. The most important thing for me is that Esti lives and works at a proper place. I have checked the residence and work place of Esti at Bekasi and I feel happy and satisfied with what Esti has achieved.

6.8 Marital Status

Marital status as part of the life-cycle is one of the important factors in migration studies due to its impact on the tendency of a person to move (Speare and Goldscheider, 1987: 455). In general, migrants tend to be unmarried, both male and female migrants (United Nations, 1993: 6) and Indonesia has tended to follow this pattern, particularly in urban areas. The results of the 1980 and 1990 population census showed this pattern (Chapter Two). However, this needs to be treated carefully since the enumeration of the census did not take place at the time of migration. It is quite possible that the marital status of the migrants changed after staying for a while at the destination. Furthermore, marital status selectivity varies depending upon the interest and perspective used to assess it. For example, a study of circular migration in Central Java found that the proportion of married women migrants was higher than that of unmarried women migrants (Hetler, 1989; Lerman, 1983). This was also the case for short term movers (Hugo, 1987: 217).

Table 6.12 shows the marital status of the different female migrants and non-migrants in Bekasi. The table shows that migrants were selected more than non-migrants in terms of marital status and the proportion of unmarried migrants

was higher than that of unmarried non-migrants and the unmarried female population as a whole although it should be noted that this is effected by the age structures of the various groups. As part of West Java, this implies that the Sudanese marriage tradition in which women tend to get married at a younger age is still strong in the society of Bekasi. Scholars have found that West Java has long had a strong tradition of child marriage and arranged marriages. (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 160).

Table 6.12 Bekasi: Marital Status Distribution of Females* by Migration Status

Marital Status	Present Migrant	Five Year Migrant	Non-migrant	Total Female
Unmarried	92.8	49.1	41.1	50.2
Married	5.4	47.0	50.3	43.0
Widowed		1.4	2.6	2.1
Divorced	1.8	2.4	6.0	4.7
Total Number	608	152166	754385	1047492

*Source: Bekasi migration field survey 1995
Census population data tape 1990*

Note: * Population 10 years and over

For the migrants themselves, the pattern of marital status follows the general pattern of permanent migrants in which unmarried migrants are dominant. Of the present and five year migrants some 92.8 and 49.1 per cent were unmarried, higher than the 5.4 and 47.0 per cent who were married and 1.8 and 3.8 per cent who were previously married. However, the marital pattern of the present migrants was more selective than for the five year migrants. Most of the present migrants (98.2 per cent) were unmarried. Hence the manufacturing industry in Bekasi is not only more likely to employ more women but also more importantly to recruit

unmarried women compared with married women. This is also the case for the manufacturing industry in many Asian countries (United Nations, 1994; Foo and Lim, 1989) and also West Java as a whole (Said, 1995: 80).

There is no comprehensive study about the cause of this phenomenon in Indonesia - whether there is discrimination toward women or there are other reasons. Of course, according to formal regulations in Indonesia, there is no such discrimination toward women. They have equal opportunities to be employed as workers. Whether this phenomenon is a result of the nature of the recruitment process or due to the company's interests or both still needs clarification. Unfortunately, there is no information from the company side to clarify this issue due to the difficulty experienced in entering and collecting information from the companies. However, the workers believed there was discrimination toward married women. Some of the respondents believed that it was difficult to get a job at the companies if the status of job seekers was married, except for those who had a strong connection with the key person (*orang dalam*) of the company.

To some extent this relates to the working system of the companies. Some companies have applied three 8 hour working shifts during 24 hours. This was also evident in factories in Malaysia (Lim, 1984: 133). The first shift starts at 8 o'clock in the morning, second one begins at 5 o'clock in the evening and the third one starts at 12 o'clock at night. It seems very difficult to cope with this system, particularly for married women working the second or the third shift because traditionally, they have a responsibilities to look after their families at home.¹²

¹² In the field, the researcher found three women who gave up working at an electronics company due to pregnancy.

Looking in more detail at the family situations of the total number of respondents (33) of the married women, only 36.4 per cent lived with their husbands and only 6.1 per cent (2 respondents) had a child. This implies that most of the married women were young, recently married couples. They were able to cope with the shift system due to the fact that most of them (63.6 per cent) were far beyond the control of their husbands as they lived separately and did not have to take care of children.

Even for some singles (unmarried and previously married) , this shift system was considered a heavy burden as is indicated by one of the respondent's when asked about the level of satisfaction with her job:

..... basically, I am satisfied with my job, although the income is not very high but if there was an opportunity to get another job without the shift system I would prefer to leave. Although, in doing so, it means that I should start at the beginning again with only a basic wage (*gaji pokok*) and no other incentives. As a women, I feel worried and uncomfortable when working during the night or going home at night even though it is not something strange in this village. However, so far I have to do this because of no choice. It is not easy to get a job here.

In line with the discussion above, it is clear that marital status has played a great role in affecting the propensity of women to move. In other words, female migration is selective of unmarried women. Compared with female migrants in general, those who work in the manufacturing industrial sector are more selected in terms of marital status. In addition, the marital status of the migrants also influences their opportunity to work in factories

6.9 Conclusion

Overall it is clear that the present female migration pattern to Bekasi is selective in terms of socio-demographic characteristics and geography. Geographically, there were more female migrants from provinces within Java than from outside Java. This was also the pattern for five year female migrants counted at the 1990 census. It appears that distance has played a significant role in influencing females from outside Java to move to Bekasi as has long been suggested by Ravenstein (1889). This is indicated by the number of female migrants decreasing with increasing distance between Bekasi and the origin areas. For example, the smallest number of female migrants come from Eastern Indonesia. However, for migrants from within Java, the study found that the rapid improvement of public transport in the last two decades in this region has caused distance not to be viewed as a strong barrier for many women to move

With regard to socio-demographic characteristics, in general, female migrants both the present and five year migrants are more likely to be unmarried, to be much younger and more educated than their non-migrant counterparts as has been found by many scholars (United Nations, 1994; United Nations, 1993; Chant, 1992; Khoo, 1984; Fawcett *et al.*, 1984). However, it is clear that the present migrants are more likely younger, unmarried, and more educated than the five year migrants. The level of selectivity of the migrants is partly associated with the employment sector (manufacturing industry) in which the migrants seek to work. This means that different employment sectors tend to seek different patterns of female migrants in terms of socio-demographic characteristics.

Furthermore, the greater selectivity of the present migrants seems to be associated with the educational improvement of women, tightness of the labour market, and the recruitment process of factories. As a result of the government educational policy since 1970, the educational levels of women have increased significantly, particularly in rural areas. Between 1980 and 1995 the proportion of women with completed secondary and high school education in rural areas increased from 3.7 to 13.3 per cent. This improvement, accompanied by the limited local job opportunities, particularly in the formal sector has not only greatly affected the probability of women to migrate to urban areas but also created an increase of educated unemployment among young women (The Ministry of Manpower, Indonesia, 1993: 84-85). The large supply of this particular group of young women tends to give more opportunities to factories to recruit only young and educated women as their workers. From the factories' point of view, whatever the educational level of workers, the factories will pay the same regional minimum wage (*Upah Minimum Regional-UMR*).

In summing up, the selectivity process of the migration pattern in terms of socio-demographics and geography is complex, particularly for specific groups of women migrants. It seems that there are several factors associated with the characteristics of the migrants. In the present study, aside from the micro factors such as the intention of migrants to move, macro factors surrounding the migrants such as the success of the government's educational program, improvements in public transportation and the labour market situation in both destination and origin areas are more important in determining the characteristics of the migrants.

Chapter Seven

Female Labour Migration to Bekasi

7.1 Introduction

The following section will review some major theoretical perspectives dealing with female labour migration decision making. These selected theories are relevant in examining motivations and some related determinants of female labour migration to Bekasi. Considering females in the context of a theoretical framework of migration is important due to the fact that gender differences in mobility have not been adequately addressed in conceptual terms. This is a relatively new agenda in migration study and there is a lack of research assessing this issue (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). Most existing migration theories and the dominant approaches to the study of migration in general (Guest, 1993) assume migration to be gender-neutral (Wolf, 1990b; Ward, 1990; Chant, 1992; Hugo, 1992).

Studies in LDCs document the major theories examining motivations and determinants of female labour migration such as the neo-classical, structural, social network and household strategy perspectives and these theories are more likely to be associated with economic aspects of the female migrants (Jelin, 1977; Sudarkasa, 1977; Trager, 1984; Stichter, 1985; Foo and Lim, 1989; Wolf, 1990a; Chant, 1992; Momsen, 1992; Nelson, 1992; Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn, 1992). However, each of the dominant individual theories have failed to elucidate in a comprehensive way the determinants of female labour migration (Stichter, 1985; Bilsborrow and others, 1987; Chant, 1992; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992; Hugo, 1993). In turn, some scholars have suggested a holistic approach by integrating

micro-and macro-approaches in order to get a more comprehensive understanding of female labour migration particularly in LDCs (Chant, 1992; Hugo, 1993; Bilsborrow and United Nations, 1993, Guest, 1993; Lee, 1996).

These theories will be discussed and their relevance to the examination of motivations and determinants of female labor migration in LDCs is addressed. The relevance of these theories in the context of female labor migration to Bekasi will be examined with the help of the empirical data collected in the sample survey discussed in Chapter Three. It is suggested that there is no single perspective which is able to explain comprehensively the process of female migration in a clearly holistic framework (Guest, 1993: 224). Furthermore, Indonesia is a multi-cultural society with more than 300 distinct ethno-linguistic groups and a wide range of different socio-cultural backgrounds (Hugo *et al.*, 1987:11). They are distributed among 27 provinces that differ in level of development, even, between regions within provinces (Hugo *et al.*, 1987). Consequently, female migrants tend to come from different origin areas that also reflect different socio-cultural and economic backgrounds (Jones, 1977; Anaf, 1986; Jellinek, 1991; Sunaryanto, 1992; Jones and Mamas, 1996; Chapter Six).

7.2 Theories of Determinants of Population Mobility: A Selective Review

7.2.1 The Push-Pull Theory

Push-pull theory is a pioneer migration theory and was proposed by Ravenstein over a century ago in his '*laws of migration*' (Oberai, 1987; Jackson, 1986). This theory is primarily concerned with identifying a set of 'push' factors that drive an individual away from her origin areas and 'pull' elements which

attract her to potential areas of destination. According to this theory, the increase of migration is affected by the development of technology and commerce. Furthermore, economics was a major motive producing currents of migration (Jackson, 1986: 15).

With regard to contemporary female labour migration, factors which could be categorised as push factors in rural areas are the improvement of women's educational levels, low wages, lack of job opportunities and access to land as a consequence of the introduction of modern agricultural modes and changing government policies. It is well documented that in many LDCs, including Indonesia, changes in agricultural technology over the last two decades has led to many women in rural areas having to withdraw from their jobs or have only limited access to jobs in the agricultural sector (Timmer, 1973; Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Naylor, 1992). This has been recognised as one of major factors encouraging women to migrate to cities (Sassen-Koob, 1984; Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Hugo, 1992; Nelson, 1992; Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn, 1992).

The expansion of export manufacturing involving companies from highly industrialised countries has been identified by some scholars as one of the pull factors in LDCs (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993). Such industry which is labour intensive is not only able to create more job opportunities but also to some extent has disrupted traditional work structures for women (Sassen-Koob, 1984; Ward, 1990). Recent studies of export-processing zones in South-Eastern Asia and Latin America have shown a direct link between the expansion of those industries and an increase of young female migration to industrial centres in those countries (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Lopez *et al.*, 1993; Lim, 1993, Phongpaichit,

1993; Rodenburg, 1993). In addition, there are other factors at destination areas identified as pull factors such as higher paid jobs, better educational opportunities, better public services, etc.

There is no doubt about the logic of this theory in explaining streams of migration phenomena. However, the push-pull theory seems to over simplify the complex process of population mobility (Lewis, 1982: 101; Jackson, 1986: 14; Parnwell, 1993: 76). Brinley Thomas (1954: 26) has argued that:

all sorts of prompting may lie behind the decision of an individual or family to leave one country in order to live in another...It is not by making a catalogue of such 'reasons' that one can hope to understand the phenomenon of migration any more than an attempt to describe the manifold motives leading people to want to buy a commodity would constitute analysis of demand. Nothing is easier than to draw up a list of factors labelled 'push' and 'pull' and then write a descriptive account in terms of these two sets of influences.

In addition, the push-pull theory has also failed to pull together all of the factors in a clear framework as argued by Skeldon (1990: 125):

We are left with a list of factors, all of which can clearly contribute to migration, but which lack a framework to bring them together in explanatory system. The push-pull theory is at the same time too obvious and totally lacking in any explanatory power as to why there should be a difference between areas of push and areas of pull in the first place.

7.2.2 The Neoclassical/Equilibrium Model

The neoclassical perspective emphasises spatial differences in social and economic opportunities (Wood, 1981: 338; Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 209). Economically, this is interpreted as people moving from areas with less job opportunities to areas with more job opportunities. This model is basically an extension of the Lewis-Fei-Ranis model of labour transfer. It assumes that migration is an equilibrium

mechanism in which surplus labour in the agricultural sector can be absorbed by the modern sector (Lewis, 1954; Fei and Ranis, 1961).

In addition, Lewis (1954) emphasises that unskilled labour earns a higher wage in the modern sector than in the traditional sector. With such differences in wage rates, people from rural areas are encouraged to move to urban areas for industrial employment. Therefore, this model assumes that migration is based principally on privately rational economic calculations on the part of the individual migrants (Wood, 1981).

Besides the wage differences, Todaro (1969, 1976) has expanded the theory with regard to the situation in most LDCs and highlights that the decision to migrate is also influenced by the probability of obtaining an urban job. In addition, according to him migration will occur in response to rural-urban differences in expected future income. This means that migrants expect the present value of all future income from the modern sector in urban areas to be greater than the present value of income forgone from the traditional sector in rural areas.

The neo-classical paradigm has been criticised as having several major weaknesses. Firstly, this model, particularly in relation to Todaro's perspective has not been widely applied due to the methodological and conceptual problems of estimating expected incomes and without this dimension this model seems to be similar to the labour transfer model (Skeldon, 1990: 129; Brown and Sanders, 1981). Secondly, this model postulates that potential migrants are homogeneous and have the same probability of finding a job in the urban modern sector (Oberai, 1987: 40; Chant and Redcliffe, 1993: 20). With regard to female migrants, obviously, these migrants are heterogeneous in terms of age, marital status, class,

type of migration and flows (see Fawcett *et al.*, 1984; Chant, 1993; United Nations, 1993). Although there is selectivity in migration of women, according to the neo-classical approach the selectivity is more focused on educational attainment of migrants because only educational level affects wage rates indirectly (Chant and Radcliffe, 1993: 20).

Thirdly, the model ignores the role of structural and non-economic factors which have played a crucial role in influencing female mobility decision making processes (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Stichter, 1985; Wolf, 1990; Hugo, 1993; Guest, 1993; Lim, 1993, Chant, 1993;). Although, in some neoclassical models, marriage is considered as an independent variable influencing migration (Thandani and Todaro, 1984), it is more likely to be seen as operating outside of the economic arena (Chant and Radcliffe, 1993: 20).

There are several inherent weaknesses in the neo-classical approach, it does not mean that neoclassical theory can not be employed in examining the phenomenon of female migration. It has been widely shown that economic motives reflected in terms of seeking a job or improving income and economic well being are one of the major reasons given by women for their migration in LDCs (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Stichter, 1985; Williams, 1990; United Nations, 1993; United Nations, 1994).

With regard to inter-regional wage differences causing migration, there are very few studies which test this theory. A study of migration between the poverty-stricken north-eastern region of Brazil and the prosperous south-eastern region showed that some women migrated due to wage differentials (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 31). In Indonesia, it is believed that the large

number of female migrants who move to work in manufacturing enterprises do so partly because the wage rates in this sector are much higher than those in the agricultural sector (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996: 34-37). Accordingly in West and East Java where industrial development has been concentrated, the real wage in rice agriculture rose steeply reflecting the decrease of employment share in this sector (Manning and Jayasuria; 1996: 32). Between 1990 and 1993 the agricultural wages in West Java increased from around 1200 to 1600 rupiah per day (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996: 34). There is no doubt that large numbers of rural dwellers in LDCs live at below nationally delimited minimum standards of living (Rodenburg, 1993). In many cases migration is not to increase income but is a strategy of how to survive. This means that people move to obtain enough income to feed and to satisfy their basic needs not just to lift their standard of living (Rodenburg, 1993: 275). The evidence from many migration studies in LDCs shows that many people do not move between lower wage and higher wage occupations and regions as postulated by Todaro (1969) but between no employment opportunities at all in origin areas and an expectation of obtaining a job in the destination areas (Hugo, *et al.*, 1987: 228).

In Africa, many women, particularly those who are widowed and divorced, migrate because their husbands or families do not provide them with economic security and most move into informal sector occupations (Tabet, 1989; Stichter, 1985: 144-178). Pittin (1984) found that during the drought in 1973, many women lost their jobs in agriculture and migrated to urban areas for survival. Recent evidence in Southeast Asian countries shows that limited availability of job opportunities for young women in rural areas has induced many of them to migrate

and work in the industrial centers of those countries (Lim, 1993; Wolf, 1990; United Nations, 1994; Jones and Mamas, 1996). Similar findings are repeated in Latin America where rural poverty has led families to send their daughters to urban areas to earn extra income for supporting their families (Young, 1982; Arizpe, 1982; Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Radcliffe, 1992).

7.2.3 The Historical-Structural Perspective.

In contrast to the neo-classical approach which refers primarily to individuals accessing free choice in moving or staying, the historical-structural perspective is more concerned with the structural conditions that constrain the availability of individual choices. The theory assumes that population movement is a response to changes in the social, economic and cultural structure of countries that in turn is directly and indirectly affected by the organisation of production (Wood, 1981: 338). This way of thinking is often influenced by Marxist theory such as dependency theory and the center-periphery perspective. This perspective argues that the structural transformation of society determines the options and actions of individuals regarding urban migration (Brown and Sanders, 1981: 174). According to this theory, uneven penetration of the capitalistic mode of development has brought an unequal social and economic transformation among regions or between rural and urban areas (core and periphery). The tendency of this development process is to concentrate investment in particular urban areas and has caused these centres to develop more rapidly than rural areas and more importantly, to provide better economic and social opportunities such as job opportunities, educational facilities, and other public facilities than rural areas in

the periphery. This has been referred to as urban bias (Lipton, 1977) and has been considered to induce people to move from rural to urban areas or from core to periphery (Amin, 1974; Brown and Sanders, 1981: 182; Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 226). Therefore, the structural approach stresses explanation of migration in the context within which certain choices occur as a response to unequal spatial distribution of opportunities between areas.

The application of structuralist approaches in the analysis of female migration is associated with the changing agricultural mode of production and the expansion of offshore industries in LDCs (Sassen-Koob, 1984; Skeldon, 1990: 132; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992: 21; Lim, 1993). These two factors have had a great impact in changing the gender based division of labour in LDCs leading to migration, even though the mechanisms inducing migration are quite different. The large-scale development of export manufacturing in certain regions in Southeast Asia and Latin American countries has not only disrupted the structure of traditional work but also more importantly mobilised female labour, particularly young women into wage-labor and induced those women to move to the industrial centres (Fawcett *et al.*, 1984; Foo and Lim, 1989; Wolf, 1990b; Lim, 1993; United Nations, 1994 for Asia and ; Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Lopez *et al.*, 1993; Cackley, 1993 for Latin America).

With regard to the changing agricultural mode of production, the evidence from many LDCs is that it has had the direct effect of disproportionately displacing women from agricultural jobs (Naylor, 1992; Hugo, 1992; Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn, 1992). For example, as discussed previously, the introduction of the mechanical huller replaced hand pounding of rice by women in Java. Collier

et al. (1974: 120) estimated that by this change, 125 million women days of wage labour were lost annually and Naylor (1992: 85) estimated that in Java as the centre for rice cultivation employment in Indonesia, over 70 per cent of the total employment for women was likely to be lost (equal to more than four millions jobs) as a consequence of technological change in the 1990s. This displacement of agricultural labour is considered to be one of the major determinants of women migrating to cities in Indonesia (Hugo, 1992: 187).

By considering women in the context of these structural changes, the structural approach has extended our understanding of women's position within transformations in production and location. However, some critiques of this theory question its concentration on macro or global variables. Even though this approach is able to identify factors which shape overall movement, this theory neglects the experience of individuals or families (Wood, 1981: 339; Skeldon, 1990: 130; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992: 23). In addition, focusing the change on the organisation of production, the structuralist perspective has overlooked the important factor of reproduction in which women are involved. In some studies this factor has played a significant role in influencing women entering the paid labour force and participating in migration (Standing, 1985; Radcliffe, 1992; Chant, 1992).

7.2.4 The Household Strategy Perspective

This model attempts to bridge the neo-classical and structuralist perspectives by integrating both individual and structural aspects in examining why people move. This model assumes that the changes in macro structure due to a

social, economic, or political crisis will affect the economic sustenance of households. In rural areas introducing a capitalist mode of production and commercialisation of agricultural production have changed the economic situation and led to changes in labour allocation and loss of jobs for many people. This situation has contributed to an economic deterioration of the situation of many households in rural areas (Sassen-Koob, 1984; Manning, 1988; Naylor, 1992; Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn, 1992). To cope with this crisis, the households may change their main jobs, sell property such as land, animals, tools, etc., migrate to urban areas or send their members (daughters or sons or wives) out to migrate to find jobs in urban areas. Migration is therefore seen as a strategy to improve the household's economic well-being both in the short and the long run. Accordingly, the household strategy views migration as the way in which households respond and adjust to changing structural constraints (Wood, 1981).

In this perspective, the household is defined as a social institution which organises resources (land, labour, tools, capital and so on) and recruits and allocates labour in a combination of reproductive and productive tasks (Wood, 1981; 1982). Reproductive tasks deal with the transformation of goods, tools and services for household use and welfare while productive tasks relate to all activities which directly generate income (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992: 23). This approach pays attention to the status and power relations involved in household decision making and labour allocation. According to Chant and Radcliffe (1993: 23), the dynamic interrelationship of these two aspects (reproductive and productive tasks) toward women is much affected by wider socio-cultural factors of the society. Therefore, the way in which the status and roles of women are moulded by socio-

cultural aspects needs to be considered in examining the causes of female migration.

According to the household strategy approach, migration takes place following at least two different situations (Findley, 1987; Trager, 1988; Rodenburg, 1993). Firstly, migration is viewed as part of a survival strategy. In this situation, migration is adopted to cope with the problem of living conditions and is especially relevant to the lower economic classes of migrants. Secondly, migration may be strategy to improve a household's economic level in the short and long run. The households who migrate for this reason usually come from upper economic classes and seem to have already solved the survival problem.

Both forms of household strategy have been documented by empirical studies. Several studies in Latin American and Asian countries show that structural change in agriculture production and poverty often lead children to leave their parents and gain extra money for supporting the households (Morrison, 1980; Arizpe, 1982; Young, 1982; Hugo, 1982; Trager, 1988; Hetler, 1990, De Jong *et al.*, 1994). Many households report that their living conditions depend heavily on their children's remittances. In addition, some studies showed that fathers as head of the household left their families behind and went to cities to work to support their families (Arizpe, 1982; Thandani, 1985).

Migration as an upward mobility strategy is more likely to be part of a household's long term strategy to strengthen its economic performance. Migration is more common among middle-upper-class households (Rodenburg, 1993). Parents send their sons or daughters out to provide them with better access to education or in order to get better paid jobs (Trager, 1988; Findley, 1989). The

household unit often moves to provide better opportunities for schooling for children or give them access to better paying jobs and a brighter future (Hansen, 1987). If there are remittances from absent family members, households often tend to invest them in financing the education of migrant siblings or children (Curtain, 1981; Rodenburg, 1993).

Studying migration as a household strategy can often enable us to not only identify the causes and motivations of migration but also understand how it is decided who should move or stay and the whole process of migration decision making (Wood, 1981, 1982). With regard to the process of migration, it is possible to identify whether the decision is negotiated or arbitrary. If it is negotiated, who takes part in the negotiations? Are constraints and opportunities discussed explicitly? Do women and men look for different benefits from migration? More importantly, the household strategy perspective is more likely to seek a way to overcome several of the problems of previous models by integrating some crucial factors in female migration such as socio-cultural influences, reproduction and production tasks and the power relationship within households (Chant, 1993).

Several criticisms can be made of these theories. The first deals with the migration motivation of households. Quite often, within a household the respondent is not specified and the head of household is interviewed to represent all members of household (Hansen, 1987: 1). The motivations of wives or daughters tend to be classified as following their husband or families, even though they might have different motivations to their husband or families. For instance, a study of family migration in Northwestern Mexico conducted by Hansen (1987) found that in some cases the husband, wife and children had different expectations

for, and reasons leading to, migration, even though, they came from the same household. In addition, she suggested that to understand the determinants of family migration, it was crucial to interview not only the head of the household but also other members of the household as well.

Secondly, with regard to the decision making, the family based survival strategy perspective ignores the social class and the type of family from which the migrants come. The household strategy assumes that all households are homogeneous. This perspective does not make allowance for the effects of problems or conflicts within households which effect migration decision making. Wolf's (1990) study of female workers in Central Java concluded that the social class group of the family influences the pattern of decision making. Household heads from the better-off economic levels tend to have a tighter control of their family members than those in poor families.

Thirdly, the household strategy approach does not take account of changes in household structure associated with modernisation. In the context of socio-structural change, some scholars also underline the importance of changes in family structure shaping the decision to migrate (Taeuber, 1970; Connell *et al.*, 1976; Harbison, 1981). Obviously, the family does not exist in a vacuum; but is one of the social components of a larger socio-cultural system which has a considerable influence upon it (Harbison, 1981: 231). Modernisation processes sweeping many LDCs have produced a social transformation affecting the structure of the family. In particular there has been a shift from extended to nuclear families (Parsons and Bales, 1960). The improvement of the socio-economic status of

women both in developed and developing countries is believed to be a factors triggering a growing incidence of nuclear families (Mc Kee, 1981: 297).

Brown *et al.* (1970: 113) argue that in the 'modern' nuclear family, every member has equal opportunities to make decisions for themselves in all aspects of their lives and have equal access to household resources. In other words, males and females have the same obligations and rights in the household. Consequently, with respect to migration, all members have more or less equal authority to make decisions as to whether they move or not (Brown *et al.*, 1970: 113). Studying female labour migrants in a manufacturing establishment in Central Java, Indonesia, Wolf (1990) found that migrants moved and worked without the permission of, or against, their parents' wishes. Moreover, she draws the conclusion that although parents could gain some advantage from their migrant daughter's income, parents have little control over the productive and reproductive roles of their daughters.

7.2.5 Social Network Analysis

The concept of social networks is widely used in social sciences. Sociology often uses this framework to understand social interactions among individuals or groups (Rogers and Vertovec, 1995: 15). Social network analysis became important because it not only facilitates the tracing of social connections within a local society in relation to social change and social structure (Wellman and Berkowitz, 1988, Tilly, 1988) but also between a locality and the wider context and between two different spaces (Rogers and Vertovec, 1995). Social network analysis

is often used to analyse social connections in labour migration (see Tepperman, 1988; Delany, 1988; Levine and Spadaro, 1988; Werbner, 1995).

More recently, social network analysis has been widely used in population mobility studies in LDCs (Connell *et al.*, 1976; Findley, 1977; Hugo, 1981; Skeldon, 1990; Fuller *et al.*, 1990). Massey *et al.* (1993: 448) defined social networks as 'sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin'. The assumption underlying this approach is that potential migrants typically consider few alternative destinations before moving (Hugo, 1981: 208; Fuller, *et al.*, 1990: 53). In doing so, those migrants will usually only consider alternative destinations where they have an existing social relationship with people and from them they obtain information to make judgments about migrating or staying. Furthermore, the function of social networks is not only to provide information about opportunities in destination areas, but more importantly to provide assurance of assistance in looking for employment and housing as well as emotional support upon arrival at the destination (Hugo, 1981; Skeldon, 1990; Fuller *et al.*, 1990). Hence migration tends to take place when potential migrants are assured of socio-economic opportunities and assistance provided by their social networks in destination areas (Harbison, 1981: 244).

In the migration context, a social network consists of social relationships typically based on personal relationships. Such networks in the macro context could be formed by ethnic and kinship ties and in the micro context are more formed by blood or interpersonal ties such as those with relatives, family, workmates, schoolmates, and neighbours (Wellman *et al.*, 1988: 151; Hugo, 1981;

Harbison, 1981). The literature from LDCs has demonstrated conclusively the role of social networks in stimulating and directing potential migrants to move (Hugo, 1975; Connell *et al.*, 1976; Fuller *et al.*, 1990). In addition, these types of social ties help in explaining the phenomena of clustering migrants in certain occupations and regions at the destination (Connell *et al.*, 1976: 52; Hugo, 1981: 211; Skeldon, 1990: 142). For example, Hugo (1985) observed that migrants who sold bread in Jakarta, Indonesia came from a single village. Simultaneously, female circular migrants from Nguter, Central Java, Indonesia got information about, and help with, accommodation and suitable areas for selling *jamu* (traditional herbal drink) from their family or friends already established in Jakarta (Guest, 1989).

In the context of female migration, social networks can play a special role in facilitating and directing women to migrate since culturally, in most societies particularly in LDCs, women are presumed to be vulnerable and this perception leads the family or parents not to allow women or their daughter to move because of loss of control over their behaviour (Guest, 1993: 227). Studies of female migration in Mali and Thailand found that the assurance of assistance of friends or relatives in destination areas was more likely to encourage parents to give permission to their daughters to migrate (Findley and Diallo, 1993; Fuller *et al.*, 1990). Moreover, in female labour migration, the role of relatives and friends is very important in providing job information and accommodation. Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn (1992: 157) studied women and migration in Thailand and found that teachers and district government officials often gave information about domestic jobs in Bangkok to villagers. In Indonesia, a study of women migrants who worked in manufacturing industries in Central Java found

that most migrants worked in these establishments because of the connections of their relatives (see Singarimbun and Sairin (eds), 1995). There were similar findings in Sri Lanka where Abeyewardene (1994: 64) has pointed out that relations, friends and political patronage were key elements in the process of job placement. Feranil (1994: 26) observed female labour migrants to Metro Cebu and found that many of the migrants had relatives who provided housing accommodation when they moved to the city.

The major criticism relating to this approach is that even though network analysis is able to provide a framework for better understanding of the migration process, this type of analysis is complicated and time consuming due to the complex relationships among individuals within a social network (Rogers and Vertovec, 1995: 20). For instance, Handayani (1995) studied intensively a migrant woman who worked in a textile company in Semarang, Indonesia using participatory observation and found that the respondent got information about job opportunities at the company from her uncle and her uncle got the information from his friend who worked as a security guard of the company (*Satpam*). Then, the respondent was introduced to the *Satpam* and made an application for a job to him because the *Satpam* is the person who had direct access to the company. A week later, the respondent got an acceptance letter from the company. Understanding this network is not so easy within a macro study. In line with this complexity, Rogers and Vertovec (1995: 20) suggested that social network analysis was only useful for individuals and small scale studies. Furthermore, It is difficult to derive a general framework from the social network due to the fact that the size of the social network will change over time with the life cycle of person or family

(Taeuber, 1971). The size of a woman's social network when she is still a child will be different from when she becomes a university student or a married women. In line with this Skeldon (1990: 132) argues that the network analysis is a static approach in which only leads to a description of the context at one point in time (Skeldon, 1990: 132).

7.2.6 Toward An Integrated Perspective

From the various perspectives reviewed here, it is clear that female labour migration is multi-dimensional. This implies that it may be misleading to use only a single theory if we are to gain a comprehensive understanding of female labour migration. Guest (1993: 224) argues that:

....in the case of macro level analyses, that implies assuming away differences in individual motivation, skill level or other sources of variation in the way in which people respond to spatial inequalities in opportunities. On the other hand, micro-level analyses fail to recognise attributes of the social setting structure, values and access to opportunities which directly influence migration.

With regard to the problem above, some scholars have suggested that a broader perspective covering a wider range of issues is needed to examine female migration (Chant, 1992; Bilborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Hugo, 1993; Guest, 1993). In other words, an integrated or multi-level perspective is required to provide a better understanding of female migration, especially female labour migration.

In migration study, an integrated approach has long been proposed by scholars such as Germani (1965) who put forward an argument for 'three levels of analysis', Zelinsky (1971) with his theory of the mobility transition, and Wood (1985) who expanded Germani's model and proposed a general theory of

migration. However, these approaches seem not to consider the importance of gender differences in migration decisions. So far, there is no comprehensive study which attempts to apply these theories to examining female migration, particularly female labour migration. Here, the household strategy perspective appears to be relevant. This approach endeavours to consider a wide range of factors by incorporating both social structural and behaviour contexts. Focusing primarily on the organisation of productive and reproductive labour in the household has led this approach to suffer from a number of shortcomings such as neglecting the role of social networks, government policy and social conflict within a household which have played a significant role in affecting female decisions to move.

The main purpose of the integrated approach is to answer why and how migration occurs by incorporating a consideration of the micro-and macro context within a single framework. The present study endeavours to use such an integrated approach to examine the motivations and determinants of female labour migration to Bekasi.

7.3 Determinants of Female Labour Migration to Bekasi

Many scholars argue that it is important to make a comprehensive examination of the context in which the decision to move is made (Germani, 1965; Wood, 1985; Chant (ed), 1992; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Hugo, 1993; Guest, 1993). The following discussion attempts to examine critically the socio-economic context in which the decision to migrate is made as well as the conditions which are conducive to leaving the origin area.

7.3.1 Reported Reasons for Migration to Bekasi

Reasons for migration that are reported by migrants only reflect the specific circumstances which forced them to move, while the complex set of factors which were really involved in the migration process are neglected (Hugo, 1975: 457). Hence, reported reasons for migration give only a partial picture of the determinants of population mobility. In addition, reported reasons for leaving an origin area should be treated carefully because of the memory lapse of migrants. The migrants may not remember precisely the circumstance in which the decision to move was made if the migration occurred several years before the interview. The migrants also may be reluctant to mention significant motives due to social or psychological reasons. For example, a reason such as family conflict for many female migrants may not be reported because it is considered too private. Therefore, to gain a more comprehensive picture of the determinants, a wide range questions regarding the socio-economic context of the migration decision making of the survey migrants were asked.

Studies of female migration in LDCs have found that females moved to cities for a range of reasons including socio-cultural, economic, psychological, family and environment reasons (see Stichter, 1985; Chant (ed), 1992; United Nations, 1993, 1994). However, Findley and Williams (1991) in summarising the results of a large number of studies (241) on the motivations for female migration in LDCs found that economic reasons were very dominant in 56 per cent of those studies. The economic motivations given included searching for a job, occupational mobility, seeking improved economic well-being and obtaining a better education. The following discussion will examine in detail the reasons for migration

articulated by female migrants who worked in the manufacturing industry in Bekasi and to what extent their motivations conform to findings in other studies in LDCs.

Table 7.1 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Main Motivation for Migration

Main Motives	Percentage
Economic - looking for employment	83.9
Improving experience	1.2
Follow family	6.9
Psychological	3.3
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi migration survey 1995.

Table 7.1 presents the main reasons why the migrants in the present survey moved to Bekasi. It is clear that economic reasons were dominant with 83.9 per cent of the migrants nominating economic motivations. With regard to economic reasons, 67.6 per cent of them migrated to Bekasi searching for jobs and 16.3 per cent of the migrants moved to Bekasi to get a job. It is important to differentiate these two economic reasons. Looking for a job means that when the migrants came to Bekasi, they did not have a job, while getting a job means that when the migrants came to Bekasi, the job had already been secured (this issue will be discussed in detail later).

Another reason given for moving was for joining other family members (6.9 per cent). Compared with other studies in developing countries, this proportion seems quite small. Findley and Williams (1991: 12) in reviewing the reasons for female migration in less developed countries found that 31 per cent of the moves

were associated with family reasons (getting married or accompanying husband or family). This low proportion is influenced by the particular characteristics of the migrants in the present study of factory workers in which 92.8 per cent were single and 58.5 per cent lived separately from their family (Table 6.5). As is widely argued in the migration literature, family migration is more likely to be associated with the migration of spouses and dependent children. (Zlotnik, 1995: 258).

In this study, following the family is more associated with brothers or sisters rather than with parents. As discussed previously (Chapter Six) only 0.5 per cent of the present migrants lived with their parents compared with 27.9 per cent with their brothers or sisters. The crucial thing is that a migrant's brother or sister had moved to Bekasi earlier and had encouraged their sister to join them. In the words of Ade who come from Wonogiri, Central Java: '*Saya disuruh kakak datang ke Bekasi untuk menemani dan akan di carikan pekerjaan* (I was invited by my sister to join her in Bekasi and she promised to help me to find a job)'. Hence the migrants who have brothers or sisters or other family, even if they stay with them in Bekasi, should not be categorised automatically as moving to follow their family. A migrant may stay with her brother/sister but her motivation or intention for migration may not have been to join him/her. Hansen (1987) observed family migration in Northwestern Mexico and found that within the same households, husbands, wives and children may have different expectations and reasons leading to migration. Moreover, she suggested that to understand the motivations and determinants of family migration, it was crucial to interview not only the head of household but also the members of the household.

Only 3.3 per cent of the total migrants migrated because they had psychological problems. Even though this is a small proportion, it needs more attention not only because it is interesting but also because many respondents are unwilling to provide this information. Meyerowitz (1987: 152) argues that demographers often ignore the existence of the private sides of the female migration experience. In the field, there was a tendency for the migrants to avoid answering questions on the personal side of their migration. Indeed, only a few respondents were brave enough to discuss the psychological problems relating to their movement and they tended to be the more outspoken individuals. Experience in the field showed the difficulty in exploring the personal aspects of the respondents by direct interviews. The best way to do so is by using grounded or participatory research (see Singarimbun and Sairin (eds), 1995). The limited coverage of psychological factors associated with the female experience in migration research relates to this methodological problem in which not many studies of female migration use grounded or participatory observation as argued by Meyerowitz (1987).

In this study, the psychological factors mostly relate to personal conflicts of the migrants with an individual or family in their home place. This was also found in Wolf's study in Semarang, Central Java (1990). This was the experience of Andry (not real name) when her wish to be policewomen (*Polwan*) did not get approval from her father.

I come from Wonogiri, Central Java and moved to join my friend in Bekasi in 1993. When I graduated from upper secondary school in my small town, I wanted to apply to be a policewoman. Unfortunately, my father did not give me a permission and, in fact, parental approval is a very important requirement to join the Corps. I was very disappointed with my father's decision and felt frustrated

at home. A month later, I contacted my friend in Bekasi and ran away from my home. Even though, initially father felt angry with my decision, afterwards, my relationship with my father became normal again.

Rini (pseudonym) from Yogyakarta had a different story. She moved to Bekasi because of feeling ashamed in her community. As she explained at the time of interview:

In Yogyakarta, I lived with my parents and family close to Malioboro which is the heart of Yogyakarta. I worked at one of the leading bakery shops as shop keeper in Yogyakarta with a small salary but felt very happy with my job. However, my fiance broke up our close relationship of more than 3 years without any reasonable explanation. I felt shocked and ashamed to face this situation not only in my family, but more importantly in the community. To avoid this embarrassing situation, I contacted my sister who works in the textile industry in Bekasi and soon moved to join her.

In another similar story, Mariyah (pseudonym) came from Garum subdistrict, 7 km from the city of Blitar, East Java. She moved to Bekasi because of personal problems with ex-her boss, as told by Mariyah at the time of interview:

Before migrating to Bekasi, I had never been beyond the city of Kediri, East Java, around 50 km from my home place (Blitar). In Kediri, I worked as a tailor at the home industry of my father's friend, while I also continued study at one of the Moslem schools. I stayed with the friend of my father who was married and had two little children. After one year in that house, my father's friend became interested in me. I felt scared and shocked, particularly when he indicated that he would like me to be his second wife. Unfortunately, when I told my parents, they did not believe me. Finally, I ran away and went back to my parent's home in Blitar. My parents still did not believe what really happened, and were angry. However, after the man came to visit me several times in Blitar my parent believed it. To save the family relationship, I migrated to Bekasi after contacting a friend. My address in Bekasi is kept a secret by family and friends in order that it remain unknown to my boss in Kediri.

In summing up, it is clear that job-related reasons were dominant in the articulated motivations expressed by the female migrants in the survey. This finding is consistent with previous studies of female migration in Indonesia as well as in other Southeast Asian countries. Several micro empirical studies in Indonesia found that many females migrated more for economic reasons than other ones (Lerman, 1983; Hetler, 1986; Anaf, 1980; Wolf, 1990; Singarimbun and Sairin (eds), 1995) while according to previous studies of female migrants working in manufacturing industries in some Southeast Asia countries, looking for a job was a typical reason for young females to move to industrial areas (Lim, 1984; Foo and Lim, 1989; Feranil, 1994; Taneerananon, 1994). The low proportion of migrants who moved to follow their family indicates a strong tendency for the female labour migrants to move independently. This phenomenon is in contrast with the conventional assumption that female migration is predominantly associated with family migration (Zlotnik, 1995). The high educational level of the majority of migrants, accompanied by increasingly easy access to public transportation and communication have contributed to the tendency of migrants to move autonomously to Bekasi. The low proportion of the present migrants who migrate because of conflict in the home area reflects partly the methodology used in this study and the reluctance of women to talk about more sensitive issues.

7.3.2 Economic Determinants and the Micro-Analytical Perspective

As has been discussed previously, the micro-analytical approach puts the individual at the centre of analysis. Well known examples of this approach are the push-pull approach and the neo-classical equilibrium perspective. In this

perspective, rural-urban migration is seen as the aggregate result of individual choices to find better social and economic opportunities for living between two different places (Hugo, *et al.*, 1987: 209; Selier, 1988: 21). The following discussion attempts to examine the perception of the present survey migrants toward the economic conditions in their respective origin and destination areas and the influence of this on their migration. In addition, the extent to which the migration of the survey migrants can be explained by the micro-analytical perspective is assessed

The last section established the predominance of job-related motivations in the reasons expressed for migration by the survey migrants. This reflects the strong differences between the labour market situations in Bekasi and the origin areas of the migrants. Following the push-pull and neo-classical perspectives, this implies that Bekasi has become one of the major destination areas for female labor migrants in Indonesia because of its ability to provide job opportunities in industrial enterprises, particularly off-shore industry, whereas in the origin areas no such opportunities exist. Table 7.2 shows the respondents' perceptions of some selected aspects of Bekasi and their origin areas. It is clear that economic factors (available job opportunities and wage differentials) are seen as being far superior in Bekasi and are the main factors encouraging migrants to move to Bekasi.

With regard to job opportunities and wage levels, Table 7.2 shows that 81.9 per cent of the migrants felt that the probability of finding a job in Bekasi was greater than in the origin area and only 1 per cent of them had the reverse perception. This is consistent with the labour market situation in Bekasi which according to secondary data provided by the local labour force office showed that

females have had a greater chance of finding a job than their male counterparts since 1990. For example, in 1993 job vacancies for females were double those for males; there were 12 236 job vacancies for females compared with 5671 job

Table 7.2. Bekasi: Perception of the Present Migrants Toward Selected Aspects of Bekasi Compared with Origin Areas (Percentage)

Aspect	Perceptions			
	Worse	Similar	Better	Total (N= 608)
Job opportunity	1.0	17.1	81.9	100
Wages	1.0	16.8	82.2	100
Family relationship	8.7	85.2	6.1	100
Neighbour relationship	41.0	55.4	3.6	100
Health facilities	11.2	65.8	23.0	100
Transportation	12.1	52.1	35.8	100
Security	28.8	65.4	5.8	100

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

vacancies for males (*Bappeda* Bekasi, 1995a: 69). These were the formal numbers reported by the companies to the local labour force office, however, there are a lot of vacancies that are not reported by the companies and they fill them through word of mouth or through the family and friends of employees. Only 6.1 per cent of respondents got information about their current job from the government compared with 88.3 per cent from their friends and relatives (Table 7.3).

As previously explained by some scholars (Jones and Mamas, 1996; Hugo, 1994), the substantial stream of migrants coming to the Botabek areas (Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi) is associated with the restructuring of the economy which has seen the share of industry increase tremendously since 1980 (Chapter Five). In addition, this is consistent with the findings of micro studies of off-shore industry in other Southeast Asian countries which have stressed the important relationship

between increasing activities of off shore industries and increasing female participation in migration to industrial areas (United Nations, 1993; United Nations, 1994)

Table 7.3. Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Source of Job Information

Sources	Percentage
Government agency	6.1
Private agency	3.1
Family/Relatives	32.7
Friends	45.6
Company	3.5
No one	4.9
Others	4.1
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

In line with Todaro's model (1970), rural-urban migration is assumed to be the natural response of individuals toward income differentials between traditional and modern sectors or between rural and urban areas. In this case, according to the migrants' perceptions, their prospects of income earning from working in Bekasi were much better than in their origin areas. These differentials, however, need to be considered in relation to a comparison of living costs in the two areas (Lipton, 1977; Brown and Sanders, 1981; Gilbert and Gugler, 1992). The fact is that like Jakarta, the cost of living in Bekasi is very expensive compared with many small cities in Indonesia.

However, the objective situation was that there is no doubt that the wage rates in the manufacturing industry were much higher than those in the traditional

agricultural sector, in turn, the wage rates of manufacturing industry in Bekasi were higher than in some other areas in Indonesia (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996). In 1995, the real agricultural wages for planting or weeding in Java were between 1000 and 1500 Rupiah per day (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996: 34-37), while at the same time the minimum wage in the manufacturing industry in Bekasi was 4,600 Rupiah (equal to the minimum wages of Jakarta and West Java). This difference in wages partly contributed to inducing some migrants to move to work in manufacturing industry in Bekasi as is argued by the labour transfer perspective. A recent study in Java found that in the 1990s, the absolute number of workers in agriculture began to drop quite sharply in conjunction with the increase of

Table 7.4 Indonesia: Official Daily Minimum Wages in Selected Regions, 1995

Region	Minimum Wage (Rupiah)
Bekasi	4,600
Jakarta	4,600
West Java (Region I)	4,600
Central Java	3,000
East Java (Region I)	3,200
D. I. Yogyakarta	2,850
West Nusa Tenggara	2,950
Central Sulawesi	2,800
South Sulawesi	3,100
West Sumatra	3,250
North Sumatra	4,200
East Kalimantan	4200
West Kalimantan	3,500

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

Department of Manpower, Indonesia, 1996: 163.

Note: West Java (Region I): Kabupaten Serang, Tangerang, Bogor, Bekasi, Sumedang, Bandung. East Java (Region I): Kabupaten Surabaya, Malang, Sidoarjo, Gresik, Pasuruhan, Mojokerto.

industrial development in West and East Java. As a consequence, in some areas in West and East Java where industrial development were concentrated the real wages in agriculture increased rapidly (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996: 32).

In addition, like the minimum wages of Jakarta, the minimum wages of the manufacturing industry in Bekasi were the highest in Indonesia (Table 7.4). The perception of migrants about wage differentials between origin and destination areas influenced the survey migrants in deciding on their move to Bekasi. The origin areas of the present migrants predominantly were in Central Java (37 per cent). This proportion was double that of the migrants from West Java where geographically, Bekasi is located. This pattern was also found in census migration data of five year female migrants to the Botabek areas in 1990 (Jones and Mamas, 1996; Suharno, 1996). Bekasi, Bogor and Tangerang have similar minimum wages. This finding does not necessarily support the Todaro model.. These areas have different living costs and it is not easy to make a comparison or adjustment as suggested by some scholars (Lipton 1977; Brown and Sanders, 1981; Gilbert and Gugler, 1992). Nevertheless, the large proportion of migrants coming from Central Java was undoubtedly partly caused by the large minimum wage differential between Bekasi and the origin areas of the migrants, 4,600 rupiah in Bekasi compared with 3,000 rupiah in Central Java

7.3.3 The Structural Approach and Out-Migration

The structural perspective assumes that migration is the commutative response of an individual to changes in socio-economic structure (Wood, 1981, 1982; Selier, 1988). The dominance of economic reasons (job-related) expressed

by the survey migrants (Table 7.1), indirectly reflects the fact that job opportunities in the origin areas are limited. Many migration scholars have argued that out migration particularly LDCs occurred in conjunction with changes in the labour market situation in many rural areas as a result of introducing a capitalistic mode of production (Foo and Lim, 1989; Wolf, 1990b; Lim, 1993; United Nations, 1994). This change was believed to be a major factor displacing many women from agricultural jobs, and in turn, many of them moved to urban areas to find jobs (Naylor, 1992; Hugo, 1992; Singhanetra Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn, 1992).

However, the evidence of the present study is somewhat different. The high educational level of the survey migrants, accompanied by limited job opportunities in the non-agricultural sector in the origin has played a major role in affecting the present migrants moving to Bekasi. This hypothesis was also argued by Hugo (1992) when reviewing some determinants of female migration in Indonesia. As discussed previously, the present study found that 65 per cent of the present migrants had finished senior high school. This educational background seems to have created a perception among the migrants that they do not wish to work in agriculture and consequently given the lack of alternative local opportunities outside agriculture they have migrated to Bekasi..

Table 7.5 shows the perceptions of the survey migrants toward some aspects of origin areas. Most of the present migrants agree that they did not have problems with access to public facilities and social interaction in the origin areas but the only problem was the lack of suitable jobs. Some 63.5 per cent of the migrants indicated that they were not satisfied with the jobs available in the origin area. In this case, the jobs preferred by the migrants were off-farm rather than

agricultural jobs. The fact that they considered they could get jobs in agriculture at the origin is reflected by 83.9 per cent of them being satisfied with the availability of agricultural jobs in origin areas. Clearly, their education had resulted in them not wanting to work in agriculture.

The changing perception of working in the traditional agricultural sector is part of a social transformation involving rapid improvement in the educational achievements of women and increasing expectations of modern life styles in rural communities in Indonesia. The government has placed a high priority over the last quarter century on education and the proportion of women who have enrolled in formal education has increased significantly. Between the 1961 and the 1980 population censuses the proportion of females aged 10 and over having at least some formal education increased tremendously from only 24 per cent to 64 per cent, respectively (Raharjo and Hull, 1984: 101), while according to the results of 1995 Intercensal survey, the proportion had increased to 84.1 per cent (*Biro Pusat Statistik*, 1996).

Table 7.5 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Perception of Level of Development in Origin Areas

Development indicators	Satisfied	Average	Dissatisfied	Total
Off-farm jobs available	27.2	8.2	64.7	100
Agricultural jobs	83.7	5.4	10.9	100
Level of wages	28.4	18.3	53.3	100
Health facilities	71.4	25.9	2.7	100
School facilities	71.1	24.9	4.0	100
Public transport	66.7	24.4	8.9	100
Social interaction	88.7	10.7	0.6	100

Source: Bekasi migration survey 1995.

Another relevant factor is the desire of parents to improve the education of their children in order that they find employment outside of the agricultural sector and this has accelerated the educational transformation in rural areas. A study of two villages in West Java conducted by Saefullah (1992: 331-332) found that even though the parents' educational level was only primary school or less they expected that their children could continue their education to senior high school or above. Similar patterns undoubtedly prevail elsewhere in Java. Moreover, the increasing volume of information about various aspects of urban life derived from school, mass media or social networks have increased the awareness of the different opportunities, amenities and advantages available in urban areas.

As a result, living in rural areas is no longer valued as much as it once was particularly for educated women due to it being closely associated with traditional symbols or under-development. On the contrary, the city is seen as a symbol of modernisation. To become modern or enjoy the modern life, one has to go to the city, even though the reasons are various such as searching for a job, continuing education, avoiding the pressure of local traditional norms, etc. Observation from the field survey found that there is a tendency among the migrants to refer to a big city near their origin area as their area of origin, even though they came from rural areas far from that big city. For example, one migrant prefers to say she is from Solo (a famous city of Central Java), although, in fact, she comes from Wonogiri, about 30 km from Solo. Moreover, when tracing the migrants' families in origin areas, the surveyor found an interesting phenomenon. According to the community from where the migrants come, the migrants worked in Jakarta and not in Bekasi. This is understandable due to Jakarta being a prominent symbol of modernisation

in Indonesia. So, it is quite reasonable for those with high levels of educational achievement to want to leave their rural origin areas in order to find what they desired as a result of intensive interaction with modern values through mass-media particularly television, social interaction with return migrants or through knowledge from their schools.

This implies that one migrates to the city not merely to find a job but more importantly, to establish one's social status as 'a modern person'. Unfortunately few migration studies have attempted to explore comprehensively this issue compared with the economic issue, even though it has long been argued that mobility has played a great role in causing social changes in rural areas from traditional to modern by introducing a modern life style brought back by migrants (Zelinsky, 1971; Goldscheider, 1984). In the surveyor's personal experience, this phenomenon can be simply demonstrated by comparing migrants and non-migrants dress when the former come 'home to the village' (*mudik*), particularly during *lebaran*. The migrants are more likely to be fashionably dressed compared with non-migrants who tend to wear traditional clothing. Saefullah (1994) studied two villages in West Java and drew the conclusion that there were substantial differences between migrants and non-migrants in terms of behaviour and attitudes in household life, social interaction, education orientation, economic activities, and dressing.

These social transformations have not only improved the status of women (Hugo, 1992: 186) but also changed the aspirations of young women about work in rural areas (Saefullah, 1996:17). The survey migrants are no longer interested in agricultural jobs because according to them, working in traditional agriculture is

more likely to be associated with low status and manual work (*pekerjaan kasar*) that does not need education. As explained by Sri (not her real name) from East Java, one of the respondents who graduated from senior high school.

if I should work in agriculture, why should I go to a high school? In my village, working in a rice field (*sawah*) does not need a school certificate. With my educational level, I would really feel ashamed working in agriculture and I wish to maintain my family dignity.

The field survey indicated that there are three main reasons why the survey migrants do not want to work in traditional agriculture in their villages. Firstly, according to them, working in traditional agriculture does not require education and most of them had high educational levels. Secondly, most of them claimed that working in this field was the same as not working due to its seasonality, uncertainty (*pekerjaan musiman*) and low wages. Finally, because it is hard, hot and dirty, this job has low social status. A similar pattern was also found in studies by Wolf (1990: 52) and Rodenburg (1993: 276).

Unfortunately, the educational improvement of rural communities and significant penetration of urban information has not been accompanied by a concomitant improvement of the labour market situation in rural areas involving development of non-agricultural opportunities. In the last two decades Indonesia has entered an era of industrialisation and its impact has affected the economic structure of Indonesia as a whole. Between 1970 and 1991 the share of the industrial sector in national production increased dramatically from 19 per cent to 41 per cent while the share of the agricultural sector decreased sharply from 45 per cent to 19 per cent. As a result, the proportion of employment in the industrial sector increased from 10.7 per cent in 1970 to 12.6 per cent in 1995 while the proportion of employment in the agricultural sector dropped significantly from

64.2 per cent in 1970 to 43.9 per cent in 1995. However, in regional terms, this change mostly occurred in urban areas or industrial zones such as Botabek rather than in rural areas where the agricultural sector is still dominant. Table 7.6 shows the proportion of workers who worked in different industries in rural and urban areas and shows a quite different economic structure. Even though, the proportion of workers in the non-agricultural sector increased significantly in rural areas from 29.9 per cent to 36.9 per cent between 1990 and 1995, the agricultural sector was still dominant in absorbing labour in rural areas, 63.1 per cent of the economically active population in 1995. The industrial sector increased only slightly from 7.9 per cent to 8.8 per cent between 1990 and 1995 in rural areas. On the other hand, the economic structure of urban areas reflected the dominance of non-agricultural sectors such as industry, trade and services.

Table 7.6 Indonesia: Economically Active Population by Main Industry in Rural and Urban Areas, 1990-1995 (Percentage)

Main industry	1990		1995	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Agriculture	70.1	11.1	63.1	9.4
Mining and Quarrying	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.8
Industry	7.9	17.1	8.8	18.1
Electricity	0.01	0.5	0.12	0.6
Construction	2.0	5.1	3.5	6.1
Trade	9.9	29.1	11.7	27.3
Transportation-and Communication	1.9	6.5	3.0	7.3
Finance	0.2	2.01	0.2	2.2
Services	7.4	27.7	8.9	28.2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	34554813	18294666	48496310	22649427

Source: 1990 Population census, CBS, Jakarta.
1995 Intercensal survey, CBS, Jakarta.

The unbalanced pattern of available jobs not matching the increasingly educated young population in rural areas has led to many young people moving to urban or industrial areas. Several studies of female migration in Indonesia have shown a brain drain process with many rural areas losing those with higher educational attainment (Anaf, 1987; Said, 1996; Suharno, 1996; Jones and Mamas, 1996).

The high proportion of the survey migrants who were dissatisfied with the job opportunities and the wage levels in origin areas (64.7 and 53.3 per cent respectively) should be understood in the context of these structural changes. This finding strongly challenges the conventional explanation of female migration in LDCs which states changes in the labour market situation in rural areas as a result of agricultural modernisation have played a great role in the migration of women to urban areas. Here, the important point needs to be emphasised that for a certain group of women (young educated women), the modernisation of agriculture in rural areas does not have a significant impact on them migrating to urban areas. This implies that there are other important factors that are also operating and affecting female migration to urban areas.

In summing up, the large proportion of the survey migrants with high educational achievements and the dominance of job-related reasons for migration to Bekasi are in accordance with a structural explanation of migration. The social change reflected in the rapid improvement of the educational levels of women in rural areas as a result of government policy on education and increasing incidence of parents in rural areas with the desire to improve the education of their children has raised the expectations of migrants toward not only their desired occupation

but also other opportunities available in urban areas. This has been accelerated by the high level of penetration of urban information brought back by return migrants, through social networks or mass-media, especially television which has spread through rural areas. In turn, these changes not only have had a significant impact on the decreased participation of women in the agricultural sector but also more importantly, have induced women to migrate to urban or industrial areas. Recently, some scholars have argued that educational change in rural communities in Indonesia was one of main factors contributing to the rapid increase of female migration to urban areas (Hugo, 1992; Jones and Mamas, 1996). This finding is also consistent with other studies in several LDCs (United Nations, 1993).

7.3.4 The Household Strategy Perspective and Migration

The household strategy model of migration concerned with the socio-economic changes affecting the economic survival of households. This perspective assumes that migration is the way in which a household organises its economic resources against social, economic or political constraints in order to sustain itself (Wood, 1981). In the short run, migration is viewed as part of the survival strategy of the household while in the long run, migration is expected to improve the household's overall economic well-being (Findley, 1987; Trager, 1988; Rodenburg, 1993). As has been indicated earlier, in doing so, there are at least two different options. The household migrates to urban areas as a family or the household only sends particular members (son, daughter or wife) to find job in urban areas with an expectation that she or he will send remittances to the

household in the origin. In the case of the present survey the latter is predominantly the case and some findings relating to this are discussed in this section.

The previous discussion has underlined the importance of economic factors in influencing the survey respondents' decision to migrate (Table 7.1). With regard to the household strategy approach, the main question which should be addressed is whether this decision was made in the context of the family's desire to improve their economic well-being or for their economic survival and to what extent it was purely the decision of the migrant. Some of the major variables to be discussed in examining these questions are the economic status of the migrant's family, the sending of remittances, and the migration decision as discussed by Trager (1988), Wolf (1990) and United Nations (1994).

The issue of economic survival in rural areas closely relates to the income deterioration of households whereby in many LDCs including Indonesia, there have been changes in labour allocation as a result of the introduction of a capitalist mode of production and commercialisation of agricultural production (White, 1979; Sassen-Koop, 1984; Manning, 1988; Naylor, 1992; Hugo, 1992; Lim, 1993). In Indonesia, even though the incidence of poverty declined sharply from 40.1 per cent to 15.1 per cent between 1976 and 1990, the number of Indonesians living in poverty was quite large (27.2 million in 1990) and the majority lived in rural areas (World Bank, 1993). Moreover, many more have incomes close to the poverty line. So, it is not surprising that several studies in rural Java have shown the high incidence of circular migration based on rural families' survival strategies whereby the households send their members to enter labour markets in large cities (Hugo, 1975; Lerman, 1983; Hetler, 1986). These rural-urban migrations have greatly

increased over the last two decades in accordance with the improvement of public transportation (Hugo, 1994: 43).

With regard to the economic status of migrant families, unfortunately, the present study was not able to collect information directly on the economic situation of the migrants families of origin. Moreover, it is difficult to obtain such information indirectly from the migrants. The main considerations here are privacy issues. In Indonesia asking directly about the economic status of people or family to a certain extent is not wise because it often creates embarrassment, particularly among those who come from families with low economic status. If pushed, the responses may be biased. Methodologically, it is not easy to calculate the economic status of a family in rural Java due to the fact that a lot of variables should be taken into account, such as non-income earnings, income earning, wealth and saving in which precise information is very difficult to derive from a single member of the family.

To identify the economic status of the migrants families, this study uses the education of the survey migrants as proximate variables. The present study found that 65 per cent of the present migrants finished senior high schools and furthermore, 2 per cent of them had graduated from college/university (Table 6.8). Since in Indonesia completion of secondary school is rarely possible for the poor, this evidence suggests that most of the present migrants did not come from families of low economic status. Reaching this level of education involves high costs, particularly for people who live in rural areas compared with those in urban areas. As most of the senior high schools are located in the city, those in rural areas have to pay extra money for transportation if they commute to or rent a room in the

city in order to attend senior high school. The field survey of some selected migrant families in the origin areas provided strong support to the argument presented above. This indicated that the migrant's families interviewed generally had a relatively good house, they owned agricultural land and some even had cows and motor cycles all of which are symbols of economic status in the village. Moreover, the personal experience of the researcher himself when he studied at high school was that most of his school friends who came from rural areas came from families with relatively high economic status. With regard to the measurement of poverty in Southeast Asian countries, Foo and Lim (1989) argued the importance of defining poverty in the context of the community. In the example of factory workers in Malaysia, because of different levels of income between rural and urban families as well as the different perceptions of factory workers, urban workers subjectively considered themselves to be poor families, even though, objectively they may have been better off than rural workers. However, rural migrants did not consider their families to be poor although they had similar economic status to urban workers.

Table 7.7. Bekasi: Proportion of Migrants by Education Level and Reason For Not Continuing Schooling, 1995

Education level	Reasons for not continuing schooling			
	Economic	No ability	Working	Married
Primary school	9.6	9.4	6.8	-
Secondary school	24.7	37.7	25.6	33.3
High school	65.7	52.8	59.8	50.0
College/University	-	-	7.8	16.7
Total	100	100	100	100
N	429	55	117	7
Total Cases (608)	70.6	9.1	19.2	1.1

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

Table 7.7 shows the main reasons given by survey migrants for not continuing to further their education. Some 70.6 per cent of the total migrants did not continue with further education due to economic reasons and 65.7 per cent of them had finished high school. This implies that most of the present migrants had a commitment to proceed to a further educational level but couldn't afford to do so. Moreover, entering university in Indonesia is costly. Therefore, it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that most of the present migrants do not come from poor families but from those with moderate to high economic status. In this case it could be argued that many of them migrated not due to the short term survival needs of the family as argued by the household strategy perspective . This was reflected in the pattern of sending remittances as one of major indicators of the significance of a household strategy in migration decision making (Trager, 1988).

Considering the remittances, Table 7.8 shows that 58.1 per cent of the present migrants sent remittances to their parents in origin areas and most of the remittances were primarily allocated to meet basic needs. In other words, the remittances indicated that economic survival seems to be a problem for some migrant families in origin areas, since the migrants send money, even though their salaries are low.

Looking at this in more detail, however, the frequency of sending remittances still remains low. The evidence shows an interesting pattern. Only 18.8 per cent of the present migrants (58 respondents of whom sent remittances) sent remittances to their parents in the origin areas regularly every month. This phenomenon applied to only 9.5 per cent of the total present migrants (608 respondents). Some 38.3 per cent of those who sent remittances only sent their

remittances once or twice a year. Given this evidence, it is clear that the migration of only a relatively small number of the present migrants was directly associated with significantly supporting the economic survival of their families. The underlying assumption is that if the migration of the present migrants is in accordance with the family strategy, to fully support the survival of the family, the remittances should be sent regularly (at least monthly).

In addition, although it is difficult to provide precise information about the quantity of the remittances, again due to privacy issues, at the time of the survey some migrants implied that it was not too much to send around 10-20 000 Rupiah each time (around 10 per cent of their total salary according to minimum regional wages for Bekasi). This is quite reasonable since their salaries are quite low compared with other Southeast Asian countries (Manning and Jayasuria, 1996: 40). With this amount of money, it is quite difficult to cover the basic needs of the family at the origin for three to six months, even though, this amount of money can make a big difference to the living situation of the family in the village. Most of the migrant's income is still primarily used for the needs of the migrant themselves and not for the betterment of the family economy.

The evidence above shows that only a small number of those who migrated to Bekasi appear to have done so as part of a survival strategy of the family. For this group remittances are a crucial part of day to day life of the family. It is argued in the household strategy perspective summarised previously that migration is the way in which a household copes with economic difficulties as a result of socio-economic structural changes, particularly in rural areas (Wood, 1981; Findley,

1987; Trager, 1988; Rodenburg, 1993). Remittances regularly sent each month by a migrant daughter are expected to reduce the economic burden of the parents in fulfilling their basic needs in the origin areas. As shown in Table 7.8, most of the remittances (87.3 per cent) were sent to the parents.

Table 7.8 Bekasi: Remittances Sent by Migrants, 1995

Remittances indicators	Percentages
Primary recipient of money	
Parents	87.3
Husband	0.3
Brother	12.4
Total	100
N	353
Frequency of sending money to parents	
1-2 times per month	18.9
1 times every 2 or 3 months	42.8
1-2 times per year	38.3
Total	100
N	308
Main purpose of sending money to parents	
Basic needs	87.3
Schooling	11.7
Other	1.0
Total	100
N	308
Mode of transfer to parents	
Personal	21.2
Money order	64.5
Bank	1.6
Friends	2.3
Relative	10.4
Total	100
N	308
Decision to send to parents	
Migrants own self	95.5
Others	5.5
Total	100
N	308

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

With regard to the decision to send remittances, the present study found that 95.5 per cent of the present migrants decided to send the remittances by themselves as is indicated by Table 7.8. This phenomenon is very interesting due to the fact that even though some of their migrations were set up in the context of a family based strategy, the transfer of the remittances did not take place under strong pressure from parents. The transfer emerged from the migrants consciousness of their families' living situations which led them to believe it important to send the remittances. Traditionally, this phenomenon is a manifestation of the concept of 'parent repayment' (*balas budi*) in which a child repays her parents' sacrifices from which she has received benefits during her life, including affection. Indeed, although this concept is voluntary in economic terms, culturally, it is a strong moral obligation. The social relationship between the migrants and their parents is much more important than the money sent to their parents. The tradition of '*pulang kampung*' on the *Lebaran* day or other days is a reflection of willingness to fulfil a moral obligation toward the parents. Indeed, for parents, the arrival of their children or family on that day is often more appreciated than receiving money. The concept of 'parent repayment' is also strongly held in some other East and Southeast Asian countries and some researchers have argued that it has a substantial effect in the development of a household migration strategy (Foo and Lim, 1989, Trager, 1988).

Another finding was that many of the surveyed migrants who came from better economic backgrounds felt it unnecessary to send remittances to their parents in origin areas (41.9 per cent). In addition to the fact that the migrants' income was low, this is partly due to the fact that their families (parents) did not

expect remittances from their daughters, as was explained by one of the parents of a migrant who was interviewed in the origin area:

For me (father) whether my daughter sends remittances or not is not very important. The important thing is that my daughter has already got a good job and is not doing wrong things. I still remember when she was unemployed, she was often upset and created problems. I really understood her position but I did not know what I should do for her at that time. I have never expected her remittances, even, if she comes back home, I always give some money to her because I am aware that her salary is small. It is just enough for buying food and renting her unit. In addition, I really respect her desire to be independent and mature

However, this does not mean that the household strategy perspective is not relevant to explain the migration phenomenon of some of the present migrants to Bekasi. The proportion of the migrants who moved in the context of a household survival strategy (short term) was not high but indirectly, many of them migrated to facilitate the long term economic well-being of the family. Even though their parents did not expect remittances from their daughters immediately and the migrants themselves did not feel it necessary to give money to their parents, the migration of their daughters has a substantial effect in reducing the economic burden of the family both in the short and long term.

Many present migrants explained that their migration had a significant effect on the economic well-being of their family at origin areas. With migration to Bekasi, they were not only becoming independent economically and socially but more importantly, were able to afford to meet their own basic needs which were previously part of the economic burden of their parents. Table 7.9 shows additional subsidiary reasons stated by the migrants for their migration to Bekasi. Some 48.2 and 35.5 per cent respectively of the present migrants migrated in order to be

independent and reduce their family's economic burden. With regard to migration decision making, some scholars argue that the involvement of the parents in the migration decision was one of the main indicators of a household strategy being involved (Wood, 1981; Trager, 1988; Wolf, 1990; Chant, 1992). Traditionally, parents are the head of the household and have the highest authority among the members in decision making relating to the household's problems. According to the assumptions of the household strategy approach, the situation is that in response to economic pressure, rural based families send their children to urban areas to find jobs with an expectation that the children will send some remittances to the family in the origin areas. Accordingly the next section will discuss to what extent close family members (parents or brother) were involved in the survey respondents' migration to Bekasi.

Table 7.9 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Additional Motivations For Migration

Additional motives	Percentage
To be independent	48.2
To reduce economic burden on the family	35.5
Following brothers	8.1
Get a job	12.4
Improve knowledge	19.4
Marriage	0.7
Following friend	1.2
Frustration	2.1
Close distance	3.6
Feeling lonely at origin areas	0.7

Source: Bekasi migration survey 1995.

Table 7.10 shows where the migration initiation came from among the survey respondents. The table shows that the role of the parents in influencing their

daughters to migrate was significantly lower than that of initiation by the migrants themselves, 50 per cent compared with only 16.8 per cent. However, the role of the family as a whole (parents, brothers and family) in affecting the present migrants' decision to move was quite high (40.6 per cent).

Table 7.10 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Persons Who Influence Their Migration

Persons	Percentage
Parents	16.8
Brother	20.6
Friends	9.4
Family	3.2
Migrants self	50.0
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

There are several reasons for the relatively low impact of parents in stimulating migration. Traditionally, in certain societies of LDCs including in some parts of Indonesia, the perception is that females should be kept at home and not participate actively or independently in the work force (Youssef, 1979; Mangkuprawira, 1981; Jones, 1984; Raharjo and Hull, 1984, Khoo, 1984). This factor is also considered to be one of the main factors associated with the low participation of women in migration compared with their male counterparts (Khoo, 1984). In several parts of Java, there have traditionally even been strong social sanctions on women working outside of their village (Manning, 1987: 63), although this is changing. Another traditional perception is that women are categorised as 'weak creatures' meaning they are not able to protect themselves. The family is obliged to provide social protection to their members. So, migration to some extent is viewed as involving more risks than benefits due to the women

being far away from the protection of the family. Hence parents will not encourage their daughters to migrate, unless there is a severe economic crisis. As was explained by one of the migrants' parents:

indeed, it was very hard for me to give permission for my daughter to go to Bekasi. She is just a women and Bekasi is very far from here. However, I had no choice at that time and pray that she is always safe and may her ideals be fulfilled.

Finally, low involvement of parents in the migration decision is also associated with the educational level of the surveyed migrants. Table 7.11 shows the relationship between educational achievement of the migrants and the most significant influences on the decision to migrate. Some 51.6 per cent of the migrants with high educational levels decided to migrate without any influence from the others and only 14.8 per cent of them decided to migrate with the influence of their parents. The table also shows the dominant role of brothers in influencing the migration decision making of the migrants. It was clear that the survey migrants were more likely to discuss migration with their brothers/sisters than their parents. This evidence suggests that the higher the educational level of

Table 7.11 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by the Involvement of the Individual in Migration Decision Making and Completed Educational Level

Individual	Primary	Secondary	High School
Parents	12.9	19.1	14.8
Brother	18.5	18.6	20.1
Friend	13.0	11.6	9.7
Family	5.5	2.3	3.5
No One	50.0	48.3	51.6
Others	5.1	0.1	0.3
Total	100	100	100
N	54	172	432

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

the survey migrants, the higher their autonomy to make migration decisions. Thus the surveyed migrants with high educational attainment tend to be independent in making the decision to migrate to Bekasi. It is also relevant that the educational level of the migrants is better than that of their parents because particularly in rural areas the education level of the recent generation who was born in the 1960s and 1970s (including the migrants) is better than that of their parent's generation who were born in the 1940s when educational provision was minimal. Partly because of this, parents' control over their daughters' decision making in many areas such as choice of a marriage partner and migration has been reduced.

Conversely, the high involvement of the migrants in the decision to migrate tends to reflect the fact that the migrants were more concerned with their own problems than family problems. It suggests that they are more individualistic than their parents. This evidence supports the finding discussed previously that the majority of the present migrants moved due to job-related reasons as a response to the limited job opportunities in the non agricultural sector in origin areas. In addition, a lot of the migrants (41.9 per cent) had never sent remittances to their parents in the origin areas reflecting the individualism of the migrants themselves and that they were more directly concerned with their own lives in the destination areas than the economic problems of their family in the origin areas.

Although the role of the parents in being the major stimulus for their daughters' moves to Bekasi was limited, it does not mean that the parents were not involved in their daughters' migration decisions. The present study found that the parents played a role in terms of giving approval (*restu*). Even though there were some migrants who moved without getting permission from their parents. Table

7.12 indicates the involvement of persons in discussions leading to the migration of respondents to Bekasi. This table shows that the migrants tended to include other persons in their decision making and the household (parents and brothers) was the major influence. Some 62.2 and 41.6 per cent respectively of the present migrants involved their parents and brothers in their migration decision. This reflects the fact that gaining the formal approval (*restu*) of the family, particularly the parents, is very important in migration decision making in Java. Traditionally and religiously, it is generally accepted in most parts of Indonesia that the *restu* of the parents is considered crucial for important events such as marriage, travelling, study, looking for jobs, etc. In fact, this relationship is legitimised by the religious value, particularly for Moslems in which it is stressed that children must be kind to the

Table 7.12 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Persons Involved in the Migration Decision

Persons	Percentage
Parents	62.2
Brothers	41.6
Friends	17.1
Family	9.4
No one	8.2
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

parents (Qur'an : 17:23). It appears that although the parents (household) tend not to be the primary force in the migrants' move to Bekasi, they do have a role in the process through permitting their daughters to leave the home. This means that the household still plays a significant role in the migration of their daughters as is assumed in the household strategy model. In summing up, with respect to the

household strategy perspective, the present study concludes that the role of the family in influencing migration is complex and is not a single unitary process. In Java, the household is no longer the direct unit of production but is still the unit of much decision making and consumption. Many of the migrants in Bekasi do not conform to the strict assumptions of the household strategy perspective. It is clear that their households of origin are no longer the direct unit of production and the migrants are no longer employed in the agricultural sector which often involves the family as the unit of production. This has reduced the control of the family over their daughters. The crucial factors in the migration process are the relocation of MDC manufacturing off-shore to Southeast and East Asian countries where due to the type and scale of the industries, the demand for women workers is very high (United Nations, 1993, 1994) and the improvement of educational levels of women. The interrelationship of those two things, accompanied with limited employment in the non-agricultural sector in most rural areas are the major factors inducing the present migrants to move to Bekasi rather than staying and working in the agricultural sector. Nevertheless, the traditional relationship between parents and children constructed through the socialisation process has put the role and position of the parents at the center of decision-making in fundamental areas such as marriage or migration. The present study has found that the migrants tend to involve their parents in the process of migration decision making. This indicates that the household is still significantly involved, if not as the dominant element as postulated in the survival strategy model.

The important thing that should be emphasised here is that the household strategy perspective should incorporate a wide range of elements. It should not

only see migration in the context of a household's economic survival as a unit but also in relation to the benefits to each member. It has been shown by the findings of this study that many survey migrants did not send remittances to their families in the origin area even though their parents had a significant role in influencing their migration decision making process. For the migrants themselves, their migrations had given greater opportunities to find jobs and improve their standard of living.

7.3.5 Social Networks and Migration

Social network analysis stresses the important role of interpersonal ties in facilitating potential migrants to move. According to this approach, potential migrants typically consider few alternative destinations to make a judgment before moving (Hugo, 1981: 208; Fuller, *et al.*, 1990: 53). The consideration is usually based on the possibility of socio-economic opportunities and assistance provided by friends and relatives at destination areas (Harbison, 1981: 244). The potential migrants will contact personal sources to realise their expectations including families, friends, return migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas. In line with this, Massey (1993: 448) defined a social network as 'sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin'.

Some scholars argue that a social network is a complicated set of social relations with a number of dimensions such as density, size, intimacy, frequency and duration that are intertwined in affecting not only its role and function but also

its quality and continuity (Boissevain, 1974; Fischer, 1977; Jackson *et al.*, 1977). The following discussion will not address those dimensions of social networks. This does not mean that those dimensions are not important in migration study. It is merely due to the objective of the present study which was not concerned with the intensity or multiplexity (the number of relations in a given link) (Fischer, 1977: 36) of social networks but attempts to investigate the role of social networks in stimulating migration to Bekasi. Specifically, this section will discuss the contributions of social networks in influencing respondents before and after migration.

Table 7.13 reflects the role of social networks in contributing information about the place of destination (Bekasi) to potential migrants. In searching for information about place of destination, the present migrants used various sources of information both informal (personal sources) and formal (private and government agencies). Here, the survey migrants did not depend upon a single source of information. Many migrants use more than one source of information to confirm or recheck the information they got from the first source. It was clear that migrants were more likely to use personal sources than formal sources to get information concerning destination areas. Almost all the migrants used personal sources (family and friends) but only 9.4 per cent used formal sources (mass-media, private and government agencies). This suggests that the migrants believe more in information provided from personal sources than formal sources and reflects the common pattern among traditional societies whereby interpersonal ties become a dominant value and basic principle underlying social relationships. This is unlike modern society where the basic orientation of social interactions tend to

be based on the principle of impersonal relationships and individual interests as suggested by Nisbet (1966: 48). Hence, it is not surprising that scholars argue that in many LDCs, friends and families have played a great role in stimulating and directing potential migrants to move by increasing migrants' awareness of conditions and opportunities in destination areas (Hugo, 1981; Skeldon, 1990; Fuller et al., 1990). The findings of the present study strongly confirm and indicate that for Indonesian women, social networks are an important component in the migration process, particularly for autonomous young women migrants.

Table 7.13 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Source of Information about Destination Place Prior to Migration

Information source	Percentage
Family	51.2
Friends	50.0
Mass-media	4.9
Private agency	1.6
Government agency	3.9
No one (ever visited)	16.6
Number	608

Source : Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

Table 7.14 shows that in general, personal sources (family and friends) are dominant compared with other information sources regardless of the education level of the migrants. However, among these sources of information, some 57.2 per cent of migrants derived information from friends on average compared with 44.1 per cent from the family concerning the situation and condition of Bekasi, the place of destination. This reflects the fact that the migrants often have wider friendship networks than family networks. Generally, the size of friendship networks tend to be wider than family networks because this relationship is developed based on a

wider base than blood ties such as physical location, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, religion, sex, and so on (Jackson, 1977: 60). Even, to a certain degree, friendship can be stronger and more solid than blood ties. It was reflected by the finding of the present study that 74.8 per cent of the present migrants preferred to discuss their problems with their friends than the 25.2 per cent of them who wanted to have such discussion with their close relatives at destination areas.

Table 7.14 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Source of Information About Place of Destination and Education Level Prior to Migration

Education level	Source of information						
	Family	Friends	Mass-media	Private Agency	Government Agency	No one (ever visited)	Number
Primary School	33.3	66.7	-	-	5.5	11.1	54
Secondary School	51.9	52.5	7.6	1.3	5.1	10.6	158
High School	53.6	46.9	2.3	1.8	3.1	19.3	388
College/Uni.	37.5	62.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	37.5	8

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

Moreover, the proportion of the present migrants with lower education levels using their friends as the source of information to find out about the situation and conditions in the destination areas was higher than for those with higher educational levels. Even for those who completed high school, the proportion using friends as the source of information was substantially lower than for those who completed primary school: 46.9 per cent compared with 66.7, respectively. It is clear that the findings of the present study are contrary to the existing hypothesis

clear that the findings of the present study are contrary to the existing hypothesis that persons with high educational levels have a greater likelihood of establishing contacts with people outside the village (Speare *et al.*, 1988: 113). In addition, the migrants with high educational levels tend to have greater access to formal sources of information compared with those with lower educational attainment.

In stimulating migration, the social network not only provides information about place of destination but also assists the migrants when they first go to Bekasi. In general, most of the migrants (88.3 per cent) were accompanied by friends and/or relatives in travelling to Bekasi and only 21.7 per cent of them went alone (Table 7.15). This affirms that for many migrants, Bekasi is a new area to them where they do not feel secure psychologically and socially, particularly when

Table 7.15 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Persons Who Accompany Them to Bekasi

Companion	Percentage
Parents	16.8
Brother	35.2
Husband	1.5
Friends	19.2
Family	12.5
No one	21.7
Numbers	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

Note: Does not add up to 100 percent because migrants can be accompanied by more than one type of companion.

they first arrive. Hence, the presence of a companion is very important in this situation. Moreover, this also reassures parents or family that their daughters will arrive safely and find accommodation at the destination area. As explained by one of the parents interviewed in an origin area:

..... the important thing for me (Parents) is that my daughter does the right thing (working) at Bekasi. In doing so, I myself accompanied my daughter going to her friend's unit at Bekasi to confirm that everything is fine. I am really afraid that my daughter could be deceived like her friend.

In line with this, it is understandable that the proportion of migrants accompanied by their brothers was high (35 per cent). In this context, the protective role of the brother is similar to that of parents.

There is a close relationship between education level and moving independently to Bekasi. Table 7.16 shows that the proportion of migrants with primary school levels of education who went to Bekasi without companions was lower than that for those with secondary school and higher levels. This seems to relate to the common assumption that education is an important resource since it provides knowledge to gain certain ends (Boissevain, 1974: 86). Moreover, education is believed to have a significant impact on improving and expanding the horizons of people and enhancing their quantity and quality of information about alternative opportunities (Sporakowski, 1993). Here, presumably, the knowledge of the more educated migrants about the situation in Bekasi and the greater self-confidence of the migrants to cope with problems at the destination might explain why a high proportion move independently.

Table 7.16 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Education Level and Persons Accompanying Them to Place of Destination

Education level	Companions						
	Parents	Brothers	Husbands	Friends	Family	No One	Numbers
Primary school	11.1	27.8	1.9	33.3	18.5	12.9	54
Secondary school	15.2	31.01	0.6	20.3	15.2	25.3	158
High school	18.3	37.9	1.5	17.3	10.6	20.9	388
College/Uni	12.5	37.5	12.5	-	12.5	50	8

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

Table 7.17 reveals a different role of social networks in contributing to the movement of migrants to Bekasi. The table shows differences between the place of residence of migrants at the time of arrival and that at the time of interview. In the early days of arrival it is quite clear that social networks play a significant role in assisting the migrants by providing a residential place. Most of the migrants (89.1 per cent) stayed at the home of family or friends compared with only 10.9 per cent who stayed at a mess or hotel. This is consistent with the assumption that in stimulating migration of the potential migrants, social networks give support through providing initial accommodation (Hugo, 1981; Skeldon, 1990) and is also consistent with the findings of previous studies of female migration in other Southeast Asian countries (Fuller *et al.*, 1990; Feranil, 1994).

However, the pattern of the migrants' current residence was substantially different from that at the time of arrival. It can be observed from Table 7.17 that almost all of the migrants (91.9 per cent) eventually lived sharing with their friends whereas the pattern initially was dominated by family residences (56.4 per cent). Moreover, the mode of sharing with friends also differs from those staying in friends' houses upon arrival. At the time of the survey the migrants individually paid part of the rent of their housing whereas upon arrival they were temporarily the guests of friends until they became established. Hence the support from the social network for accommodation is only temporary. It seems that the migrants break out on their own away from dependency on family and friends after finding a job and becoming economically independent.

Table 7.17 Bekasi: The Proportion of Migrants by Type of Residential Place at Time of Arrival

Type of residence	Previous	Current
Family house	56.4	2.3
Friend unit	32.7	91.9*
Mess	10.7	5.8
Hotel	0.2	-
Total	100	100
N	608	608

Note: * The migrants shared by paying individually the rent

Source: *Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.*

Another role of social networks is to provide assistance in looking for a job by supplying job information (Fuller, *et al.*, 1990; United Nations, 1994). This role is very important, particularly in the present study due to the fact that the majority of migrants moved to obtain a job. Table 7.18 documents the various sources of job information accessed by the migrants. Again, social networks (family and friends) were the primary sources in providing job information. Some 32.7 and 45.6 per cent of the migrants found their jobs from family and friends respectively, while only very small percentages found work from formal sources such as mass-media (1.2 per cent), government agencies (6.1 per cent), private agencies (3.1 per cent) and previous employers (3.5 per cent). This suggests that formal job markets are not well developed in Bekasi despite the fact that most of the migrants work in a formal establishment. This finding is consistent with other studies of female migration in Asian countries (Wolf, 1990; Fuller, *et al.*, 1990; Feranil, 1994; Taneerananon, 1994; Singarimbun and Sairin (eds), 1996).

Table 7.18 Bekasi: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Source of Job Information (Percentage)

Information sources	Percentage
Mass-media	1.2
Government agencies	6.1
Private agencies	3.1
Family	32.7
Friends	45.6
Previous Company	3.5
Recent Company	4.9
Others	2.9
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995.

In addition, the role of social networks seems to go beyond the provision of job information to help the migrants to find a job. This is indicated by the short time that migrants waited for a job. Table 7.19 showed that of the 465 migrants (76.5 per cent) who were looking for a job at the time of their arrival, 53.8 per cent of the migrants obtained a job in less than 2 weeks, while 30.3 per cent of them obtained a job after waiting more than one month. Watik who worked at a garment factory explained her experience in helping some of her close friends to join of the company where she worked:

I share with four of my friends in a small unit. They are my workmates in a garment factory at Bogor, West Java. Because of accusations of my involvement in a strike against the policy of the company, I was fired from my job. Luckily, in a short time, I got another job again (my current job), partly because I had experience and am an active young women. Nevertheless, I did not lose contact with my close friends at Bogor. So, when I found out that there were job opportunities at the current company, I quickly contacted my friends at Bogor. Now, we are together again not only in the factory but in the same share housing.

Table 7.19 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Duration of Unemployment

Duration	Percentage
Less than a week	28.2
1 - 2 weeks	25.6
3 - 4 weeks	15.9
1 - 3 months	21.3
4 - 6 months	4.9
6 months and over	4.1
Total	100
N	465

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

In summary, many studies have demonstrated that social networks have a substantial role in stimulating potential migrants to move. The present study has focused on the role of social networks in providing assistance to migrants before migration and at the time of their arrival in the destination area. Social networks contributed significantly in terms of providing information about job opportunities, accommodation at the time of arrival, and social support during migration. More importantly, the social networks (family/relative and friends) were the primary resources compared with formal resources such as mass-media, government and private agencies in supplying information about job opportunities in the destination areas. In addition, among social networks, networks of friends have played a greater role in supporting the movement of the present migrants to Bekasi than family or relative networks. Even though the migrants differ in educational levels, they have used social networks in similar ways which is not consistent with the existing literature (Boissevain, 1974; Speare *et al.*, 1988).

7.4 Conclusion

Discussion in this chapter has focused on some determinants of the process of migration to Bekasi. In line with this, this chapter has reviewed and elaborated selected theories on the determinants of female migration to provide a framework to explain socio-economic factors stimulating female labour migration to Bekasi. Both quantitative and qualitative empirical data have been used intensively to examine the application of those theories on the context of the present migrants.

The findings relating to the micro and macro determinants significantly influencing the female labour migrants to Bekasi have been presented. With respect to micro determinants, economic motivations such as looking for a job, improving career, and wage differentials are dominant among the present migrants following the assumptions of micro-analytical perspectives such as push-pull and neo-classical equilibrium models. Generally, this finding is consistent with other studies in LDCs. More importantly, it is clear that the economic motivation above is strengthened by the educational level and age characteristics of the migrants. Moreover, this finding challenges the conventional assumption that females tend to migrate in association with their family.

In the macro context, there are several factors associated with migration to Bekasi such as limited job opportunities in the non-agricultural sector in rural areas, improvement of female education attainment, and changing social perceptions. These factors are intertwined with one another to induce women to move to Bekasi. This partly challenges the conventional generalisation that introducing agricultural modernisation in rural areas has displaced women in the agricultural sector and pushed them to move to urban areas. This is more likely to

be appropriate to explain why women migrate to work in the informal sector rather than in the formal sector such as in factories. This is due to the fact that working in factories is not easy and needs not only 'connections' but also high educational attainment. Like other studies, the present study found that young women are no longer interested in working in the agricultural sector in origin areas.

Moreover, the way in which their families are involved in migration does not conform totally with the assumptions of the household strategy perspective. The present study argues that household strategies are dynamic and should be analysed according to the particular context of a migrant's situation. Another important factor is the role of social networks. The findings of the present study show the significant role of family and friends in providing assistance before migration and at the time of arrival at the destination.

The study presents a picture that female migration is multi-dimensional. An integrated approach is more likely to give a better understanding in assessing and illuminating the differences among female migration. In addition, it also indicates that young women are responsive toward economic and social change in their own right.

Chapter Eight

Migration and Empowerment: Social and Economic Consequences of Migration for the Roles and Status of Women

8.1 Introduction

The consequences of migration for women has attracted relatively little research attention (Khoo *et al.*, 1984; Tienda and Booth, 1988; Bilborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Rodenburg, 1993; Hugo, 1997). The present study has already discussed the socio-demographic characteristics, motivations and determinants of the migration of women factory workers to Bekasi. An understanding of these issues is important as a basis for the present chapter since the literature on the consequences of migration for females in LDCs shows a link between migration consequences and migration causes (Khoo *et al.*, 1984; Tienda and Booth, 1988; Rodenburg, 1993).

The present chapter will discuss the social and economic impacts of migration on the migrant factory workers in Bekasi interviewed for this study. Specifically, the aim of this chapter is to seek a better understanding of the effects of migration in changing the economic and social status of the migrants. As part of the general neglect of the gender dimension in migration, this aspect has not been extensively discussed in the literature, particularly in Indonesia (Hugo, 1992: 190). An understanding of this migration impact is very important in relation to human resource development policy, particularly for women in urban areas.

Before analysing the empirical results regarding the impacts of migration found in the present study, the chapter will review the literature relating to social and economic consequences of migration on the migrants themselves, particularly

young migrants who migrate autonomously. This is done to provide the necessary background to the development of some tentative generalisations regarding the effects of migration in empowering female migrants, particularly young women.

8.2 Selected Review on Migration Consequences

Among the dramatic changes in global demographic processes over the last two decades, the involvement of women in population mobility has been significant (Hugo, 1997). Even though studies have addressed the issue of female migration in LDCs, the relationship between migration and female empowerment remains little understood (see Fawcett *et al.*, 1984; Chant (ed), 1992; United Nations, 1993, 1994). According to Hugo (1997), although this issue is complex, there are limited studies that explore it critically. He argues that the complexity is a result of the two-way relationship between migration and female empowerment in which the empirical evidence indicates that migration often improves the autonomy and decision making power of women, while improvements in the roles and status of women is also associated with the tendency of women to move (Hugo, 1997: 1). In addition, Hugo reviewed literature on the consequences of female migration from LDCs and found that in some contexts migration is empowering but it also can be a disempowering process for women, in terms of economic, social and cultural effects (Hugo, 1997: 19-22).

8.2.1 Impact on the Economic Status of Female Migrants

In assessing the consequences of migration, many scholars agree that migration has a significant effect in spheres such as the demographic, economic,

social, cultural, political areas and at several scales of analysis such as societal, community and individual within different areas (destination and origin areas)(Lewis, 1992; Parnwell, 1993). In this section we will focus on the broader effect of migration on the status of the women involved in LDCs. Hugo (1997) reviews the relationship between migration and the empowerment of women and found that migration had a significant impact in empowering and disempowering migrants in different circumstances, depending upon the types and forms of migration as well as the migration decision making processes.

In general, there are two main domains in determining the status of female migrants, namely economic and social status (Tienda and Booth, 1988; Rodenburg, 1993; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Hugo, 1993). Economic status is often associated with the participation of female migrants in the labour force, the type of work and their income earning capacity while social status is more concerned with the living conditions and the migrant's social position within the family and community.

With regard to economic status, female migrants are more likely to be in the labour force than non-migrants at the destination. Recent studies from South and Southeast Asian countries have confirmed this pattern (United Nations, 1994). For example, a study in Sri Lanka found that 87.4 per cent of female migrants were working compared to only 12.6 per cent of female non-migrants in Sri Lanka (Abeyewardene, 1994:55), while in Vietnam a study of female migrants in Ho Chi Minh City found that 87.7 per cent of female migrants participated in the labour force compared to only 12.3 per cent of female non-migrants (Ho Chi Minh University, 1994: 103).

Macro studies of female migration using census population data in Indonesia have found a similar pattern. Using 1980 census data, Sunaryanto (1992:71-73) studied single female migrants to Jakarta and found that the proportion who were in the labour force was substantially higher than among female non-migrants - 85.4 per cent compared to only 14.6 per cent. This pattern is consistent with previous studies of female migrants in Jakarta by Jones (1977) and Anaf (1985). Moreover, the study found that migrant women at all ages have higher labour force participation rates than non-migrants, particularly among those in the 15-44 age group. In a similar vein, Rumondang (1996) studied young single female workers in Riau using 1990 census data and found that 42.3 per cent of migrants worked compared to 30.4 per cent of the non-migrants. In addition, in every single age group, the migrants had higher labour force participation rates than non-migrants. Another study by Mardiyah (1996: 64) studied young female workers in West Java, using 1990 census population data, and pointed out that among the economically active population, 40.4 per cent of migrants were working compared to 26.3 per cent of the non-migrants.

From the evidence above, it is clear that migration can enhance women's economic status through employment. This is in line with the fact that most female migrants move because of job related motivations as was shown in Chapter Seven which challenges the previously held assumption that female migration tends to be associated only with family migration (Zlotnik, 1995: 258).

Of course, it is not enough only to examine the employment status of female migrants to assess the economic impact of migration. An important issue is whether their new employment status results in improving their income. Female

migrants, particularly those who are recently arrived and have low education, are often concentrated in informal sector jobs such as domestic service and petty trade with low incomes (Fawcett et al., 1984; Rodenburg, 1993). Some researchers found that whatever the pattern of migration, females are disadvantaged relatively compared to their male counterparts in the urban labour market because of patriarchal constraints, lower levels of education, and tight labour market conditions (Boserup, 1970; Youssef, 1976; Recchini de Lattes and Mychaszula, 1993.) so that it is not surprising if many of them tend to get work in the informal sector (Jelin, 1977; Sudarkasa, 1977; Fawcett *et al.*, 1984; Jones, 1984; Rodenburg, 1993). In addition, the imperative to survive in the destination areas has often forced female migrants to enter the informal sector to a greater extent than female non-migrants. A study in the Philippines examined female migrants by marital status and found that 45.9 per cent of single female migrants ended up working in the informal sector compared to only 15.6 per cent of female non-migrant counterparts. Of the informal sector workers, 93 per cent are in the 'house keepers, cooks, maids' category (Engracia and Herrin, 1984: 299). A similar study in secondary cities in the Philippines conducted by Trager (1988), found that 94 per cent of economically active recent female migrants worked in the informal sector compared to 54 per cent of female non-migrants. In several Asian countries, surveys carried out during the 1970s indicated that 33-45 per cent of economically active recent female migrants were employed in the domestic sector compared to 5-12 per cent of female non-migrants (Shah and Smith, 1984). Similarly, studies in several Latin America countries found that 50-73 per cent of the economically active recent migrants worked as domestic servants (Jelin, 1977).

Studying single female migrants to Jakarta using 1980 census data, Sunaryanto (1992) found that 68.7 per cent of the migrants worked in the informal sector and among them, 82.5 per cent worked as maids. This was particularly true of those from Java with only 15 per cent of them employed in trading (kiosk, pavement and street vendors). This finding is consistent with the earlier findings of Crockett (1985) that in Indonesia three quarters of migrant women worked in domestic services, particularly those under age 25 years. Suharno (1996) using 1990 census data, pointed out that among female migrants to Jakarta only 10.8 per cent worked in white collar jobs compared to 31.4 per cent of non-migrant female workers. Another study by Mardiyah (1996) found that among young female migrants to West Java, based on the 1990 census, only 4.4 per cent were in professional occupations.

The studies quoted above emphasise the fact that many female migrants end up at the lower end of the employment status scale, particularly in domestic service and petty trade. Even though such employment guarantees their survival in the destination area, particularly in the case of domestic service¹³, it does not provide high incomes. Although, we have no precise earnings data for this sector, many scholars agree that this sector mainly involves low wage occupations especially in relation to working hours (Jelin, 1977; Young, 1982; Rodenburg, 1993). Studying female migrants' earnings in Thailand, Tongudai (1984: 310) found that the earnings of migrants in domestic service was the lowest among all of the occupational categories considered.

¹³ One of the main reasons why parents encourage or allow their young daughters to work in domestic service is that this job provides their food and shelter as well as income. Moreover, morally and psychologically, parents feel more secure with such an occupation for their daughters (Jelin, 1977: 136)

The low wages in the informal sector partly reflects the fact that entry into this sector is easy as it is assumed in the dualistic model of the urban labour market, in that it is 'a temporary resting place' for newly arrived migrants (Todaro, 1969). The latter is not supported, however, by the evidence. Sunaryanto (1992) reported from his study of single female migration to Jakarta that among the migrants who had spent one year in Jakarta, 34.5 per cent were employed in the informal sector compared to 37.2 per cent of those who had already spent more than 5 years in Jakarta. Previous studies in several Southeast Asian cities have also found this to be case. Mc Gee (1977) reported that the opportunity to be self employed in small industries and as street vendors is restrictive and involves help from social networks (friends or relatives) and the payment of fees to people already in the business. What is to be stressed here is that even though many female migrants are employed in the informal sector, in what is claimed to be low levels of employment status, to obtain jobs in this sector needs considerable effort due to the fact that it is competitive and has its own rules and difficulties which will result in different outcomes for every female migrant. Hence it is not 'easy' to gain a living in the informal sector in Jakarta.

With regard to female migrants working in the urban informal sector, it is more likely to be associated with low educated migrants than with highly educated migrants. It seems that the employment pattern tends to be quite different between less and more educated migrants. Among more educated migrants there is a greater chance of entering formal sector employment, even though the number of them is smaller than the less or uneducated migrants. Studies of female migration in Malaysia and the Philippines have shown that female migrants with higher

educational achievement had a greater opportunity to end up in professional and administrative occupations such as nurses, teachers and medical professions (Khoo and Pirie, 1984; Eviota and Smith, 1984; Engracia and Herrin, 1984). Educational levels have played a major role in influencing the type of employment in which female migrants are involved.

There is growing evidence in LDCs that many female migrants, particularly young unmarried migrants are gaining work in the manufacturing sector, although most of them work as production workers with low wages (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Rodenburg, 1993; Hugo, 1994; United Nations, 1994). As has been discussed in Chapter Two, in the last two decades some less developing countries have experienced high rates of increase in the number of women in manufacturing activities as a result of the increasing movement off-shore of industry from MDCs. Many of these workers have been identified as migrants. In the early 1980s, some 70 per cent of female workers in the export-processing zones of Malaysia were migrants (Zlotnik, 1993), while in the Philippines, 62 per cent of females who worked in the export-processing zones were identified as recent migrants (Feranil, 1984). Similar evidence also emanates from Latin America countries, the 1990 census data for the northern state of Baja California in Mexico indicated that about 42 per cent of female workers in the industrial sector were classified as migrants (Lopez *et al.*, 1993). Hence migration provides the opportunity for females to participate in the urban manufacturing sector.

This opportunity is often associated with their education levels. Studies conducted by ESCAP in some Asian countries found that female workers in off-shore industries tend to have high educational levels (United Nations, 1994). For

example, in Sri Lanka 85.6 per cent of female workers in the manufacturing sector had completed at least secondary schools (Abeyewardane, 1994: 64). A study of female workers in Vietnam found that 61.3 per cent of total female workers at least completed secondary school and of the total, 47.3 per cent worked in the manufacturing sector as production workers (Ho Chin Minh University, 1994: 104). A study in the Philippines found that 79 per cent of total female workers had at least attended secondary school and of the total, 51.7 per cent worked in the manufacturing sector.

However, most who work in the manufacturing sector are employed at a low level of employment status as production workers and this relatively low position has a significant effect on their wages. According to some empirical studies in Southeast Asian countries, they tend to receive minimum or low wages which to a large extent are not enough to cover the migrants' basic needs properly (Lean, 1984: 132; Foo and Lim, 1989; Lim, 1990: 111). The wage rates vary among countries and are not comparable due to different living costs, however, several scholars have indicated that the wages of female factory workers is often the minimum wages allowed within the countries (Foo and Lim, 1989; Rodenburg, 1993; Hugo, 1977). For instance, in 1994, gross annual income for female industrial workers in Hong Kong was around 12,000 US dollars while in Bangkok and Manila it was around 2,500 US dollars (Hugo, 1997: 21). This low level of wages is the main factor keeping female migrants poor in destination areas.

In summary, it is clear that female migrants have a high level of participation in the labour market so migration does have a significant impact on female migrants in improving their employment status. However, many of them

are likely to participate in the informal sector in domestic services and petty trade and in the manufacturing sector as production workers. These jobs to a large extent merely allow most migrants to survive rather than significantly improving their economic status since these jobs tend to force migrants women into the low ranks of the urban community because of the low wages. However, it should be borne in mind that this status does not mean automatically that migration has primarily a negative impact on women migrant's lives. Indeed, some studies from Southeast Asian and African countries have pointed out that many such female migrants are still able to send remittances to their family in origin areas (Hugo, 1981; Ariffin, 1984; Tienda and Booth, 1988; Trager, 1988; Feranil, 1994; Taneerananon, 1994; Ho Chin Minh University, 1994). In addition, it is quite possible that migrant women themselves have quite a different perception of themselves. Foo and Lim, (1989: 230) point out that 'the existing evidence from Asian countries...strongly challenges the common assumption that women export factory workers in Asia suffer from poverty...' Studies done in Thailand and the Philippines found that women export factory workers earning the legal minimum wages were relatively well-off compared to most residing in rural areas (Foo and Lim, 1989: 213). In addition, they argued that most of the women worked to improve their consumption standards. They worked in a factory not for rice but for colour television sets and other consumer 'luxuries' (Foo and Lim, 1989: 214).

8.2.2 Social Consequences of Female Migration

Assessing the social consequences of migration on women is complicated due to the need to consider aspects ranging from the attitudes, behaviour and

aspirations of the migrants to the social status of the migrants within community and family at both origin and destination. In addition, migration is only one of several forces that act upon these changes, so that even without migration, the transformation of those aspects still takes place (Tienda and Booth, 1988). There is relatively little discussion in the migration literature concerning this issue (Hugo, 1992: 190; Rodenburg, 1993: 273), hence we can only make some tentative generalisations regarding the impact of migration on the status of women in LDCs.

Rural-urban migration can have a significant effect upon the attitudes, behaviour and social aspirations of individuals through assimilation processes and adaptation to a new socio-cultural environment at the destination (Lewis, 1982; Parnwell, 1993). Rural and urban areas contrast in terms of their respective economic, social, cultural and physical environments. Rural migrants moving to urban areas enter new areas with different socio-cultural environments which often forces them to adapt their own lives in order to survive. For those expecting to remain for a long period of time in urban areas to 'become urban,' it may be important in order to develop social interaction with people from different socio-cultural backgrounds who they deal with on a day to day basis (Parnwell, 1993).

Changes of attitudes, behaviour and social aspirations of migrants can not be separated from the process of their assimilation with urban values (Lewis, 1982: 182). To what extent the migrants experience a significant change in those aspects seems to be affected by the level of adaptation to urban values (Parnwell, 1993). For example, for many migrants who stay for just a short-time in urban areas, such as commuters or circular migrants, their behaviour and social aspirations are not as much changed compared with those who remain a long time due to the fact they

have to adapt less to urban values (Parnwell, 1993: 126). A number of migration studies have highlighted the ways in which migrants are perceived to change as a result of migration. Studying return migrants in a North-east Thai village, Parnwell (1993) found that migrants tend to be more knowledgeable, experienced, mature, have progressive ideas and improve their behaviour than those who remained in their home communities. In a similar vein, Saefullah (1994) in a study of return migrants in two villages in West Java in Indonesia found that migrants tend to be more experienced, knowledgeable and modern in behaviour than non-migrants in their origin communities. With these characteristics, many migrants often become innovators and participate more in development programmes, such as those introducing and applying new agricultural technology, and as such often become social agents for transferring aspects of city life, both positive and negative into the village.

Females, as migrants, can not avoid the assimilation process when moving into the urban situation (Lean, 1984; Blake, 1984; Bulatao, 1984). Migration often necessitates young women to live away from their family, particularly young unmarried migrants who move autonomously. Aside from the demands it makes upon migrants to be more forceful and assertive, it also forces female migrants to adjust their behaviour to the urban environment and manage their own lives independently. This change in social behaviour is encouraged by the fact that in many cases the motivations of the migrant women include a desire to be more independent and to adopt urban stereotypical characteristics, such as individualism and competitiveness. Such a process, it is believed by some scholars, is a substantial factor that has played a part in increasing the personal autonomy,

maturity and confidence of the migrants to control over their own lives (Ariffin, 1984; Huang, 1984; Hugo, 1997). In turn, this social change also affects the previous status quo with respect to relations with their family (Foo and Lim, 1989; Rodenburg, 1993).

A number of studies of female migration in less developing countries document those phenomena. Huang (1984) studied migrant women to Taipei in Taiwan and concluded that most migrants who worked in urban areas found their experience in the city rewarding. Furthermore, some said that they had become more independent, mature, outgoing and foresighted as a result of their migration. Foo and Lim (1989) observed women export factory workers in Malaysia and found similar evidence. In the words of one of their respondents (Lim 1989: 220):

I've gained experience in my working life mixing with people. I've learned how to interact with others. I feel that I've lots more friends now and am more daring and not so shy. I'm more independent and more mature. I have my own money so I'm more independent. If I stayed at home, it'd be boring, and there'd be nothing to do. I'd also be more dependent, especially on my mother.

Studying female migrant factory workers, Ariffin (1984) found that the urban environment had a substantial affect on the freedom of the female migrants in developing social interaction with men. Such interaction was considered taboo in rural areas. In addition, she concluded that the migrants, particularly those who are young and move without the company of their family, tend to change their behaviour, outlook, and values. In other words, modern life in urban areas has a great influence on individual needs and aspirations of the migrants.

By becoming more independent (social and economic) and mature, young women's social position within the family is affected. It is widely recognised that a

large segment of society in less developing countries are more likely to be associated with the patrilineal system of family structure and functioning whereby the position of women and children is subordinate within the family (Tienda and Booth, 1988: 5). Due to having their own incomes, the migrants are no longer so dependent upon their family and are able to contribute to lessening the economic burdens of the family by sending remittances. For many women, migration has strengthened their self image and self-esteem within the family (Trager, 1988; Rodenburg, 1993: 283). Studying female migrants in Chinese communities in Hong Kong and Malaysia, Strauch (1984) pointed out that the contribution of the migrant to her family's financial situation had improved the power and status of the migrant within the family. In the Chinese patrilineal system, female autonomy has traditionally been severely circumscribed so this represented a significant change. Moreover, the additional maturity and independence of female migrants improved the migrants' autonomy in decision making relating to their own personal lives, challenging the existence of the patrilineal system. In the word of Foo's respondent female worker in factory in Malaysia:

When one stays away from the families, one begins to do anything for oneself, making her own decisions and being independent on oneself. As time goes by, you begin to enjoy making your own decisions and do not want to consult your parents. Just like me, I don't like to ask my mother's opinion about a lot of things because some of the things I want to do are beyond the knowledge of my mother' (Foo and Lim, 1989: 222).

For many female migrants, migration is also viewed as a way in which the migrants escape from the family or community exercising control and dominating their lives (Wilkinson, 1987; Rodenburg, 1993). Studying migration of women workers in Peninsular Malaysia, Ariffin (1984) found that the second most

frequently quoted reason for migration was the intention to expand their individual freedom. According to her, this motivation took place partly due to the effects of modernisation and urban life through mass media, modern education, return migration as well as governmental development programs. Following Ariffin's argument (1984: 218) : '....a village Malay girl is expected to be obedient to her parents and elders, docile in her manners, and efficient in carrying out her domestic chores' but this is generally rejected by the female migrants. In similar vein, in the Republic of Korea, mothers support their young daughters to migrate and find jobs in urban areas to escape from the hierarchy of patriarchal societies in rural areas (Cho, 1990; Yoon, 1990).

Some studies also have shown that by migrating to urban areas, many married women had an opportunity to weaken the direct control of their rural families and in turn, were able to develop more egalitarian relationships with their husbands (Rodenburg, 1993). A study of female circular migration in Central Java, in Indonesia (Hetler, 1990), found that women controlled independently their resources in urban areas while their husbands undertook some child-care duties such as cooking and washing in the origin areas. Another study on the Philippines (Miralao, 1984) reported that some husbands who stayed at home did daily home duties when their wives were at work.

However, there is also evidence that socially, migration can be disadvantageous to female migrants. Linguistic, ethnic, religious or other cultural differences between migrants and the host community, may lead to the migrants becoming the objects of prejudice and discrimination in the receiving community (non-migrants). A study of migration in the Bangkok Metropolis found 14.6 per

cent of female migrants having difficulty in getting along with people, particularly in the host community (Parnwell, 1993: 123). Another study from Malaysia found that most urban communities put female migrants, particularly those who worked in export factories, at the lowest status in the urban social hierarchy due to such occupations being considered as only entered by women from the poorest urban families and the fact that most of them lived in poor conditions (Lean, 1984: 138; Foo and Lim, 1989: 214). Moreover, they often find it difficult to develop friendships within the host community due to the negative image that those female migrants behave immorally according to tradition by loosely mixing with the opposite sex both inside and outside the factory (Ariffin, 1984; Lean, 1984; Khoo, 1984).

Reviewing studies of female migration from less developed countries, Rodenburg (1993) found that some female migrants worked as prostitutes due to economic pressure. In Indonesia, the low wages in manufacturing industries had forced some female migrants to work in their 'time off' as prostitutes in Tangerang in West Java (Mather, 1988). Similarly, in Semarang in Central Java, the lack of job opportunities has led some young migrants to engage in prostitution. Such women have difficulty in social interaction and feel ashamed when they come back to their origin areas (Lerman, 1983). It has also been reported that in Bangkok some parents sold their young daughters into brothels to pay debts (Phongpaichit, 1984). In some urban areas in Africa, some women migrants engage in prostitution while waiting for a permanent job due to this being the most lucrative option open to such women (Nelson, 1993).

For married women, migration to urban areas to some extent reduces their autonomy in relation to production roles. A study of female migration in Africa reported that non-working 'housewives' who moved with their husbands were frustrated and unhappy because of not having enough work to occupy them, and due to migration they had lost important productive roles which gave them a measure of economic independence (Tienda and Booth, 1988; Nelson, 1993).

To summarise, migration for women has a substantial impact on their attitudes, behaviour and aspirations as well as their social status, particularly among young women. The social impacts vary among the migrants depending on the motivations and socio-cultural context from, and to where, the migrants belong. These also depend on how they are viewed and how they view themselves. In some instances, the patriarchal structure is challenged where the migrants are far away from the family and origin community in conjunction with the economic independence and improved knowledge of the migrants in urban areas. This change may be advantageous for the migrant's own lives but not for the family and community. From the phenomena above, it could be argued that migration has both positive and negative effects on the social and economic status of women within family and community both in destination and origin areas.

8.2.3 Migration Impact on Accommodation and Living Conditions

Accommodation and living conditions after migration is an important part of the lives of female migrants in destination areas, particularly for recent migrants. Entering a new urban environment for many recent migrants is a big challenge due to the fact that it differs substantially from their origin areas socially, economically

and culturally as well as geographically. For female migrants who have difficulty in adjusting to the urban situation, this often forces them to return home to their origin areas while some of the others remain even though living under such conditions. For example, a study of female migration to Bangkok in Thailand showed that around 5 per cent of the migrants returned home because of a dislike of the urban environment (Piampiti, 1984: 242).

Housing is often a big problem for migrants, particularly for those with low income earning capacity (Khoo *et al.*, 1984: 401). For recent female migrants, the role of social networks is substantial in providing housing at the time of initial arrival. Migration studies in less developed countries have pointed out that social networks play a significant role in helping the migrants to find a job but also, more importantly, in providing accommodation. Some female migration studies from Southeast Asian countries report a tendency for migrants to live with their relatives or friends when they first migrate to the city (Lean, 1984, Hong, 1984; Feranill, 1994; Taneerananon, 1994). This accommodation is often temporary since the relatives or friends are usually also migrants who have limited accommodation. As soon as they get a job, they prefer to move out and share with other friends, move to an area close to the working place or move to a dormitory provided by their factory (Lean, 1984).

For many migrants with low income levels, they have limited alternatives to find accommodation. Many of them are forced to rent a cheap house and share the expense or live in crowded housing conditions in order to get some accommodation, even though, it is located in poor urban environments (Ariffin, 1984; Khoo, 1984). In addition, the low income earning capacity of migrants also

has forced female migrants to accept poor accommodation facilities. Studies of female migrants who work in factories have reported that most of them have no bedroom furniture, dining table, sitting room and proper kitchen. They use their units as places for sleeping during the night and change them to become a sitting room during the day (Lean, 1984; Ariffin, 1984).

Not all of those who experience such inadequate living condition feel frustrated or dissatisfied. On the contrary, many of the migrants are satisfied. Perhaps, this relates to the background of their poverty or their motivations (getting a job is the most important thing). Studying female migrants in Malaysia, Ariffin (1984: 221) found that 83.4 per cent of the migrants felt satisfaction with their living conditions. In a similar vein, Tanerananon (1994: 92) studied women migrant workers in Hat Yai municipality in Thailand and found that around 79 per cent of the migrants found their living conditions favourable.

8.2.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that the consequences of female migration are complex, difficult to measure, and it is difficult to establish whether the consequences improve or decrease the migrants' social and economic status (Tienda and Booth, 1988; Hugo, 1993; Parnwell, 1993, Lim, 1993; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Rodenburg, 1993). One of the crucial problems in assessing the consequences of migration is that many diverse factors have led to the different impacts of migration. Tienda and Booth (1988) reviewed the consequences of migration for women's position in some African and Latin American countries and found that factors such as marital status, employment

situation prior to migration, the cultural context in which decisions are made and class position were substantial factors affecting where there is improvement or deterioration of women's position. Guest (1993) assessed the consequences of migration for women's status in Southeast Asia and found that educational levels, the family system and the roles of women within the family were very important in determining the consequences of migration for women.

In addition, Rodenburg (1993) reviewed migration consequences for women's socio-economic status and concluded that the conditions of female employment; the social link with the family in the origin areas; and whether the social norms prevalent in the destination area reinforce traditional patterns of behaviour; are very important factors in determining the positive and negative impacts of female migration. Another review argued that the context under which migration takes place also partly contributes to the different consequences of migration. The impact of migration seems to be more positive for women themselves if they move as a result of their own decisions rather than if the decision under their parents or family because they will struggle more to achieve the expectations they have set for themselves (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993: 13).

In general, from the migrants' perspective, migration is more likely to have positive impacts, particularly in a socio-economic sense, even though, it might not be so in the view of the host community or in the area of origin. In fact, the growing evidence that the number of females involved in migration in less developed countries has increased (Khoo *et al.*, 1984; Chant (ed), 1992; United Nations, 1993; United Nations, 1994; Hugo, 1997), is a reflection of the perceived

advantages of female migration. A study of female migration in some Asian cities showed that 50- 95 per cent of the migrants expressed satisfaction with their migration to the city and only between 5 and 30 per cent of them felt dissatisfied (United Nations, 1994). The following discussion will examine the issues raised so far in this chapter in relation to the women interviewed in the present study.

8.3 Migration and Economic Status of Migrants in Bekasi

From the review above, it can be seen that migration tends to have a significant impact on the economic status of female migrants reflected in high labour force participation rates and improved economic contributions to their own, and their family's living conditions. The following discussion will assess the extent to which the economic status of the migrants surveyed in Bekasi is increased as a result of their migration. In doing so, variables such as job status, autonomy in control over income and economic contribution to the family in the origin areas will be considered. In addition, the present study will also discuss whether the economic impact of migration is a net positive or negative according to the migrants' perspective.

8.3.1 Impact on Employment Status

With regard to the employment status of the present migrants, all of the migrants already had a job due to the nature of the study which focused only on female migrants working in a company. However, it should be emphasised here that their movement has played a major role in affecting their current employment status. As has been discussed in a previous chapter, before migrating to Bekasi,

most of the present migrants were unemployed or dissatisfied with their jobs in the place of origin. The present study found that 83.9 per cent of the migrants moved due to economic reasons. Of these, 67.6 per cent of the migrants came to Bekasi to search for jobs, while 16.3 per cent of them migrated to Bekasi to take up a job. The former reflects the fact that they did not have job at their origin areas and the study also found that they were prepared to wait from one week to one year to get a job at Bekasi. The latter, however, is more associated with improving their occupational status in that the current job at Bekasi gave more advantages to them than did their job at their previous place of residence. Some 6.9 per cent of the migrants (42 respondents) migrated to Bekasi because they were transferred by their employer.

The evidence suggests that migration to Bekasi provides advantages to the migrants in improving their job and occupation status. This evidence is consistent with that from many developing countries whereby female migrants were more likely to be in the labour force than non-migrants (United Nations, 1994). The propensity of the migrants to find a job at Bekasi was facilitated by the increased job opportunities in Bekasi as one of the major industrial centres in Indonesia. As an off-shore industrial area, Bekasi provided more job opportunities than most other areas in Indonesia, particularly for women. The study found that 53.3 per cent of those who were unemployed at the time of arrival waited for less than two weeks to find a job as shown in Table 8.1. Indeed, this was not only the case in Bekasi but is a general phenomenon in many off-shore industrial areas in less developing countries (United Nation, 1993; United Nations, 1994).

Furthermore, for the migrants themselves the change of employment status from unemployed to employed is a dramatic change. For many people in Indonesia where the labour market remains depressed and personal efforts to get a job prove to be fruitless, working not only improves economic status but also, more importantly, frees them

Table 8.1 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Duration Time of Unemployment Upon Arrival in Bekasi

Duration time	Percentage
less than 1 week	28.2
1 - 2 weeks	25.6
3 - 4 weeks	15.9
>1 - 3 months	21.3
>3 - 6 months	4.9
>6 - 1 year	2.6
> 1 years	1.5
Total	100
N	465

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

from a feeling of inferiority and improves their dignity. Indeed, this is stressed by the migrants. When they were questioned about the probability of changing occupation in a year, 46.3 per cent of them still chose to remain in their current jobs compared with only 16.7 per cent of them who planned to change their job. Moreover, Table 8.2 shows that women with completed high school education were more likely to stay in the same employment, while women with secondary schooling were more likely to seek a change or did not know. Clearly, job opportunities are limited and finding jobs in factories is not easy. As explained by one of the migrants with completed high school :

Thanks to God. It is s mercy from God for woman like me to be able to find a job in the company after being unemployed for a long

time because it is very difficult to get a job, especially in my home town. So, I am one of the lucky women who is free of emotional stress and currently has a job compared with my friends who are still unemployed in my village. For a while, I am very satisfied with my job. If I should change my job, I would prefer to be government official but it seems impossible for me because I do not have a lot of money. For me, this job is enough. Moving to other companies, the conditions is not much different, if only as production workers.

Table 8.2 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Future Employment Expectations in the Next Year and Completed Educational Level (Percentage)

Employment expectation	Educational level		
	Primary School	Secondary School	High School
Change employment	11.3	21.5	15.4
Same employment	45.3	36.7	51.2
Do not know	43.4	41.8	33.4
Total	100	100	100
N	54	158	394

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

8.3.2 Impact on the Migrant's Income

The following discussion examines the migrants' perspective toward their income in relation to their employment status, and whether their earnings enhance their economic status. Here, it needs to be stressed that it is extremely difficult to get precisely the total amount of the migrants' salaries due to the fact that each company had different components in determining the total earnings and many migrants themselves did not allow the interviewer to know their *slip gaji* (details of wage components) because of privacy problems.

In doing this, the strategy developed in the fieldwork was to get information from some respondents from each company who were relatively close socially to the interviewer, to talk about the average wage conditions of that company, or by obtaining information from the respondents who knew the average

wages of their friends who work at different companies to build up an overall picture of the wage structure. This was possible because they lived in the same unit or complex even though they worked in different companies. Information about the amount of salary paid by other companies often encouraged the migrants to move to companies offering higher salaries if there was any opportunity. Such salary information was used to adjust the respondent's reported salary in case they did not give information or gave an overestimation or underestimation about their salaries. However, most of the migrants provided their salary even though it was not always given precisely. Furthermore, all of the migrants indicated that their companies employed the minimum wage system set by the government (*Upah Minimum Regional- UMR*). For Bekasi, the *UMR* was 4600 rupiah per working day (8 hours) equal to 2 dollar US in 1995. As has been discussed in Chapter Seven, regions have different minimum regional wages (*UMR*) because the *UMR* takes into account the cost of the minimum physical basic needs of each region.

In general, the present study found that in Indonesia's urban socio-economic hierarchy, the migrants were categorised as having low status due to their low income earnings. Table 8.3 provides information on the wages of the migrants per month. The table shows that the migrants received a range of salaries between around 100 and 250 thousand rupiah per month at that time equal to between 40 and 100 dollars US. Most of the migrants (63.7 per cent) received a salary per month of between 145 000 and 170 000 rupiah and only a small proportion of the migrants (2 per cent) received a salary of a more than 200 000 rupiah per month, while 8.1 per cent of them received a salary of less than 140 000 rupiah per month. These wages did not include incentives such as health benefits,

attendance bonus, *Idul Fitri* bonus and others elements. The health benefit usually is given if the worker is sick and it only covers the cost of a medical check and does not include the cost of medicine. The attendance bonus is extra money given to the workers who are never absent or late for work during a month. Some companies applied this system to encourage workers to work every day but some did not do it. Even though the amount of this bonus was small (between 15 000 and 20 000 rupiah), it was valuable for the workers. The *Idul Fitri* incentive is extra money given to the workers once a year at the end of the fasting month. This is compulsory for every company and usually the amount is equal to one month of a worker's salary.

Table 8.3 Distribution of Migrants by Salary Per Month (000)

Salary (Rupiah)	Percentage
Less than 140	8.1
145 - 170	63.7
175 - 200	26.2
205 - 250	2.0
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

Even though the educational level of the surveyed migrants varied, salary differentials relate more to other factors rather than to the educational level of the migrants. Table 8.4 shows the distribution of salary per month by the migrant's educational level and shows that the salary level of the migrants tends to be concentrated in the middle rank (between 145 and 170 thousands rupiah) whatever their educational levels. However, women with higher educational attainment were more likely to earn higher salaries. With the standard of minimum regional wages

for Bekasi being Rp 4600 per day at that time, this evidence suggests that the companies were more likely to employ the migrants (workers) on minimum regional wages regardless of their level of education. In addition, this evidence proves that most of the migrants in the survey had worked for a relatively short period due to the fact that some companies took into account the length of time worked by the migrants in determining their wages. Workers with longer working experience received different wage rates from those with shorter experience. Some 57.6 per cent of the migrants had been in Bekasi less than one year.

Table 8.4 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Salary and Education Level (000 Rupiah) (Percentage)

Salary	Education level		
	Primary	Secondary	High
less than 140	11.1	12.6	5.8
145 -170	79.6	70.4	56.2
175 - 250	9.3	17.0	38.0
Total	100	100	100
N	54	159	395

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

All of the migrants worked as production workers which is the lowest status job in the job structure of the factory. In this position, they received a similar wage to the minimum wage system set by the Indonesian government (Rp.4,600 for Bekasi in 1995) According to the migrants, there were several factors affecting the salary differentials. Firstly, there were the different components of the salary which varied among the companies. Some companies provided a transport and meal allowance within the salary, while other companies provided meals and transportation for their workers. Secondly, it was affected by the worker's status

and work experience. Workers with probation status only received a minimum wage without any incentives. Hence, the 8.1 per cent of the migrants in the lowest salary category could be identified as the new workers with probation status. Thirdly, it depends upon the amount of overtime provided by the factory. Most of the migrants had overtime work regularly, at least once in a week. One of the factories employed workers 12 hours of every working day. Overtime work enabled workers to increase their salaries, although many of the migrants were not happy with this system because of the low wage per hour and the fact that they had to spend much of their time in the factory.

All of the salaries shown in Table 8.4 indicate that all migrants are classified as being in the lower economic class within society as the wages of production workers in off-shore industries are generally low (Hugo, 1997: 21). According to some studies from Southeast Asian countries, off-shore industries continue to employ workers on a minimum or low wage below the minimum physical needs of workers (Lean, 1984: 132; 1990: 111).

Therefore, it could be argued that the migrants have gained little from the companies in Bekasi and have not really much improved their economic status. In some cases, it has forced some of them into a poorer economic condition than before. This is due to the fact that they needed to live independently from their family and their salary per month is low in relation to living costs in Bekasi. The living costs at Bekasi were found to be similar to those of Jakarta. So, it is not surprising that most of them were living in poor conditions. For example, they often share a small unit with two to four other people with a public toilet.

However, from the migrants' perspective, even though their salaries are low, this has a different meaning from what is generally assumed. Foo and Lim (1989) in analysing the economic status of women export factory workers in Asia underlined that it is important to take into account the workers' subjective view of their own relative economic status due to the fact that it often differs from that of the wider community. The fact is that subjectively the migrants do not consider themselves to be poor (Foo and Lim, 1989: 214).

According to many migrants in the present study, working at the factory not only gives them satisfaction in terms of their earnings but also reduces their economic dependency upon their parents or family. As mentioned previously, the present study found that 83.9 per cent of the migrants came to Bekasi because of job related reasons. This implies that these migrants were previously unemployed or were not satisfied with their jobs in the origin areas. Their current job provides them with a means to improve their economic status and an opportunity for many of them to shift from being unsalaried women to a salaried worker. This was reflected in their high levels of satisfaction with their wages, even though they were aware that they were small. Table 8.5 that shows that the majority of migrant workers (88.8 per cent) were satisfied with their salaries and only 11.2 per cent of them were dissatisfied. It is apparent that they were able to adequately fulfil their basic needs without financial support from their families or by regularly borrowing money from other persons. In doing so, however, they develop a specific strategy for survival by strictly allocating their salaries, such as sharing living cost with others (unit, foods and other equipment).

Furthermore, a majority of migrants (58.1 per cent) were able to send remittances to their families in the origin areas. Some 18.8 per cent of them sent remittances regularly every month to support the economic well being of their parents as has been discussed in Chapter Seven. These remittances did not include food or goods that they brought when they regularly visited their origin areas. Hence, personally migration had not only provided migrants with a better economic status but also improved their role in the household economy from being 'a burden' to being 'a supporter'.

Table 8.5 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Level of Satisfaction with Salary

Satisfaction level	Percentage
Satisfied (adequate)	88.8
Dissatisfied	10.5
Very dissatisfied	0.7
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

In sum, the evidence from the present study suggests that migration has played a great role in improving the economic earnings of the migrants as a result of their jobs. In general, their income was low due to the minimum wage legislation but they were still able to adequately fulfil their basic needs according to their own standards and also to provide financial support to their families in their origin areas. This evidence is consistent with the findings of other studies in Southeast Asian countries (Feranil, 1994; Taneerananon, 1994; Ho Chin Minh University, 1994) of female migrants who work in export oriented factories.

8.4 Migration and Social Consequences

For many migrants, migration means entering a new area with a different physical and socio-cultural environment. Such differences often force the migrants to adapt their own lives in order to survive at the destination area. Through assimilation to urban values, the attitudes, behaviour and social aspirations of migrants tend to change step by step (Parnwell, 1993: 126). The longer they stay in urban areas, the greater the likelihood of change in attitudes, behaviour and aspirations.

Migrants often have had difficulties in developing a social relationship with non-migrants or migrants from different social-cultural backgrounds (Lean, 1984: 138; Foo and Lim, 1989: 214; Parnwell, 1993: 123). The following discussion will focus on the independence and maturity of the migrants and their control over their problems as a result of their migration. In addition, an examination will be made of attitudes and behaviour of those migrants surveyed in relation to their social interactions. In doing so, the information collected from day to day observation during fieldwork at Bekasi is employed more than the data collected from the structured questionnaire.

8.4.1 Impact on Social Problems

It was evident that for the migrants, living in a new social environment at Bekasi was difficult in economic and social terms. According to the migrants, the living costs at Bekasi were too expensive compared to the costs in their origin areas. For sharing a housing unit, they spent between 15 and 50 000 rupiah depending upon the facilities in the unit. Moreover, Bekasi is a prime destination

of migration in Indonesia (Hugo, 1994), and hence is quite ethnically heterogeneous, so migrants have to develop social interaction with the host community as well as other migrants from different ethnic groups. For some migrants, this situation is difficult and creates social problems, such as social conflict and feelings of insecurity. It also tends to encourage them to stay alone at home during their free time or move to a different social environment. Away from the family, the migrant has to be brave enough to confront socio-economic problems faced in Bekasi and the presence of friends or relatives are useful in helping the migrants in solving their problems.

Problems usually occur at the time of arrival and these reduce following the adaptation process of the migrants. In the present study, only some of the migrants experienced difficulties at the time of arrival. Table 8.6 shows some of the major difficulties that were faced by migrants at the time of arrival. The table shows that only 17.3 per cent of the total migrants had a major problem with their lives when they first migrated to Bekasi, while most of them (82.7 per cent) did not. This evidence suggests that most of the migrants consider the social impact of their migration before migrating so that they are able to cope with the social problems faced at the destination. As suggested by Wood (1981), migration is based principally on a rational calculation on the part of the migrant. Here, the calculation included finding a place for stay and finding a job in which the role of social networks (friends and relatives) was very important. Hence, it is not surprising that not many migrants had major problems at the time of arrival.

Most of the migrants had social problems related to social interaction and finding a job (35.2 per cent and 40 per cent respectively), while only 6.7 per cent

of them had a major problem in looking for a unit. Indeed, some of them paid to solve the problems, as indicated by the following statement of a migrant from Lampung:

When I came to Bekasi, I stayed with a friend of my friend for a while because I do not have friends or relatives in Bekasi. I felt lonely at the unit when all of them went to work and actually I was incompatible with some of them. I really suffered from that situation at that time. However, I had no alternative. I had a bad experience when looking for a new unit and job. Somebody deceived and exploited me to pay for his help but I got nothing in return.

Table 8.6 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Main Social Problems at Time of Arrival

Social problems	Percentage
Social interaction with others	35.2
Feeling lonely	14.3
Finding jobs	40.0
Finding unit	6.7
Others	10.5
Total	100
N	105

Source: Bekasi migration survey, 1995

Problems of social interaction with neighbours still continued to be significant even though the migrants had lived in Bekasi for a long time. This problem to some extent created social conflict between the migrants and the host community. Table 8.7 points out that 41 per cent of the migrants felt their relationship with their community was not as good as their relationships with the community at origin, while only 3.6 per cent of them felt their relationship with their neighbours in Bekasi was better than before. There were two main reasons for this problem. Firstly, most of them had different cultural backgrounds to the

culture of the host community which was mainly Sudanese, while the majority migrants (85.0 per cent) came from non-Sudanese social back grounds.

Table 8.8 shows the perception of migrants of their social relationship with their neighbours in Bekasi by their completed educational level. From this table, it is clear that educational level did not affect them in developing their social relationships with the host community. Many of those with low and high educational level had a similar perception that they had difficulty in developing a social relationship with the host community, however, those with high school attainment were more likely to think that their social relationships were worse.

Table 8.7. Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Their Perceptions Toward Social Relations with the Neighbourhood Compared to the Origin Area

Social relationship	Percentage
Worse	41.0
Same	55.4
Better	3.6
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

In addition, the migrants themselves tend to stay exclusively within their own ethnic groups. There were several housing units where the tenants were exclusively migrants from South Sumatra or West Sumatra or Central Java. This phenomenon seems typical of the migrants as some scholars argue that migrants tend to cluster in certain occupations and areas due to strong socio-cultural ties (Connell *et al.*, 1976: 52; Hugo, 1981: 211; Skeldon, 1990: 142). However, there were also some migrants who shared a unit with other migrants who came from different backgrounds. There were also many cases where the migrants did not

know other migrants even though they were their close neighbours (living not more than 15 metres from their units).

Secondly, they do not have enough time to interact with others. With the work system employed by the companies, most of the time they were focused on their jobs. When they returned home, they felt very tired, particularly those who worked during the night. As explained by one of the migrants who worked at night: 'during this week, I have not communicated with my room mates. When I return back to home, they are sleeping and when I get up, they have already gone to work. Reversely, when they come back, I have already gone to work'.

Table 8.8 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Educational Level and Perception of Social Relationship Compared to the Origin Areas(Percentage)

Educational level	Perception of Social Relationship			
	Worse	Same	Better	Total (N)
Primary School	35.2	61.1	3.7	100 (54)
Secondary School	34.2	61.4	4.4	100 (158)
High School	44.4	51.3	3.3	100 (394)

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

The time limitation for social interaction also became one of factors that forced them not to participate in many activities held by the youth organisations (eg. *Karang Taruna, Remaja Masjid*). It also contributed toward bad social interaction between the migrants and the host communities. Table 8.9 points out that 95.9 per cent of the total migrants did not participate in social activities organised by the village. Among them, 53.5 per cent of the migrants were not able to participate in social activities held by villagers or youth organisations (eg. *Karang Taruna, Remaja Masjid, Kelompok Pengajian*) because they had no time

to do so, while 40.5 per cent of them did not join with the *Karang Taruna* or other youth organisation because they were not interested.

Their absence from social activities organised by the youth organisations was regretted by the host community. According to some key persons interviewed, these social activities were very important to educate and socialise young people. As part of the community, they had a responsibility to be involved in the programs. In addition,

Table 8.9 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by the Reason They Did Not Participate in Social Activities at the Destination

Reasons	Percentage
No time	53.5
Not interested	40.5
No opportunity	6.0
Total	100
N	583

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

those social activities were also a means for them to introduce themselves to each other. It was very important for the security of the village since they often returned back from working at night. Indeed, it was difficult to recognise whether they belonged to the community of the village or not. The host community often claimed that the migrants were just looking for benefits for themselves without considering their responsibilities toward the development of the village. This led to a lack of social cohesion between the migrants and the host community.

Such social relationships tend to be to the disadvantage of the migrants. The host community's attitude as a result of that social relationship was disrespect, discrimination and dislike of the migrants. Even though many migrants did not

care about these attitudes, there is some evidence that migrants often moved due to a feeling of insecurity in the local area. Table 8.10 shows that the majority of migrants (67.3 per cent) had experienced residential mobility at least once since moving to Bekasi. Among them, 42.3 per cent of the migrants moved due to problems of social environment such as insecurity and inadaptability.

Table 8.10 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Reasons for Residential Movement During Stay in Bekasi

Reasons	Percentage
Social environment	42.3
Following friends/brother	11.7
To be independent	21.5
Far from place of work	20.3
Others	4.2
Total	100
N	409

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

In sum, migration has had a significant impact in creating social problems for the migrants, particularly at the time of their first arrival. Moreover, the evidence above suggests that migrants do not get on well with their host community. As an outsider, they are expected to follow local social norms and the accepted behaviour of the host community. Otherwise, they take the risks of becoming an object of prejudice and discrimination. In fact the situation is not easy for some migrants. The tendency of migrants to interact with their own ethnic group reflects the difficulties in making appropriate social adjustment with other groups both in the host community and with other ethnic groups. Hence many migrants suffer social unrest, insecurity, and in some instances, have to move to other places.

8.4.2 Impact on Behaviour of the Migrants

From previous studies of Southeast Asian countries, it was found that migration has had a significant impact on the way in which female migrants respond toward modern life in urban areas (Ariffin, 1984; Huang, 1984; Saefullah, 1994). In other words, the migrants were more modern in outlook, far sighted and free in developing social interaction with their male counterparts than before migration (Ariffin, 1984; Foo and Lim, 1989). With qualitative data collected through observation during in the fieldwork, the following discussion attempts to examine the attitudes, behaviour and life style of the migrants in their day to day life.

With regard to their social attitudes, the migrants tend to be responsive to modern forms of urban life. This is reflected in the way in which they dress in day to day life. The way in which they dress seems not to differ from most young women in major urban areas. Dressing in jeans or skirts with a sport shirt and new hair style and also some accessories which are a symbol of modernisation was easy to find among them (see the photograph 8.1). They feel confident and proud to dress in a modern style.

It was quite easy for the migrants to dress in a modern style. There were a lot of shops in the local market that sold all of the modern fashions at relatively cheap prices such as trousers, shirts, shoes, cosmetics and accessories, even though these goods were imitations of designer labels they were not too bad in quality. These stalls were also found outside the factory gates on pay days. At this time, a lot of traders spread out their goods in front of the factory. So, on pay days the areas in front of the factory changed to become a small market.

The influence of modern fashion is conspicuous and the migrants dress in a modern style through imitating other migrants as well as through the effects of mass media such as TV, newspapers and magazines. Table 8.11 depicts the extent to which migrants have contact with mass media. Television and radio were the favourite media of migrants with 91.2 per cent of the migrants listening to the radio almost every day while 64.2 per cent of the migrants also watched television almost every day. Indeed, during fieldwork this was one of the obstacles in collecting data for the present study (see Chapter Three).

Access to television and radio was relatively easy compared to newspapers and magazines since the migrants were able to join with their landlords or other neighbours and have television for free, while for radio, it was easy to share one with their room mates. Indeed, 51.3 per cent of the migrants owned their own radio but only 5.1 per cent of them owned their own television. However, it was very hard for most of them to subscribe to a newspaper or magazine. What they commonly did was to share the payment for a selected issue which they particularly wanted.

Table 8.11 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Level of Interaction With Mass Media (Percentage)

Media	TV	Radio	Newspaper	Magazine
Everyday	49.3	88.1	2.8	1.3
Several times a week	14.9	3.1	16.7	14.2
One or twice a week	7.6	1.3	11.4	19.5
Less often	28.2	7.5	69.1	65.0
Total	100	100	100	100
N	604	604	605	605

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

With regard to their attitudes, it seem that there was no significant change except for their increased maturity. They still tended to hold traditional norms in social relationships with others, particularly males. They were polite, low profile, plain spoken, caring and respectful to each other as is typical of rural society as argued by Nisbet (1966: 47). There were significant opportunities to break down those traditional norms because they lived independently and far beyond the control of their families as is the case with female migrants who worked in factories in Malaysia (Ariffin, 1984).

However, the fact was the opposite. Being away from the family made the women migrants quite careful in developing social relationships with males as the social control of community in rural areas is relatively strong toward that matter. Most of them were aware that their behaviour was always being monitored by the host community. During fieldwork in Bekasi, it was rare to see them chatting with male friends at their units. To interview the migrants, the interviewer had to contact their landlords to avoid negative prejudice and ensure the safety of the migrants themselves. The migrants needed to be more mature in developing social relationships with men. Therefore, it was not surprising that the host community tended to have a relatively positive image toward the morals of the migrants. This phenomenon was contrary to the evidence from Malaysia where female migrants had difficulty in developing friendships with the host community because they allegedly behaved immorally by loosely mixing with the opposite sex (Ariffin, 1984; Lean, 1984; Khoo, 1984).

8.4.3 Impact on Migrant's Personal Autonomy and Knowledge

Studies of female migration from Asian countries have found that being away from the family has had an effect on the improving migrants' personal autonomy in having greater control over their own lives (Ariffin, 1984; Strauch, 1984; Foo and Lim, 1989; Rodenburg, 1993; Hugo, 1997). In gender studies this phenomenon has been very important due to the fact that traditionally, in large segments of society in less developed countries, the position of women and children tends to be subordinated within the family because of the patrilineal system of family (Tienda and Booth, 1988: 5).

With regard to economic aspects, there is no doubt that with their own incomes as production workers, the migrants were economically independent and had a high degree of autonomy to spend their income for their own needs. They explained that they allocated their salary for their daily needs themselves. Even, among those sending remittances to their family in the origin areas, 95.5 per cent of them allocated some of their income for themselves without any intervention from their parents or families (see Table 7.8). Moreover, as pointed out in Table 8.5, 11.2 per cent of the migrants were disappointed with their income but only 17.1 per cent of them looked to their families for help to improve their economic conditions.

This evidence suggests that the migrants are likely to be highly motivated to become economically independent. They also attempt to solve their own economic problems, even though to do so, they have to live in poor conditions. This was also reflected in their migration motivations which stressed the desire to be independent and reduce the family's economic burden (see Table 7.9).

Reviewing some studies of female factory workers in Asia, Foo and Lim (1989: 219) found that these women considered the ability to work as an opportunity to express their personal autonomy and to obtain economic independence and valued life experience.

With respect to social aspects, the discussion has underlined that the migrants faced a lot of economic and social problems both at the time of arrival and after a period at the destination. The migrants also have other personal problems that were only discussed with their closest friends. Furthermore, the migrants also needed help and suggestions for decisions regarding such issues as looking for a unit, changing jobs, buying something or resolving conflicts with other room mates, etc.

Table 8.12 shows the persons with whom migrants usually share their problems. In general, most of the migrants (74.8 per cent) discussed their problems with their closest friends and only 25 per cent of them talked about their problems with the family. The evidence suggests that the role of family as a centre for decision making tends to decrease when the women are far from home. In other words, migration has played a role in increasing the migrants' autonomy in gaining control over their own lives in destination areas. As explained by one of the migrants, they were now mature enough to control themselves. In addition, it was difficult to communicate directly with their families who were located in rural areas. Closest friends were represented more than family due to the fact that they knew the situation at Bekasi better than their families.

Another social aspect as a result of their migration was that the migrants were more confident and far sighted in planning their future lives than previously.

Their relatively high education level (high school and above) accompanied by their exposure to mass media as well as life experience in Bekasi has encouraged the migrants to grow more mature and self confident.

Table 8.12 Bekasi: Persons Advising Migrants in Problem Solving

Persons	Percentage
Closest friends	74.8
Family	25.0
Others	0.9
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

Table 8.13 shows that for fundamental things such as choosing a future mate (husband), almost all of the migrants (97.7 per cent) argued that they knew better about what type of husband was the best for them than their parents or families. Furthermore, according to the migrants, marriage should be more based on emotional ties than the parents' or family's' choice. This perspective is typical of modern society but it is surprising since many of the migrants came from rural areas where basically traditional society has been maintained and where marriage tended to be arranged by parents or family (Hugo *et al.*, 1987: 160). The improvement in the knowledge of migrants could also be seen from the perception of migrants toward age at first marriage and number of children that they desired. Table 8.14 shows the distribution of anticipated age at first marriage of migrants compared to age at first marriage of young adult women under 30 year old as a whole. In general, the migrants' expectation of age at first marriage is higher than the age at first marriage of West Java and Indonesia women as a whole although

these results are also influenced by different age distributions of the three groups. The majority of migrants planned to get married when aged over 25 years but this applied to only 3.9 and 5.8 per cent of currently married between women in West Java and Indonesia as a whole. This reflects greater autonomy among the migrants. The delay of marriage, of course, will have a significant impact on their future fertility behaviour

Table 8.13 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Who Will Decide Their Future Husband

Person	Percentage
Migrants themselves	97.7
Parents	0.7
Family	1.6
Total	100
N	608

Source: *Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995*

Table 8.14 Migrants and Ever Married Women Aged 30 Years and Less of West Java and Indonesia by Age at First Marriage (Percentage)

Age at first marriage	Migrants*	West Java**	Indonesia**
19 years and less	1.2	69.8	61.2
20 - 21 years	17.5	15.2	17.2
22 - 24 years	36.3	11.1	15.8
25 years and over	45.0	3.9	5.8
Total	100	100	100
N	608	1534666	7216360

Source: * *Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995*

***The 1995 Intercensal Survey (Supas), Series: S2, CBS, Jakarta*

In addition, Table 8.15 shows that migrants planned to have a small desired family size. The table shows that 66.1 per cent of the migrants expected to have just two children or less compared to 39 per cent of all women in Indonesia in 1995

having only two children. In addition to the government campaign against large family size, it was due to the consciousness of the migrants about the economic burden of having many children.

As explained by one of the migrants:

I wish that if I have a child, he or she do not have a similar destiny like me. I wish he or she will have a better education and job than me. So, I will give priority to my child's education even though it is difficult and very expensive. So, for me, two children is enough. This does not mean that I follow the government suggestion but more important than that is that I should be more realistic with my life.

Table 8.15 Bekasi: Number of Children by Region (Percentage)

Number of Children	Bekasi*	Indonesia**
One child	2.1	19.6
Two children	64.0	19.4
Three children	24.0	15.8
Four children and over	9.9	45.2
Total	100	100
N	608	45,537,400

Note: * Number of expected children of surveyed migrants

** Number of children still living

Source: * *Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995*

** *The 1990 Population Census, Series: S2, CBS, Jakarta*

In summing up, it is clear that migration to Bekasi has a positive impact in increasing the migrants' personal autonomy and knowledge in both economic and social areas. The migrants tend to be more economically independent and experienced and this has affected their relationships with their family in the origin areas as well as their expectations about their future lives. Moreover, these findings are consistent with the findings of other studies in some Asian countries (Foo and Lim, 1989).

8.5 Migration Impact on Accommodation and Living Conditions

Accommodation and living conditions in urban areas are often a problem for migrants (Khoo *et al.*, 1984: 401). Some studies of female migration in Asian countries underline this problem in which many migrants live in poor housing and a insalubrious urban environment due to the high costs of housing (Lean, 1984; Ariffin, 1984). As has been mentioned previously, working as a production worker in a factory gives the migrants a low income. The accommodation and living conditions of the present migrants is similar to those of other such female migrants in many Asian countries. The following discussion will address these issues by examining the housing conditions of the surveyed migrants, how the migrants cope with these problems, as well as to what extent the migrants feel satisfied with their accommodation in Bekasi.

In Bekasi most of the migrants (91.8 per cent) rented a room or small unit consisting of one or two rooms and shared it with 2 or 3 other migrants because it was so expensive (Table 8.16). There were at least three different types of units with different costs of renting: the cheaper, middle and expensive modes. The differences depend upon facilities, building materials and size. Most of the migrants preferred to rent the middle type. The rent per unit was categorised as expensive by the migrants when it ranged from 60 000 to 150 000 rupiah per month. However, the migrants were still able to afford it by sharing with others. In doing so, the migrants spent between 10 000 and 50 000 rupiah per month depending upon the size, building material and the facilities in the housing, such as electricity and water. So, economically, this rent was not a problem for the

their ability to pay, even though they may have to live in a cheap unit with poor facilities such as small room and poor toilet and bath room facilities.

Table 8.16 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Housing Status

Housing status	Percentage
Contract/rent	91.8
Family house	2.3
Factory house	5.9
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

Table 8.17 shows the distribution of the migrants by the facilities available in their units. Some 40.5 per cent of the migrants had three rooms compared with 27.6 per cent of those with only one room. This means that many of them had a private kitchen because usually, a good unit consisted of three separated rooms namely lounge, bedroom, and kitchen. Those which had only one or two rooms had no proper kitchen and usually used a small space in front of their unit or used part of the lounge room when they cooked. In addition, all migrants used wells as a source of water. Some 45.2 and 46.7 per cent of them respectively used an electric pump and conventional methods to gain the water. Every complex (consisting of several units) had one bathroom and a toilet that was used only by the tenants who belong to that complex. In general, the migrants did not have problems with the facilities of the unit.

The problems were more concerned with the amount of space. With a small room (commonly sized 3 m x 6 m or less) being shared with 2 or 3 people, it is too crowded to have privacy. Limited space also caused the migrants to use the unit for

Table 8.17 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Unit Facilities

Number of room	Percentage
One room	27.6
Two rooms	31.4
Three rooms and up	41.0
Total	100
N	608
Bathroom	Percentage
Private*	53.1
Public	46.9
Total	100
N	608
Water source	Percentage
Electric pump	45.2
Pipe well	8.1
Well	46.7
Total	100
N	608

Note: * only tenants of the unit who have access to the bathroom

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

multi purposes for sleeping, sitting, and cooking. In addition, they also tended to have no bedroom and sitting room furniture. Usually, they used a plastic mat to cover the floor. The problem concerning the furniture seem to relate to the limited space rather than the ability of the migrants to afford them because, indeed, some of the migrants came from families with moderate economic status. Furthermore, the migrants themselves were aware that their stay in the house was temporary. As demonstrated in Table 8.18, some of the migrants (28.6 per cent) explained that the condition of the unit was worse than that of their house in the area of origin. However, the majority of them (53.8 per cent) said the condition of their housing was the same, while 17.7 per cent of them felt it was better than their house in the area of origin.

Table 8.18 Bekasi: Distribution of Migrants by Perception of Their Present Housing Condition Compared to the Housing Condition at Origin Areas

Perception	Percentage
Worse	28.6
Same	53.7
Better	17.7
Total	100
N	608

Source: Bekasi Migration Survey, 1995

All of the migrants were able to rent rooms or units with relatively easy access to some basic facilities such as electricity, water, and bathroom/toilet. The main problem related to the limited space that they had. Since they shared with 2 or 3 people, it caused many of them to live in crowded units. However, more than 70 per cent of them felt there was no problem with this situation since they were used to living in such conditions. This evidence suggest that the accommodation and living conditions of the migrants at Bekasi were not as bad as in the origin areas as is often assumed.

8.6 Conclusion

In general, it could be concluded that migration to Bekasi provides advantages for the migrants, particularly in improving their job, occupation status and incomes. This finding is consistent with other findings in LDCs (Foo and Lim, 1989; United Nations, 1994). The greater job opportunities in Bekasi as a result of the increasing activities of off-shore industries enabled the women migrants to gain

access to the labour market. This is reflected in the tendency of migrants to find job a within a short period of time (less than one month).

As in other LDCs, the present study found that the income earning capacity of migrants was low. This relates to the migrants' occupation status as a production worker, it is also affected by the regional minimum wage legislation introduced by the government of Indonesia. For Bekasi, the minimum wage was 4600 Rupiah per day (equal to less than 2 dollar US). However, it is surprising that they are still able to adequately fulfil their basic needs and, many are able to regularly send remittances (every month) to their families in areas of origin as part of a family strategy to reduce economic burden. In doing so, the migrants develop a survival strategy by sharing food and a small units with limited facilities. This condition is a typical problem of living conditions of female migrants in off-shore industries in LDCs (Lean, 1984; Ariffin, 1984; Foo and Lim, 1989).

With respect to the impact on social aspects, migration to Bekasi has had a significant impact on improving the autonomy of the migrants in decision making regarding all aspects of their lives in destination areas. Being away from their families has encouraged the migrants to be independent in confronting socio-economic problems. This is partly because of the high educational level of the migrants and the effects of modern urban life through mass media and social relationships with urban society. The study found that the migrants were more likely to discuss their problems with their closest friends rather than their families.

However, for some migrants, migration also has created a difficult situation and social problems in the destination areas were mainly associated with social conflict, feelings of insecurity, feeling lonely and discrimination by the host

community. Socio-cultural differences tend to be a source of social conflict among migrants and between migrants and the host community. There appeared to be a tendency for migrants to live among other members of their ethnic group and avoid developing social relationships with the host community.

In conclusion, it is clear that migration to Bekasi has had both positive and negative consequences for migrants. The findings of the study suggest that migration has improved the role and status of women migrants within their family as well as their own personal knowledge and skills. Even though, they tend to live in poor living conditions, it is a risk that appears to have already been considered by migrants prior to migration. For migrants, it is better than to stay at home without any job and be dependent on their families.

Chapter Nine

Conclusions

9.1. Introduction

In the last decade, one of the most dramatic changes in migration in less developing countries, especially Southeast Asian countries, is the increase in the scale and significance of female migration (United Nations, 1994). This is certainly the case in Indonesia where the proportion of women among census detected migrants has increased. Furthermore, the data from the 1985 intercensal survey which collected data at the inter *Kabupaten* level showed that females outnumber males among inter *Kabupaten* migrants living in urban areas (Hugo, 1994: 51).

However, an understanding of the dimensions and complexity of female migration and its causes and consequences remains very limited due to the fact that this migration has been neglected in migration research in Indonesia (Hugo, 1992). This understanding is very important in the development context. In addition, it is difficult to research these issues due to the limited nature of available information provided by the Indonesian census.

The present study has attempted to contribute towards a greater understanding of rural-urban female migration in Indonesia, with specific reference to those who work in off shore manufacturing industries in large cities. This is a significant contemporary issue that has not been systematically studied as a social process in Indonesia. It is believed that the knowledge obtained from an analysis of primary and secondary information has made some contribution toward the present

limited knowledge of rural-urban female migration in developing countries in general and in Indonesia in particular.

This present chapter summarises and briefly discusses the major findings of the study and critically assesses the extent to which the objectives of the study have been met. Some policy implications of the findings as well as the theoretical contribution of the present study will be discussed. Finally, some suggestions regarding further research needs and approaches on the basis of field experience, as well as the limitations of the present study, are spelt out.

9.2. Some Major Findings and Implications of the Study

The following discussion will assess to what extent the findings of the present study have achieved the aims and objectives of the study which were outlined in Chapter One. In doing so, the discussion will return to the original objectives, then, critically assess the relevant results of the study.

The first objective was:

To elucidate major dimensions of female migration in Indonesia in order to identify relevant important issues regarding female migration and to what extent the scale and pattern of female migration have changed.

Through a review of census data, intercensal survey information as well as other existing research, the present study demonstrated clearly the significant increase in the scale and complexity female migration in Indonesia over the last two decades. Urban areas were major destination areas of female Indonesian migration, particularly Jakarta and the Botabek region (Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi)

due to the rapid increase of industrial activities in these areas as a centre for off-shore manufacturing industry. In addition, females were dominant in short distance movement (intra provincial mobility).

With the help of a range of information from secondary sources and through an extensive review of existing literature, the study has been able to identify some important issues relating to female migration in Indonesia such as the characteristics of movers, the causes and the consequences of female migration. Such issues need to be studied comprehensively in order to gain a better understanding of the precise dimensions of female migration. The analysis undertaken in Chapter Two showed that the spatial patterning of female migration in Indonesia is very complex and different in important and significant ways, from that of their male counterparts in its form, composition, causes and consequences. Females tended to move over shorter distance than was the case for men and many migrated to follow their families. However, the evidence from the present study showed a slightly different pattern in which the survey migrants moved independently and many of them moved over relatively long distances (inter provincial movement). Only 15 per cent of the survey migrants migrated within West Java province in which Kabupaten Bekasi is located. Recently, factors such as improvements in the education of women in rural areas; the introduction of modern agricultural practises; and the expansion of off-shore manufacturing industry in Indonesia, have played a significant role in encouraging females to migrate to urban areas. Moreover, their migration has enabled them to improve their economic well being and that of their families in origin areas. However, this migration can constitute a 'brain drain' of young educated women from rural areas.

Nevertheless, knowledge about these issues remains limited due partly to the fact that information from the census, the main source of secondary data for mobility, is limited and few studies have addressed those issues, particularly the causes and consequences of female migration.

The second objective of the study was:

To investigate the structural context in which the migrants move to Bekasi and which aspects in that context affect the migrants.

In Chapter Five, through information from secondary sources and the field survey, it has been demonstrated that Bekasi was one of the main destination areas of migrants in Indonesia (Hugo, 1995, *Bappeda Bekasi*, 1995). This is reflected in its rapid population growth rate increasing from 1.9 to 6.3 per cent per annum between the 1970's and the 1990's and migration contributed 4.7 per cent per annum growth in the 1990's. This growth was the highest growth rate among all of the regencies within West Java. Moreover, in 1990 the annual growth rate of Bekasi's urban population was 19.8 per cent or more than six times of the growth rate of DKI Jakarta. Some important factors contributing to Bekasi attracting many female migrants is that it has become one of the main areas in Indonesia for off-shore investment in industry, it is a housing spill over for the larger Jakarta metropolitan area (*Departement Perindustrian RI*, 1991, Jones and Mamas, 1996, Firman, 1996), and it is well connected by rail and road with Jakarta, the rest of Java and Sumatra.

Moreover, changes in the economic structure of Bekasi as a result of the expansion of export-oriented industry has increased the economic growth of this district to 16.1 per cent per annum in 1993 and also created many job

opportunities, particularly for women. This economic situation was different from many other districts in Indonesia that provided limited job opportunities, particularly for non-agricultural jobs. Between 1980 and 1990 the overall unemployment rate increased from 1.4 to 2.8 per cent for males and 2.3 to 3.9 per cent for females in Indonesia (Indonesian Manpower Department, 1996: 82). Hence, the situation of labour market in Bekasi has become a main factor attracting labour migration to this area.

The third objective was:

To identify relevant migration patterns of the survey population in order to examine whether or not the pattern of their mobility is consistent with that of inter provincial female migration to Bekasi.

The analysis in Chapter Six found a similar pattern between the present migrants and five years female migrants counted in the 1990 census. The migrants from Java province as the closer origin areas to Bekasi were more dominant than those from outside Java. This evidence implies that distance is a crucial factor in affecting people's movements between or within provinces in Indonesia. This follows the typical pattern of mobility that the probability found by many scholars that the probability of moving between two places increases as the distance decreases and the size of place increases (Ravenstein, 1885; Stouffer, 1940, Zipf, 1946). Moreover, women tend to move shorter distances on average than is the case for men in Indonesia as well as elsewhere (Fawcett, *et al.*, 1984; Hugo, 1992).

However, the pattern of length of residence between the survey migrants and the five year migrants was significantly different. The survey migrants were

more likely to have stayed for a short time (less than one year at Bekasi), while most of the five year migrants had already lived there more than 3 years. This is partly due to the rapid growth of factories since 1990 and the nature of the survey that only focused on the migrants who work in factories. Moreover, women tend only to work for a relatively short time in factories since it is not consistent with a commitment to their reproduction and domestic roles, due to the fact that factories tend to fire women who have children. Another explanation is that most survey migrants obtain support from their social networks (friends and families) to find a job in factories, so it is not extended length of residence which is associated with working in factories. This is interesting in relation to Todaro's argument (1969) in which the first job seekers tend to be absorbed in the informal sectors. The pattern found here does not support the Todaro's hypothesis. This suggests that there are other more important factors determining entry into the formal sector than duration of stay in urban areas.

The fourth objective was:

To elucidate the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants and establish whether or not the survey migrants are different compared to the five year female migrants as well as their female non-migrant counterparts in the destination areas.

In Chapter Six, it was found that the present migrants tend to be more selective in terms of social and demographic characteristics compared to census five year female migrants and female non-migrants. The study found that unmarried, younger, and relatively highly educated women were dominant among the survey migrants. Hence even though, working in a factory is often seen as

being a job with low skill and wages, entering this particular job is more competitive than was previously believed. The study found that 65 per cent of the survey migrants had completed high school.

The high proportion of the highly educated migrants presents a different picture from the general one of migrant factory workers in less developing countries in which factory workers were assumed to be less educated (see United Nations, 1994). This suggests that the economic background of the migrants' families tends to be not among the poorest families of rural villages. This also is reflected in the fact that only 18.9 per cent of the migrants sent remittances regularly every month to their family in the origin areas. Further analysis of the study indicated that the high selectivity of the migrants in terms of education level, marital status and age tends to be associated with the educational improvement of women in rural areas, limited job opportunities in such areas and the recruitment process of factories (Chapters Two and Six).

The fifth objective was:

To examine some major theories regarding determinants of migration and establish to what extent these theories are able to explain the causes and motivations of the female migrants in Bekasi.

The existing body of major migration theories on the determinants of migration (push-pull, structural, neo-classical and social network perspective) has provided a framework to explain macro and micro determinants stimulating female migration to Bekasi. The study showed the importance of each of the theories in the context of female labour migration to Bekasi. With respect to micro

determinants, the analysis in Chapter Seven indicated that economic motivations were dominant among the present migrants. The study has also underlined the importance of educational level and age in influencing motivations. In addition, the study has demonstrated the importance of social networks in providing job information and temporary placement at the time of arrival in Bekasi. This implies that like their male counterparts, female migrants in this study show a similar pattern in which they are more concerned with economic motivations. This challenges a previous assumption that female migration tends to be associated with family migration.

Although economic motivations were dominant among migrants, only a small number of them are controlled by the family as suggested by the family strategy perspective. The study also shows that most of the migrants had sent remittances to their parents in the origin areas, however, this is more likely to occur due to 'parent repayment' (*balas budi*) rather than as a strategy to support the family's economic well being. This implies that most of the migrants come from families with relatively high economic status.

With respect to macro determinants, the study has illustrated the importance of job opportunities, wage differentials, improvements in education level, and changes in social aspirations in affecting the migration of women. Bekasi as one of the centres for off-shore industry in Indonesia has been able to provide a large number of modern sector jobs, particularly for women, as a consequence of the job characteristics of off-shore industries such as garments, textiles, dolls and electronics. Like in Jakarta, the regional minimum wage in Bekasi is the highest among regions in Indonesia. Both of these factors were

clearly identified as 'pull factors' in influencing the migration of the survey migrants to move to Bekasi.

Moreover, the study also found that the success of education programs undertaken by the government over the last two decades has not only had a significant impact on improving the education level of many young women in rural areas but also changed the job aspirations and orientations of those women from agricultural to non agricultural sector. Hence the women tend to be not interested working in the agricultural sector. These factors can be identified as 'push factors' which have forced the present migrants to move to Bekasi. It is difficult to keep them in the village when there is not enough job opportunities in the non-agricultural sector in rural areas.

The sixth objective was:

To investigate the socio-economic consequences of migration for the migrants in the area of destination and their family in the origin areas and establish to what extent migration result in advantages or disadvantages to the migrants.

Chapter Eight showed that migration has improved the migrants' employment status and economic independence. With these improvements, some migrants who come from a relatively poor family were able to support their families in the origin areas by sending remittances regularly every month and more importantly, the migrants reduced the economic burden on their families through their absence. This phenomenon needs to be clarified by studying comprehensively the economy of the migrants' families in the origin areas, particularly those of migrants who send remittances regularly. Unfortunately, because of time and

financial limitations, as well as the difficulty in tracing the addresses of the migrants' families in the origin areas, this study was not able to carry out such a detailed analysis. However, the limited evidence available implies that in terms of economic aspects, the impact of migration is advantageous for the migrants and their families, even though, objectively, the migrants are still categorised as poor in Bekasi.

In terms of social aspects, migration has contributed to changes in the migrants' attitude and behaviour. The study found that the migrants improved their maturity and widened their knowledge relating to the way in which they cope with problems and plan their future lives. The migrants were more independent in making decisions about their lives. Moreover, developing interaction with other people from different socio-cultural backgrounds had encouraged those migrants to be more brave (not shy) to share experiences with others and confident in making decisions. For those migrants, it is suggested that migration has had positive and sound consequences.

However, the study also found a negative impact of migration for the migrants. The socio-cultural differentials among migrants and between migrants and the host community often became a source of social conflict. It seems that some migrants were uncomfortable dealing with people outside of those who come from similar ethnic groups. This to an extent has created social problems and influenced their social relationships with both other migrants from different ethnic groups and the host community. Some migrants even move out of the area to live with people from their own group. This evidence suggests that cultural and ethnic identity are crucial factors in affecting migration consequences.

Accommodation was no problem for the migrants since they were able to rent units or rooms. The problem was more concerned with the quality of their living conditions. The study found that their living conditions were poor. Many of them do not have a proper kitchen, bedroom and furniture due to the limited space of their unit. They have to share a bathroom and toilet with many people. Most migrants live in poor living conditions, even though they feel satisfied with this. The study found that only 28.7 per cent of the migrants feel dissatisfied with their housing conditions.

The final objective was:

To draw out policy implications for formulating programs to improve the living condition of female migrant workers in off-shore factories.

A policy to improve the living conditions and future lives of the migrants is required. Most migrants lived in poor conditions, had low bargaining power and limited prospects for their future life. A policy to provide an adequate *asrama* for the migrants with low rent would greatly improve the living conditions of the migrants. A strong and neutral trade union needs to be established to intervene more in institutions, legal aid should be provided and NGOs (non government organisation) should be given access to strengthen the bargaining position of workers. In addition, a joint program between companies and centres of education is needed to give training or courses for migrant workers and to help prepare them for their future life if they are laid off or return back to their areas of origin.

9.3. Further Research and Data Needs

Census population data as the main source of secondary data for female migration in Indonesia suffer from a number of shortcomings. Since a provincial boundary is used as the migration defining unit, a person will only be classified as a migrant if she moves across a provincial boundary. This principle has ignored the level and pattern of migration streams within provinces. The present study has found that a significant number of the survey migrants travel a short distance within West Java province where the study was carried out as well as between rural and urban and urban to urban contexts within West Java. Other studies also detected streams of female migrants covering short distances and not being detected in official data (Suharso *et al.*, 1976; Lerman, 1983; Mather, 1989). There is a fundamental need to address this in the design of the national population census to detect intra provincial movement as well as rural to urban and urban to urban migration so that the scale of different types of female population mobility in Indonesia can be estimated. Indeed, this is very important in understanding the differences in regional development between and within provinces.

It is also difficult to assess the determinants and consequences of female migration from the census. The government needs to promote a comprehensive study involving a carefully designed large scale survey of female migration in Indonesia in order to develop the measurement and conceptualisation of female migration from a female perspective. This is also necessary to assess the micro and macro determinants and the consequences of female migration for both migrants and their families in destination and origin areas, as well as the migrant's contribution towards development in origin and destination areas. The study also

needs to establish the extent to which female migration differs in many important and significant ways from that of men in its composition, form, causes and consequences (Hugo, 1992).

In examining the social impact of migration on the survey migrants, the present study found that the migrants lived in poor living conditions with limited space and crowded housing conditions. It appears that this situation, accompanied with other social problems, such as social conflict, adjustment problems with both other migrants from different ethnic groups and the host community, has led to some of the migrants experiencing high social-psychological pressure. A study of female migrants who worked at a factory in Malaysia established the significance of social psychological adjustment problems among migrants as a result of their poor living conditions and pressure from the host community (Lean, 1984). This study did not investigate these psychological problems since it was outside the scope of research and the training of the researcher. However, it is important to identify the psychological problem of migrants such as their self esteem and confidence. Therefore, comprehensive research in this area is essential and in doing so, an intensive study with a psychological approach is needed in order to get comprehensive information.

Whether or not migration improves the role and status of women within the family and community is another crucial issue that needs an extensive study in the context of female migration in Indonesia. The present study has shown that from the perspective of the migrants, migration tends to improve their socio-economic status and independence. The migrants are more independent in terms of social and economic status than before. However, to what extent the migrants are empowered

as a consequence of their migration needs to be studied comprehensively to formulate an adequate measurement of empowerment of women, as well as substantial elements in relation to this issue. So far, our understanding of the relationship between migration of women and empowerment remains limited (Hugo, 1997: 1). The literature on female migration suggests that migration has a different impact on empowerment and disempowerment of female migrants within family and community depending upon the type, form and the socio-economic context in which the migration takes place (Hugo, 1997: 17).

Another area of research which is of crucial importance relates to the intense pressure which exists in the factories. The low bargaining position of the migrants in the factory and the lack of support and protection from trade unions exposes the migrants workers to exploitation. For example, the shift working system employed by the factories, particularly night shifts, not only is very hard for women but also causes physical tiredness and inadequate rest for the migrants. It was reported that the migrants who worked in the electronic factories often got headaches, deteriorating eye sight, chest pains and backaches, while in textile factories, the migrants commonly get hearing problems due to working in a noisy work environment. However, they are not very well protected from these problems. Indeed, the factories tend to force the migrants to achieve production targets but they are still paid low wages. These problems are common issues of off-shore industry in LDCs as argued by Lean (1984) and Blake (1984). In Indonesia these issues need to be studied intensively in order to promote a better policy to strengthen and give protection and benefits for the migrants and other female workers in general.

One important area of migration research which is rarely carried out is the longitudinal study. Longitudinal research is very important to understand the work experience of the migrants. Previous studies from Southeast Asian countries found that the female factory workers have a relatively short working life due to voluntary and involuntary quitting due to marriage or child bearing (Foo and Lim, 1989: 221). In addition, a study from Korea found that employers in the textile and garment industry discouraged women for working longer than a few years and sometimes they were treated worse than new workers (Lee, 1993: 517). Some of the survey migrants explained that their employment status was similar to contract labourers. With this status, a little mistake may lead to the loss of their job. As explained by one of the respondents: 'I and some of my friends were suspended from my previous company due to throwing my spoiled lunch food into the rubbish bin'. By reinterviewing the same migrants at different points of time, the study will be able to get better information about the reasons women were laid off or still hold the same job, to identify whether or not they move between other jobs as well as their level of commitment toward jobs and migration.

9.4. Implications for Theory

Chapter Seven of this study examined the major migration theories in relation to female migration in LDCs. The primacy of employment and economic motivation in the stated reasons for migration of the respondents was established. This element is also the underlying concept of the major migration theories which can be summarised under neo-classical, structural and household strategy headings. However, none of those theories fully explain why the survey migrants move to

Bekasi since there are a number of important factors intertwined in influencing the migration process.

It is undoubted that difference in the type and scale of job opportunities between Bekasi and the origin areas has influenced the majority of migrants as is suggested by the neo-classical and the structural perspectives (Wood, 1981). However, this was not the only factor forcing migrants to move to Bekasi. The study also found that factors such as education level, age, formal (off farm) job orientation, and social networks all played a substantial role in influencing the decision making process of the migrants. These important factors are not treated as important variables by both neo-classical and structural perspective.

Bekasi as one of centres for off-shore industry, providing a range of job opportunities, particularly for women. For many women, searching for a job in industry is not easy if she is not young, does not have a high educational level and has no social networks. The study has shown that the majority of the migrants had high educational levels and were young due to the tendency of the company to recruit only those with such characteristics. Most of the migrants got a job or information about a job through their friends or family. In addition, their social networks also provided a temporary place of residence and information prior to migration.

This implies that neo-classical and structural perspectives need reorientation to a large extent to explain female migration (Chant, 1992). In this case, it is clear that these two theoretical approaches are only partially applicable in explaining the determinants of migration. This means that we need a number of theories to encompass a more comprehensive range of factors affecting the

decision making process of female migrants in order to be able to explain the migration.

Propositions drawn from a household strategy perspective were not very applicable to explaining the pattern observed in this study. According to this approach, migration is viewed as part of a survival strategy to ensure a household's survival or improve a household's economic well being (Findley, 1987; Trager, 1988; Rodenburg, 1993). This perspective places the household as a centre for distributing and controlling reproductive and productive tasks within the household (Wood, 1981; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). In this approach, the movement of the survey migrants is assumed to be part of a subsistence strategy of their households in which their families send migrants away to earn money for the family. This allocation of labour may apply more for women who work in the informal sector in Indonesia and hence not for the survey migrants

The findings of this study in relation to motivations for migration of the survey migrants found that they moved to Bekasi due to limited job opportunities in the village (origin areas) and they aspired to socio-economic independence. Most of the migration decisions were in the hands of the migrants themselves. Even though, remittances were sent to their parents in the origin areas and the parents enjoyed them, these were not crucially important for the survival of the family. Moreover, parents tended to exert little control over their daughters' wages and even, when they sent remittances it was largely their own decision. This evidence is not consistent with the assumptions of the household strategy perspective discussed in the migration literature (Wood, 1981; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). Clearly, this model does not fully consider intra household power

relationships between daughters and parents and therefore needs some serious reworking concerning a rapid social change of genders in the global economy era (Wolf, 1990).

Another important theoretical perspective relates to migration and female empowerment. Reviewing literature from different countries in less developed and more developed countries, Hugo (1997) concluded that the relationship between female migration and empowerment remains little understood. As has been suggested earlier, the present study found that migration had improved the autonomy and decision making power of the migrants. This phenomenon has also been found among female migrants who work in factories in other studies in LDCs (Fawcett *et al.*, (ed), 1984; Jones (ed), 1984; Ward (ed), 1990; United Nations 1993, United Nations, 1994). However, in this study evidence is limited to female labour migrants in one segment of the labour market. In fact, female migration is more complex in form, causes and consequences (Hugo, 1992). Hence, there is a need for reorientation of the theoretical perspective highlighting the relationships, particularly the conditions under which the migration process is able to play a significant role in female empowerment.

9.5. Policy Implications

Migration policy is very complicated and difficult to make generalisations about (United Nations, 1993: 33). The fact is that not only a wide range of development aspects should be considered but also great variations exist between countries and between regions within the same country as well as between migrants themselves. In addition, as a part of the neglect of females in migration

studies, the policies directed to the relationships between migration and females have received little attention (Hugo, 1993; Zlotnik, 1993). Here, the focus is directed to the situation and condition of the survey migrants in Bekasi. Hence, the policy discussion is oriented toward the condition of migrants in destination areas (United Nations, 1993: 33).

Given the dominance of economic motives among most survey migrants to Bekasi, programmes to improve the situation of the labour market in the origin areas are strongly recommended to slow down their internal migrations, even though, it is still a subject of debate whether rural development reduces out-migration (Rhoda, 1980). This study demonstrates that the women migrated to Bekasi to find a job and improve their career due to the lack of non-agricultural job opportunities in rural areas. The high educational level of the present migrants and the improvement of educational levels for women in rural areas in Indonesia in general, tends to change their aspirations to being not interested in agricultural jobs any more. A policy encouraging the growth of the non-agricultural sector in rural areas is needed. It needs a serious program from the government to give more attention to development of small industry in rural areas. Without promoting a policy to create alternative employment opportunities for those women, it appears that the 'brain drain' process for women in rural areas will take place continuously as suggested by United Nations (1993) and Jones (1993).

In addition, policy directed to expand and decentralise export-oriented industries to other areas in Indonesia is very important to create more job opportunities and distribute migration streams. The expansion of off-shore manufacturing in LDCs has led to an expansion of job opportunities for unskilled

women in the industrial sector (Bilsborrow, 1993: 7). In turn, it has encouraged migrants, particularly women, to move to industrial zones for export oriented manufacturing (Hugo, 1993; Jones, 1993). In Indonesia, since Bekasi, Tangerang and Bogor have been established as centers for industry, the migration streams to DKI Jakarta as the main destination area in Indonesia have reduced (Hugo, 1994; Jones and Mamas, 1996). This has also occurred in other LDC megacities where the development of industrial zones saw a major decline in net migration to core areas in places such as Sao Paulo or Mexico City (Simmons, 1993). It is important to expand export oriented manufacturing to other secondary cities to stimulate an increase of employment opportunities and economic growth in those areas like the experience of Bekasi. Indeed, this policy can not be realised without a high level of commitment on the part of the Indonesian government and also of investors.

In addition, information about job opportunities, wages offered by employers in different regions, terms of employment as well as the urban situation, need to be informed to potential migrants. Such information is crucial for potential migrants to obtain the best possible terms of employment and to make the best decision prior to migration. This also needs the strong commitment of the government of Indonesia.

With regard to policies responding to the consequences of migration, it is crucial to formulate a policy to develop adequate housing units (*asrama*) for migrants with better facilities. Housing is an important basic need for female migrants and many of them were often not able to afford adequate accommodation (Khoo, 1984; Lean, 1984). A limited number of units provided by factories has often forced them to rent an expensive house or room with limited facilities and

poor conditions (Lean, 1984: 136-137). The study found that most of the migrants lived in rented units due to the limited number of *asrama* provided by the factory. Many factories did not provide *asrama* for their labourers. Indeed, the high demand for units has provided an opportunity to the host community to provide rental units for the migrants and it has become a good business for the host community. Even though the rental cost is expensive in relation to the income of the migrants (70 - 125 thousand rupiah at that time), it is difficult to find a vacant unit.

According to the migrants, this situation is disadvantageous. The landlords were able to increase the rent any time they liked due to the fact there is no formal regulation governing rental costs. Agreements tend to be based on personal trust. For example, since January 1996, an increase in minimum regional wages from Rp 4,800 to Rp 5400 in Bekasi lead to an increase in the rental costs from Rp 3000 to Rp 5000 per month (*Kompas*, 12 January, 1996: 1). It was hard for the migrants to meet these costs but they had no alternative.

In line with this, it will be very helpful, if the government is able to provide units (*asrama*) with better facilities and cheaper rents for migrants. Housing facilities should provide more than merely shelter. Here, workers should get privacy, obtain proper rest, have easy access to their jobs, transportation, etc. With this policy, migrants could reduce the rental costs which currently take a high proportion of their salaries per month and they will obtain a better environment in relation to their physical and psychological health. In doing so, the government should encourage private employers to build and maintain dormitories for their labourers by giving some subsidies, such as low rent of land or the government

themselves build local dormitory (*asrama*), which could then be rented by companies for their workers at a low cost. These policies have been suggested to the government of Malaysia and have been implemented by the Singapore government (Lean, 1984: 144).

In addition, the government needs to formulate a policy to protect the rights of the migrants. Feeling scared and having no protection, new migrants often are a subject of exploitation by the village office staff (*oknum*). They can often spend a lot of money to gain approval to stay in Bekasi, to pay for security every month, and to pay other compulsory donations for village activities, not knowing whether the money went to the village treasury (*kas desa*) or into the pocket of the village staff. They were usually aware that their contributions for village activities were important. However, with a low salary and having to pay too many bribes, indeed, it is a big problem for them to survive. The government through the village institution should formulate regulations that give more protection and dispensation from any forms of money collection toward the migrants, particularly those with low incomes. For them, even a little money is very valuable for their lives.

Another policy implication which is very important for the life of the migrants is the enforcement of legislation concerning efforts to strengthen the bargaining power of workers to struggle with the owner of the factory for their rights and social welfare. Although the government of Indonesia through the Manpower Department has a wide range of policies regarding various aspects of workers in the industrial sector, obstacles remain to their successful implementation (*Depnaker R. I.*, 1996). The weakness of the trade union's role and government enforcement of protection for workers, causes the bargaining power of

labour to be very weak in factories (Lean, 1984). With this position, workers need to a large extent have often been sacrificed for the benefits of the owners.

The trade unions (*Serikat Pekerja*) are often not able to accommodate the interests of workers. Trade unions are expected to improve employment conditions, to seek benefits for workers and to educate their members, however in Indonesia to a large extent, they are more concerned with the benefits of companies (owners) more than those of workers. Besides the increase of labour's consciousness about their rights, the increase of labour strikes over the years since 1990 has reflected the dysfunctional roles of trade unions (White *et al.*, 1992: 165; *Depnaker R. I.*, 1996: 158). So, it is not surprising that in many cases, workers were more likely to bring their case to Legal Aid Service (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum*) or Non Government Organisations (*Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat*) rather than to trade unions (*Depnaker R. I.*, 1996: 159).

The government has to give protection and strengthen the position of labour by reorganising the structure of trade unions by giving greater opportunities for institutions from outside companies such as the legal aid service, universities and NGOs to be a part of the trade unions. The fact is that workers often become a victim of the company's interests such as low wages, the shift working system, the lack of additional courses, high overtime work and lack of health facilities (White *et al.*, 1992).

Legal protection itself is not enough. More importantly, it needs to involve non government legal aid institutions in signing a contract of service. Studies of female workers in companies have stressed that they were vulnerable to exploitation due to the fact they were not aware of their legal rights (Lean, 1984;

Blake, 1984; White *et al.*, 1992; Depnaker, 1996). They tend to believe that compulsory work, overtime, retrenchment, shiftwork, etc. are the prerogative of the employers. With the help of the legal aid institution, it is anticipated that they will be able to understand the significance of their contract of service and know all aspects of their legal rights.

One area of policy that needs to be considered is the career prospects of the female migrants. As has been discussed previously, because of lack of time, most of the migrants did not undertake additional study while working at the factory, and also did not know about their future employment prospects. The fact is that they are given short training for only a week and for special purposes. The concern here is to prepare the migrants with more marketable skills in the event of lay off or retrenchment, as has happened with the recent economic crisis of Indonesia since October 1997.

This economic crisis that stemmed from the dramatic increase of the US dollar's exchange rate with the rupiah has had a substantial impact on the Indonesian economy, particularly on the employment situation in the industrial sector (*Kompas* on line, 8 January, 1998). This new exchange rate (US \$1 equal Rp. 9000 on January 1998) has produced a huge price increase of capital imported goods. Accordingly, the dismissal of workers could not be avoided due to many companies not being able to afford their production costs and employee's salaries. It was reported that in West Java half of the 600 entrepreneurs stopped their business activities and dismissed their workers for the time being, due to difficulties in obtaining credit, limited stock and the high price of raw materials (*Kompas* On line, 26 January 1998). It was also recorded by the East Java regional

manpower office in Surabaya, that ten enterprises from Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Malang and Gresik had proposed job dismissals amounting to 2864 of their 8865 workers (*Kompas Online*, 8 January, 1998). Bomer Pasaribu, Director of the Centre for Labour and Development Studies in Jakarta predicted that reducing purchasing power would lead to many more companies closing. The main effect was that in Indonesia the number of 'floating unemployment' in 1998 increased to 4.6 million people, comprising 1.2 million who had lost their jobs (*Kompas Online*, 26 January, 1988).

It is clear that the recent economic crisis has had a significant impact on the employment of female migrants since most of them work in export oriented industries which now puts them in a difficult situation. Many of them have already been laid off from their jobs due to retrenchment. In line with this the Soeharto government, through the Minister of Social Welfare, made a strong appeal to migrants who lost their jobs to return back to their own villages and do something positive for them during the economic crisis. By returning home, at least, they can share food with their families (Nusantara News of TV RI, 18 February 1998). It seems that the government has no alternative. They argue that if the migrants remain in the destination areas without a job and income, it will only create problems both for the migrants themselves and the society as whole. Certainly, they will only increase the unemployment burden in rural areas. As has been discussed, they were forced to migrate initially due to difficulties in finding jobs in their areas of origin. Their skills picked up from their work in the factories will not be useful for obtaining work in rural areas because most have only mastered skills associated with a small part of the production process.

Learning from the crisis, it is urgent for the government and factory owners to formulate additional education policies to improve the marketable skills and knowledge of migrants besides the skills needed in the factory. The concern here is to prepare them to cope with lay offs or retrenchment due to the company moving to other countries or closing, and to improve their opportunities for promotion within the factories which is presently very limited. In doing so, the Department of Manpower (*Depnaker*) jointly with universities and non government organisations (*Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat*), should be made responsible for conducting training workshops or courses for laid off workers and those still employed. The factories should be encouraged to allow paid time off for groups of females to attend these courses. It is important to orient the courses toward skills that enable the females to be able to work independently, so that if they are laid off and return back to the village or move to other areas, they will be able to create or find a job for themselves.

9.6. Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that female labour migration, particularly of young migrants, will be an important and burgeoning issue of internal migration in the next decade in Indonesia. Like migration in general, its existence not only has played a significant role in the process of urbanisation but also cannot be separated from the process of social economic development of the country. Their young ages, better educational levels and progressiveness, accompanied with the improvement of transportation, the expansion of job opportunities, as well as the penetration of modernisation, have made their migration streams a significant factor in

contributing toward the scale and complexity of population mobility in Indonesia. Hence, it is important not to ignore this migration in the study of population mobility and development in Indonesia. In addition, an understanding of this migration needs to be developed comprehensively in order to be able to formulate better policies for human resource development in Indonesia.

Migration is generally beneficial not only for the migrants and their families but also, more importantly, for economic and human resource development in the country as a whole. Female migrants have been able to fill a new demand for female employment (factory workers) which has made a significant contribution toward national economic growth over the last decade. Moreover, from the experience of the group of surveyed female migrants, it could be suggested that education associated with migration and wage employment is a way in which women can improve their independence and equality. However, there are still some problems in relation to the status of these women and their roles and living conditions. The need for governments and other institutions to formulate policies to cope with these problems is urgent in order to increase the dignity and self esteem of the migrants.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

SURVEY OF FEMALE LABOUR MIGRATION TO BEKASI

LISTING QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Reference :
number of household
2. Name of landlord/owner :
3. Address:
Street and house number :
RT and :
Village : Telagaasih/Sukadanau/Tambun/Setiadarma
Sub-District : Cibitung/Tambun
District : Bekasi
4. How many units do you have?
.....Units.
5. How many tenants do live in your unit/house ?
.....tenants.
6. How many of your tenants are migrants from outside Bekasi?
.....migrants.
7. How many of your tenants are female migrants?
.....female migrants.
8. How many of them are working at factory?
.....female migrants.
9. How many of them are not here at the moment?
.....female migrants.
10. Do you know when they come back to your unit/house?
.....

Appendix 2**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE MIGRANTS***STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL***SURVEY OF FEMALE LABOUR MIGRATION TO BEKASI, INDONESIA****SECTION A: IDENTIFICATION OF RESPONDENT**

- A1 Name of selected respondent :
- A2 Address :
- Street and house number :
- Rt and Rw :
- Village :
- Sub-district :
- City areas : Bekasi
- Province : West Java.
- A3 Sample selection number :
- A4 Type of Company : 1. Textile 2. Toys 3. Garment
4. Others.....
- A5 Name of interviewer :
- A6 Result of interview : Interview calls :
- a. Completed 1. 2. 3.
- b. Not at home 1. 2. 3.
- c. Refused 1. 2. 3.
- d. Vacant 1. 2. 3.
- e. Appointment 1. 2. 3.
- A7 Date for interview :
- A8 Time interview :
- A9 Edited interview :
- A10 Supervisor remarks :

A11 Could you please write down your family address in village ?

- Name of father or family :
- Street and house number :
- Rt and Rw :
- Dusun :
- Village :
- Sub-district :
- District :
- Province :

SECTION B: BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

B1 Age/ year of birth :

B2 Marital status :

1. Married 3. Divorced
2. Never married 4. Widowed

B3 (a) Could you please tell me how many persons currently live with you in this house ?

Number persons :

(b) Could you please supply the following information for all persons currently living here ?

No	Relationship to Respondent	Sex	Marital Status	Job Status
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

(This is only for ever married respondents)

B4 Do you have children ?

1. Yes 2. No

If 'Yes', Go to the supplementary questionnaire about children

(For respondent only)

B5 Which level of completed education do you have ?

1. Primary School 4. College/Academy
2. Secondary School 5. University
3. High School

B6 What is the main reason you have just completed that educational level ?

1. Parents could not afford to pay school fees
2. No ability to continue education
3. Wanted to work
4. Got married
5. Do not know
6. Others (specify.....)

B7 (a) Are you still attending training courses ?

1. Yes 2. No (*Go to Q. B8*)

(b) If 'Yes' what type of course :

.....

(c) Why did you choose this course ?

1. To get a better job
2. To get more knowledge and skill
3. The company I am employed gives me scholarship
4. Others (specify.....)

(d) In what type of skill are you being trained ?
.....

(e) Who pays the cost for this training course ?
.....

B8 (a) Have you taken course before ?

1. Yes 2. No (*Go to Q. C1*)

(b) If 'Yes' what kind of courses?
.....

(c) What was the main reason for you to take the course ?
.....

MIGRATION HISTORY

C1 Where were you born ?

1. Province :

2. District :

3. Sub-district :

4. Village :

C2 (a) Is this last place where you lived before moving to Bekasi?

1. Yes (*If 'yes', Go to Q. C3*) 2. No.

(b) If 'no', where was your previous place of residence ?

1. Province :

2. District :

3. Sub-district :

4. Village :

C3 How many times have you moved in the last 5 years including Bekasi?

.....times/last years

C4 When did you move to Bekasi ?

Year.....

C5 With whom did you move to Bekasi?

1. Independent Yes No

2. Husband Yes No

3. Children Yes No

4. Parents Yes No

5. Others (please state)
.....

C6 (a) How many times have you changed your place of residence since you have moved to Bekasi ?

.....times

(b) Why.....

D1. Situation in the origin area

D11 With whom did you live before you moved to Bekasi?

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----|----|
| 1. Parents | Yes | No |
| 2. Husband | Yes | No |
| 3. Children | Yes | No |
| 4. Parents in law | Yes | No |
| 5. Brothers | Yes | No |
| 6. Sisters | Yes | No |
| 7. Friends | Yes | No |
| 8. Others (specify) | Yes | No |

.....

D12 Who influenced your move to Bekasi?

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----|----|
| 1. Parents | Yes | No |
| 2. Husband | Yes | No |
| 3. Children | Yes | No |
| 4. Parents in law | Yes | No |
| 5. Brothers | Yes | No |
| 6. Sisters | Yes | No |
| 7. Friends | Yes | No |
| 8. Others (specify) | Yes | No |

.....

D13 How satisfied were you with each of the following aspects of your previous place of residence ? (Please circle the number)

Aspects	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Average	Dis-satisfied	Very dis-satisfied	Don't Know
1. Job opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Job available for you	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Quality of land	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Wages	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Relationship with family	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Quality of health	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Health facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. School facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Public transportation	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Relationship with community	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Agricultural jobs	1	2	3	4	5	6

D14 (a) Could you please tell me, what is the main reason for leaving your previous place of residence ?

.....

(b) What additional reasons can you think of ?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

D2: Selecting Destination

D2.1 Could you tell us with whom did you discuss your plans to move here (Bekasi)?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|----|
| 1. Parents/in law | Yes | No |
| 2. Husband | Yes | No |
| 3. Brothers or sisters/in law | Yes | No |
| 4. Friends | Yes | No |
| 5. Other family | Yes | No |
| 6. No one | Yes | No |
| 7. Others (please state)..... | | |

D2.2 Could you please tell me who agreed with (supported) your migration ?

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|----|
| 1. Parents | Yes | No |
| 2. Husband | Yes | No |
| 3. Brother | Yes | No |
| 4. Friends | Yes | No |
| 5. No one | Yes | No |
| 6. Others (specify)..... | | |

D2.3 What main aspects did you consider when choosing Bekasi as the destination area?

1. Family
2. Friends
3. Job opportunities
4. Entertainment
5. School facilities
6. Transportation
7. Distance
8. Living cost

D2.4 From what sources did you receive information (*it is possible to answer more than one*)

1. Radio
2. TV
3. Newspaper
4. Government employment agency
5. Private employment agency
6. Family
7. Friends
8. Others (please state).....

D2.5 (c) Which sources were the most accurate?

D3: Decision to choose Bekasi

D3.1 Could you please tell me, main reasons you chose Bekasi and not other places?

Main reasons.....

D3.2 (a) Before you moved, did you ever visit Bekasi?

1. Yes 2. No (Go to Q. D3.4)

If 'Yes', (b) How many times.....before moving.

(c) When.....

D3.3 What were the main reasons for visiting in the last year ?

1. Business
2. Visit friends
3. Visit family
4. Sight seeing
5. Shopping
6. Others (please state).....

D3.4 Before you moved to Bekasi, what advantages did you expect from this place ?(possible more than one answer)

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|----|
| 1. Jobs | Yes | No |
| 2. Social freedom | Yes | No |
| 3. Better living conditions | Yes | No |
| 4. Social status | Yes | No |
| 5. Life style | Yes | No |
| 6. Others (please state) | Yes | No |

.....

D3.5 (a) Before you moved, did you know where you would be living in Bekasi ?

1. Yes 2. No (Go to Q.(c))

If 'yes' (b) Where did you live when you first moved here ?

1. Close family's house
2. Distant family's house
3. Friend's house
4. Mess
5. Hotel
6. Others (please state).....

If 'No', (c) how did you find a place to live ?

.....

(d) where was that ?

.....

SECTION E: SITUATION IN DESTINATION (after moving)

Now I would like to ask about your job when you first moved to Bekasi ?

E1: Employment

(For those looking for a job on arrival)

E1.1 When you first arrived in Bekasi, did you have a job?

- (a) 1. Yes (*Go to Q. E1.2*) 2. No

If 'No', (b) How long were you unemployed and looking for a job ?

- 1.....days
2.....months
3.....years

(c) From what source did you receive information concerning your Jobs ?
(read the list and check all answers which fit. (More than one answer is possible)

1. Radio
2. TV
3. Newspaper
4. Government employment agency
5. Private employment agency
6. Family
7. Friends
8. Religious leader
9. Village leader
10. Others (please state).....

(For those not looking a job on arrival)

E1.2 Why did you not look for employment at the time of arrival ?

1. Already had a job
2. Transferred by employer
3. Did not want a job
4. Unable to work
5. Take care the children
6. No permission from husband
7. Others (please state).....

E1.3 (a) Are you still working in the same job as when you moved to Bekasi ?

1. Yes (*Go to Q. E1.4*) 2. No

If 'No', (b) Why did you quit your first job ?

1. Reward too small
2. Too risky
3. Got a better job

4. Others (please state).....

(c) How many jobs have you had (including your current job) since coming to Bekasi ?
jobs

Current main job of respondent only

E1.4 (a) On average how many hours a day do you work at this factory or current job?
hours/day

(b) Could you please tell me about your income or salary you earn from your main job ?
 Rp.....a day/week/month

(c) How are you satisfied with this income ?
 1. Very satisfied
 2. Satisfied
 3. Average
 4. Unsatisfied
 5. Very unsatisfied

(d) Did you get incentives?
 1. Yes 2. No (Go to E1.5)

(e) If 'Yes', Could you please indicate the kinds of incentive (*tunjangan*) that you receive from your company ?

Kinds of incentive	Yes	No	Level of satisfied		
			Satisfied	Average	Not satisfied
1. Health	1	2	1	2	3
2. Hari Raya	1	2	1	2	3
3. Holiday	1	2	1	2	3
4. Pregnancy and Birth	1	2	1	2	3
5. Employment insurance	1	2	1	2	3
6. Others	1	2	1	2	3

E1.5 For respondents with an additional job only

(a) Beside the main job you are holding now, do you have any additional jobs ?

1. Yes [] Go to (b) 2. No [] Go to E1.6
 If 'yes', (b) what kind of occupation or business ?

.....

(c) Where do you mostly work at the second job ?

1. At home
2. At market
3. At pedestrian street
4. Travelling around

5. Other (please state).....

(d) What is the appropriate description of your employment status in your second job?

1. Paid worker
2. Self employed
3. Employer assisted by family workers
4. Employer assisted by paid workers
5. Family workers

(e) How long do you spend at the additional job?

.....hours/day/week/month

(f) How much money do you get from this job?

Rp.....per day/week/month

E1.6 (a) How do you feel about your total income from both your main job and additional job?

1. Very adequate
2. Adequate
3. Less adequate
4. Inadequate
5. Very inadequate

(b) If 'not satisfied', what efforts have you made to improve your economic condition ?

Please mention.....

E2. Location and living conditions

E2.1 What advantages do you get from living in this house ?

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| 1. Close to work place | Yes | No |
| 2. Close to public facilities (Market, Supermarket, school, etc.) | Yes | No |
| 3. Easy to access to transportation | Yes | No |
| 4. Good facilities (water, electric) | Yes | No |
| 5. Cheaper | Yes | No |
| 6. Security | Yea | No |
| 7. Others (please state)..... | | |

E2.2 (a) Do you own this house ?

1. Yes (*Go to E2.3*)
2. No

(b) If 'No' What is the status of this house ?

1. Government house
2. Rent/ contract
3. Friend's house
4. Factory's house
5. Family's house

6 Others (please state).....

(c) Do you pay for the house ?

1. Yes 2. No (Skip to E2.3)

(d) If 'Yes', how much is the rent/cost per month ?

Rp.....

E2.3 How many rooms do you have in your house ?
.....rooms

E2.4 What source of water facility do you have ?

1. Pipe water at home
2. Well at home
3. Neighbour water
4. Public water
5. River
6. Others (please state).....

E2.5 What toilet facilities do you have ?

1. River
2. Public toilet
3. Private toilet
4. Others (please state).....

E2.6 We would like to know what kind of household equipment you have in your house ? (Ask about each item one by one, if respondent shares with others, ask what she owns herself).

1. Bicycle
2. Motorcycle
3. Clock
4. Tape recorder/player
5. Electric fan
6. TV

E2.7 How many people did stayed in the same RK or RT from your home village?

.....

E2.8 (a) During the first month after arrival in Bekasi from your previous place of residence, did you encounter any difficulties as a direct result of moving to Bekasi ?

1. Yes 2. No

(b) If 'Yes' 1. Main difficulty :

.....

(c). What others difficulties can you think of ?

.....

E2.9 How do you feel Bekasi compares with each of the following aspects of your last place of residence ?

Aspects	Worse	Same	Better
1. Work	1	2	3
2. Wages	1	2	3
Relationship with :			
3. Family	1	2	3
4. Friends	1	2	3
5. Neighbourhood	1	2	3
6. Housing condition	1	2	3
7. Health services	1	2	3
8. Public transportation	1	2	3
9. Physical environment	1	2	3
10. Market condition	1	2	3
11. Entertainment	1	2	3
12. Education for children	1	2	3
13. Religious teaching	1	2	3
14. Social security	1	2	3

E2.10 Kinds of building materials of this house :

(please noted by enumerator)

(a) Walls :

1. Brick or cement or wood in good condition
2. Brick or cement or wood in bad condition
3. Wood and/or bamboo in good condition
4. Wood and/or bamboo in bad condition
5. Other (please state).....

(b) Floor :

1. Cement/brick
2. Tile
3. No floor material
4. Wood
5. Others

(c) Roof :

1. Concrete
2. Wood
3. Tile
4. Asbestos
5. Corrugated zinc
6. Others...

(d) Size of house :

1. Small
2. Medium
3. Large

(e) Size of yard :

1. Large
2. Small
3. No yard

SECTION F: SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

F1 *Social relationships in the city*

F1.1 (a) How many new friends do you have in Bekasi?

1. Only few friends
2. Many friends

(b) Who are they ?

- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| 1. Family | Yes | No |
| 2. Migrants from similar place of origin | Yes | No |
| 3. Migrants from different place of origin | Yes | No |
| 4. Non-migrants | Yes | No |

F1.2 (a) Do you have any difficulties with your friends or neighbours here?

1. Yes
2. No

If 'Yes' (b) With whom ?

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----|----|
| 1. Female non-migrants | Yes | No |
| 2. Male non-migrants | Yes | No |
| 3. Female migrants | Yes | No |
| 4. Male migrants | Yes | No |

If 'Yes' (c) What main factors do you think affect these difficulties?

1. Language
2. Ethnic
3. Education level
4. Religion
5. Culture
6. Economic level
7. Others (please state)

.....

F1.3 When you have social or economic problems, with whom do you usually discuss them?

1. Close friends
2. Close relatives

- 3. Informal leader
- 4. Formal leader in the office
- 5. Psychologist
- 6. Others (please state).....

Relationship with family in the village

F1.4 (a) Are there still members of your family who live in your place of origin ?
 1. Yes 2. No (*Skip to H1.1*)

If 'Yes', (b) Who are they and how do you communicate with them?

Person	Kinds of communication (eg. letter)	How often ...week/month/year	How many times did you visit them last year
1. Mother
2. Father
3. Husband
4. Children
5. Brother/sister
6. Other

SECTION G: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

G1. Attitude of the people in the village

G1.1 (a) Do people in your village encourage people to move to the city ?
 1. Yes 2. No (*Skip to Q. G1.3*)

(b) If 'Yes', Which groups of people in the village encouraged movement to the city ?

- 1. Old people (male) Yes No
- 2. Old people (female) Yes No
- 3. Young people (male) Yes No
- 3. Informal leader Yes No
- 4. Formal leader Yes No
- 5. Others (please state).....

G1.2 What do you consider to be the main effects of people moving to the city ?

- a. Good things.....
- b. Bad things

In the community

G3.2 (a) Did you participate in the social activities provided by an institution at the factory and/or community?

1. Yes 2. No (*Go to G3.3*)

(b) If 'Yes', could you please supply the following information?

Unit	Institution	Position	Who decides	Reason
Factory
Village
RT*
Other

Note. *RT (*Rukun Tetangga*) : Neighbourhood Group

(c) Did you do similar activities in your origin area?

1. Yes 2. No

G3.3 (a) Does your movement give more opportunities to participate in social activities in Bekasi than before moving?

1. Yes 2. No

(b) If 'No', Why?

1. Having no time
2. Not interested
3. No opportunities given to me
4. Others

G3.4 Do you feel that you are treated differently than men in these organisations?

1. Yes 2. No

G3.4 (a) Do you feel that your community treats women and men differently ?

1. Yes 2. No.

(b) If 'Yes', does this restrict your participation in social activities or development of social relationships?

1. Yes 2. No

(c) If 'Yes', could you give me example?

.....

G3.5 Could you please tell me how often do you read each of the following types of media?

Frequency	Magazines	Newspapers	Television	Radio
1. Everyday
2. Once/twice a week
3. Once/twice a month
4. Less often
5. Never

SECTION H: FUTURE EXPECTATIONS

- H1 Could you please tell me what your future movements will be in the next year?
- (a) Province:
1. The same province
 2. Moving to another province
 3. Do not know
- (b) Rural/urban :
1. The same place of residence
 2. Moving to another urban areas
 3. Moving to another rural areas
 4. Do not know
- (c) What are your reasons?
.....
- H2 Could you please tell me what your future employment will be in the next year?
- (a) Job:
1. Changing to another job
 2. The same job
 3. Do not know
- (b) Type of occupation :
1. Professional/administrative
 2. Agriculture
 3. Transportation/communication
 4. Craft/production
 5. Services
 6. Others
 7. Do not know
- (c). What are your reasons?
.....
- H3 Could you please tell me what your future movements will be in the next 5 years?
- (a) Province:
1. The same province
 2. Moving to another province
 3. Do not know
- (b) Rural/urban :
1. The same place of residence
 2. Moving to another urban areas
 3. Moving to another rural areas
 4. Do not know

(c) What are your reasons ?

H4 Could you please tell me what your future employment will be in the next 5 years?

(a) Job:

1. Changing to another job
2. The same job
3. Do not know

(b) Type of occupation :

1. Professional/administrative
2. Agriculture
3. Transportation/communication
4. Craft/production
5. Services
6. Others
7. Do not know

(c). What are your reasons?

H5. In your opinion, at what age should a woman get married?
Years

H6. How many children do you plan for your family?
Children.

H7. In your opinion, who should decide the husband of a woman?
 1. Woman herself
 2. Parents
 3. Family

Appendix 3**MAIN QUESTIONS FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW OF THE FAMILY OF
THE MIGRANT IN THE ORIGIN AREA**

1. Name :
Address :
2. Who initiated the migration to Bekasi ?
3. Do you agree with your daughter's decision to migrate to Bekasi ?
4. Why did you encourage/discourage your daughter to move?
5. To what extent were you involved in the migration decision making of your daughter?
6. In your opinion, what factors forced your daughter to migrate?
7. In your opinion, to what extent does the community encourage women to migrate?
8. Could you please tell me how you felt about separating from your daughter?
9. In your opinion, how did the migration of your daughter advantage and disadvantage your family?
10. What do you think about 'remittances'?
11. How often does your daughter send remittances to the family?
12. To what extent did you give financial support to your daughter?
13. Why did you do it?
14. What important things do you expect from her migration?

Appendix 4

MAIN QUESTIONS FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW OF THE KEY PERSONS OF NON-MIGRANTS IN THE AREA OF DESTINATION

1. Could you please tell me the response and attitude of the host community toward the presence of migrants, particularly women migrants in your village?
2. As you realise, female migrants come from different cultural backgrounds. To what extent does their existence influence social norms of the host community?
3. How do you perceive their attitudes and behaviour, particularly in social interaction with non-migrants?
4. To what extent did the female migrants participate in social activities held by formal and informal organisations in this village?
5. In what aspects do migrants significantly contribute to village development? Could you explain it in detail?
6. How in your opinion have migrants encouraged additional income in the community in this village?
7. From which economic activities did the migrants contribute significantly to the additional income of the community? Could you explain in detail?
8. In your opinion, which important aspects of the migration of the young women to this village results in positive and negative consequences for the community?