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Graeme Hugo Indonesia's Migration Transition¹

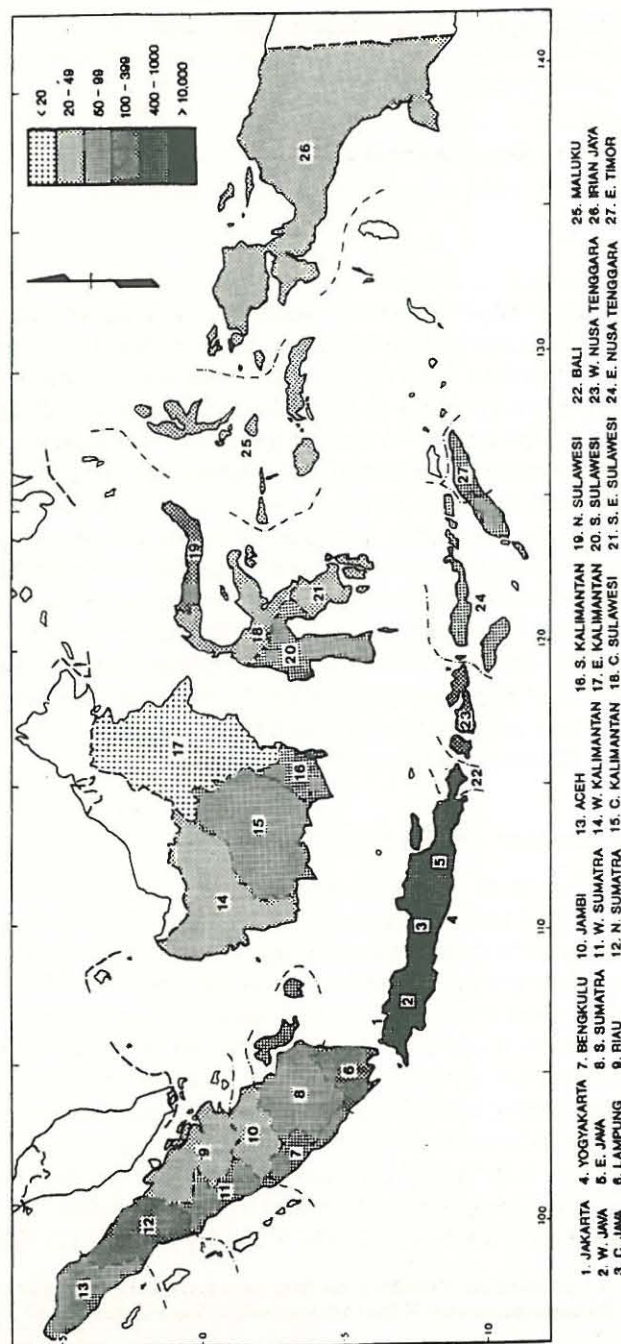
Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed economic and social change in Southeast Asia which is unprecedented in its pace and impact. An important element of this change has been a parametric increase in the levels of population mobility, the complexity of its spatial patterning and diversity of the groups involved. This applies to the full spectrum of population movements, short and long distance, permanent and temporary, legal and illegal, and movements to and between urban areas. In order to elucidate some elements of this mobility revolution, the present paper focuses upon one country, Indonesia. There is no attempt here to provide a comprehensive review of all population movement in Indonesia but to focus on two types of movement which have increased greatly in significance in recent years – rural to urban mobility and international labour migration. Recent developments in these types of population movement in Indonesia are discussed and some of their causes and consequences addressed in the context of the rapid economic and social change occurring in Indonesia.

The Changing Context of Movement

Indonesia's national motto of 'Unity in Diversity' is a very appropriate one and an appreciation of its enormous diversity is fundamental to any understanding of contemporary population mobility. There are more than 300 separate ethnolinguistic groups who are being welded together into a nation and they are spread over more than 13,000 islands extending over some 40 degrees of longitude (Figure 1). There are a vast range of ecological situations from the richest agricultural lands in Java which is one of the world's most densely settled agricultural areas to the swampy eastern coastal areas of Sumatra, the mountainous interiors of the Outer Islands and the dry, drought prone areas of East Nusa Tenggara. The contrast between densely settled Inner Indonesia (Java-Madura-Bali) and the Outer Islands (Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and the other islands) is readily apparent in Figure 1.

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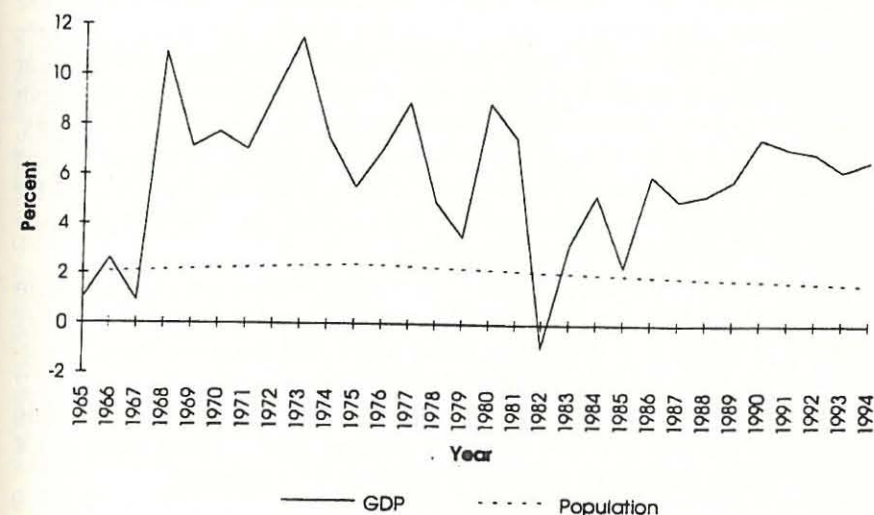


Source: 1990 Census of Indonesia.

Figure 1: Indonesia: Population Density, 1990 (Persons Per Square Km)

In 1990 Java-Madura had 60 percent of the nation's population on 6.9 percent of the land area. The Inner-Outer Indonesia dichotomy in population density largely reflects disparities in resource endowments and although there is considerable potential for development in the Outer Islands they are frequently incorrectly portrayed as being 'empty'. In fact Sumatra alone with a population in 1990 of 36.5 million would be the 29th largest nation in the world if it were a separate country.

Indonesia is the world's fourth largest nation with a population in 1994 of 194.6 million and hence must loom large in any discussion of Asian economies. Like the Asian region as a whole, Indonesia has experienced rapid economic growth and restructuring as well as substantial social change over the last two decades. Nevertheless Indonesia remains squarely within the ranks of the World Bank's (1994) 'Low Income' economies with GNP per capita in 1992 being US\$ 670.



Source: Hill 1994; 1961, 1971, 1980, 1990 Indonesia Censuses.

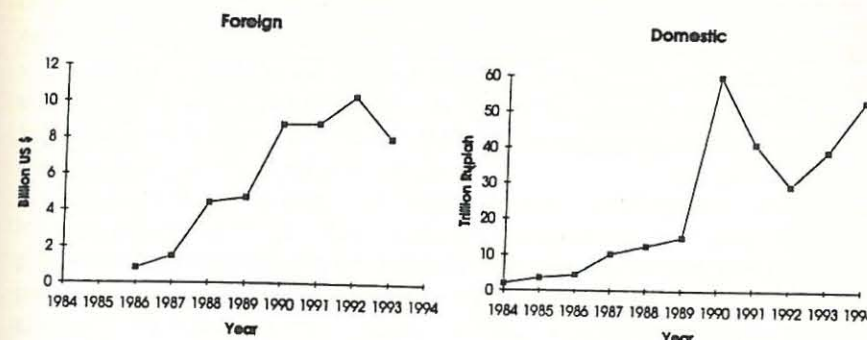
Figure 2: Indonesia: GDP and Population Growth Rates, 1965 - 1994

Over the 1969 - 1994 First Twenty Five Year Plan, the average rate of growth of the Indonesia economy was 6.8 percent per annum (Booth 1994, p. 4). However, as Figure 2 shows, there have been some fluctuations in the rate of growth of GDP. The Suharto era can be divided into two substantial periods

of economic growth which are evident in Figure 2. The first, extending from the early seventies until the early eighties, was largely sustained by the global increases in oil prices and the windfall increases in foreign exchange earnings which Indonesia subsequently enjoyed. However, with the decline in oil prices and realignment of international currencies in the early 1980s, the heavy reliance of the Indonesia economy on oil and gas exports resulted in a precipitous decline in the rate of economic growth. This prompted the government to shift its economic strategy and adopt a strongly market oriented approach. This has involved reducing controls on investment, although these are still stronger than in several other countries, deregulating the economy to some extent and a package of measures to encourage domestic and foreign investment. Accordingly, the economy became more diversified and economic growth resumed.

There has been, as a result of the changes initiated since the mid 1980s, a considerable reduction in the reliance of the economy on the oil and gas sector. In 1981 it accounted for 24 percent of Indonesia's GDP but by 1992 this proportion had almost halved to 13 percent (Booth 1994, p. 4). In exports the change has been even more dramatic: each of the last two Five Year Plans has seen a doubling of annual non oil/gas export earnings. As Booth (1994, p. 4) points out: '... In 1981 petroleum products, including natural gas, accounted for over 80 percent of total export earnings, by 1992 their export share had dropped to under 25 percent. Oil and gas revenues accounted for 70 percent of government revenues in 1981 – 1982; by 1993 – 1994 their contribution had fallen to under 30 percent.'

The success of the government in increasing investment via a package of deregulation measures and relaxation of foreign ownership rules is readily apparent in Figure 3. It is manufacturing which has attracted most investment – accounting for 66.5 percent of foreign investment in 1990 and 72.2 percent of domestic investment in that year. Much of the investment comes from Japan (25 percent) and the NICs of East Asia – Hong Kong (11.4 percent), South Korea (8.3 percent) and Taiwan (7.1 percent).



Source: Far Eastern Economic Review, 24 May 1992, p. 83; Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 April 1994, p. 48; Far Eastern Economic Review, 18 May 1995, p. 56.

Figure 3: Indonesia: Approved Foreign Investment, 1986 – 1993 and Domestic Investment, 1984 – 1994

There has been substantial structural change in the economy. The growth rate of the agriculture, livestock, forestry and fisheries sector fluctuated over the last seven years but in the last three years has been less than half that of GDP as a whole. Some of the slowest growth rates were in the food crops area and the highest growth rates were in estate crops. Nevertheless, there has been a substantial increase in food production in Indonesia over the last quarter century with the output of rice over the 1968 – 1992 period almost trebling from 17.156 million tons to 47.293 million tons. This was largely achieved through an increase in productivity since the area under rice increased by only 35.5 percent over that period while the output per hectare rose from 2.13 tons per hectare to 4.35 (Republic of Indonesia 1993). Hence availability of rice produced in Indonesia has increased more than three times faster than population over the last quarter century. Nevertheless, some would question the sustainability of such a rapid increase in food production given its reliance upon substantial inputs of fertilisers and pesticides and the evidence of increasing environmental degradation.

Much of the expansion in rice production has been achieved through increasing inputs other than labour. The increasing productivity of Indonesian agriculture is demonstrated in Table 1, however cumulative growth in real agricultural labour productivity was only 10 percent in the 1980s (Tomich 1992, p. 8). The table also shows that the last decade has seen agriculture's share of Indonesia's workforce fall below half for the first time while its share of GDP has fallen below a fifth. It is anticipated that Indonesia's agricultural workforce will begin to decline in numbers in the late 1990s (Hugo 1993a, p. 75).

Year	Agricultural GDP (Rp billion at constant 1983 prices)	Agriculture's Share of GDP (%)	Agricultural Labour Force (million)	Agriculture's Share of Labour Force (%)	Agricultural GDP/ Labour (Rp '000 per person at constant 1983 prices)
1980	16,399	25.0	28.8	55.9	569
1985	19,300	22.7			
1990	22,357	19.4	35.5	49.2	626

Source: Tomich 1992, p. 9.

Table 1: Indonesia: GDP and Labour Force in Agriculture

The 1970s saw a number of modernising and commercialising changes in agricultural technology and practice in Indonesia (White 1979; Hugo 1985, pp. 59 – 62) which led to some displacement of workers from agriculture. These changes were associated with the adoption of the High Yielding Varieties of rice and the package of innovations known as the 'Green Revolution'. The changes having labour displacement effects in Indonesia, especially Java, included:

- A change from traditional labour organisation to wage labour which limited access to agricultural work.
- Change from traditional forms of harvesting (using an ani ani or small blade) to use of the sickle.
- Increased use of tractors.
- Replacement of hand milling by mechanical hullers.

It would appear that in the 1990s a new round of labour displacement innovations are occurring in agriculture in Java (Naylor 1992, p. 28). These include:

- A recent drive to mechanise rice cultivation and threshing on Java through making subsidised loans available.
- Movement toward direct seeding of rice which will mean that all of the labour associated with transplanting will be lost.
- Increased use of herbicides displacing labour originally associated with weeding.

Naylor (1992) quotes research indicating that the latter two innovations will reduce total labour use by around a third in rice cultivation in Java while another third would be lost if mechanised cultivations and threshing became

widespread. She indicates that the total effect of these innovations would reduce labour hours per hectare from 1,460 to 625 per year. This would have very dramatic impacts on agricultural employment in Java, especially the women, and put great pressure on the other sectors to absorb labour. Structural change in Indonesia will therefore continue to see a significant redistribution of labour between sectors.

The manufacturing sector has been one of the most dynamic in Indonesia in the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s growing at over 10 percent per annum in most years, well above the average for all sectors. This is particularly true of the non-oil and gas manufacturing sub-sector. In 1991 the share of the economy made up by manufacturing exceeded agriculture for the first time in the nation's history. As Hill (1992, p. 5) points out: '... This is an historic turning point in Indonesia's economic development. Although the event was hastened by poor rice harvests, its fundamental origins lie in the impressive export-oriented industrial growth which has occurred since 1986. The speed of the structural change in the last quarter century is revealed in the fact that over the period 1966 – 1991 the share of manufacturing in GDP has risen from 8 percent to 22 percent while that of agriculture has declined from 51 percent to 19 percent'. The growth in this sector is reflected in employment. In the 1980s employment in large and medium sized manufacturing enterprises increased by 117 percent but that in small enterprises also expanded by a very healthy 62.6 percent (Hill 1992, p. 38). Indeed, in the late 1980s small enterprise employment grew as fast as that in large and medium sized enterprises. Java had 76.2 percent of all manufacturing employment in large and medium enterprises in 1990. The proportion of small enterprise employment in Java was even higher (77.2 percent). The fact that much investment in manufacturing since 1990 has been in and around Jakarta would suggest that manufacturing employment has become even more concentrated in Jakarta, especially that in large enterprises. Table 2 shows that in the first three years of the 1990s employment in large and medium scale manufacturing enterprises increased by almost a third – with a higher rate of increase in Java than in the Outer Islands.

Indonesia's contemporary labour market situation (Hugo 1993b) is one of labour surplus and this will continue well into the next century. It can be characterised as follows:

- While overall population growth rates have fallen to 1.6 percent per annum the labour force is increasing at almost twice this rate and each year there is a net increment of around 2.5 million new workers to the 80 million currently in the labour force.

	1989-1990	1992-1993	Percent Growth
Number of Enterprises			
Java	68,414	80,835	18.2
Other Islands	48,324	67,007	38.7
Total	116,738	147,842	26.6
Number of Employees			
Java	3,188,824	4,280,461	34.2
Other Islands	1,772,947	2,312,544	30.4
Total	4,961,771	6,593,005	32.8

Source: Indonesia, Department of Labour 1995.

Table 2: Indonesia: Change in Registered Manufacturing Enterprises, 1989 – 1990 to 1992 – 1993

- Female labour force participation is still quite low but increasing rapidly.
- While unemployment levels have traditionally been quite low, they are increasing especially among the educated youth.
- Some 40 percent of the labour force are underemployed.
- A large but reducing proportion of the workforce are employed in the informal sector in both rural and urban areas.

International Labour Migration in Indonesia

While the scale and impact of international labour movements in Indonesia is not as great as in countries like the Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Pakistan, it is becoming increasingly significant not only in the regions which the labour migrants leave but in Indonesia more widely. Table 3 draws together available data on the legal flows of Indonesian workers overseas. The increasing tempo of movement is immediately apparent and for the next Five Year Plan (1994 – 1999) the target of deployment is 1.25 million workers. The significance of the Middle East as a destination of Indonesian OCWs (overseas contract workers) is apparent in Table 3. It accounted for 64.4 percent of all official Indonesian overseas workers. Indeed one country, Saudi Arabia, has been the destination of 668,188 Indonesian workers during the first five Repelita – 62.8 percent of the total officially deployed over the 25 year period.

One of the features of the migration to the Middle East has been the substantial involvement of women in that movement and Table 3 shows that

over the last decade women have far outnumbered men in the officially documented flow to the Middle East but men outnumbered women in flows to other regions. However, a country by country analysis shows that females also dominate inflows to Singapore, Brunei, Darussalam and Hong Kong in the increasingly important flows to other Asian nations. In each of the last eleven years women have outnumbered men in the movement and in seven of those years by more than two to one. While the dominant movement of women has been to work as domestics working in private households in the Middle East there has been an increasing flow of this type to Malaysia and Singapore (Hugo 1993b) and Hong Kong (Krisnawaty and Muchtar 1992). As has been discussed elsewhere (Hugo 1992), the government's strong encouragement of this movement has attracted controversy and while several labour sending nations in Asia have banned this type of female migration it continues to dominate the official outflow from Indonesia.

The extent to which the migration of women OCWs in Indonesia is leading to a change in the roles and status of women within the family and the society more generally is an important question which remains unanswered. The limited evidence available, however, would suggest that for most Indonesian women there is not a substantial improvement in their roles and status as a result of their sojourn overseas.

Certainly it is clear that some women experience difficulty as a result of their migration. The incidence of problems encountered by Indonesian women domestic workers in countries like Saudi Arabia is very high and have been classified by the Labour Section of the Indonesian Embassy in Saudi Arabia under the following 12 categories (RDCMC-YTKI, 1986, p. xxviii): Rape, Harassment, Battery, Onerous work, Unpaid wages, Work not in accordance with contract, Hard-to-please employer, Employee unjustly accused by employer, Expelled by employer, Dismissal by employer, Frequently ill, and Other. It is clear that the incidence of women having bad experiences is high (Hugo 1992) and there are frequent newspaper studies about such things as women returning to Indonesia to find that their husband has remarried using her remittances to establish a new life and a woman raped in Saudi Arabia being rejected by her family on her return.

The involvement of women domestics in the migration of workers to the Middle East has attracted considerable controversy, especially among religious and women's groups. Cases of mistreatment, excessively heavy workloads and rape are given prominent coverage in the media. One newspaper story of case studies of mistreatment (*Kompas*, 1 March 1990, vol. 1, p. 5) was headlined: 'Report on the Problems of Female International Workers: Hammer, Broom Handle and Sex.' While there are also success stories it is clear that these workers are exposed to considerable risk of exploitation. Notwithstanding the Indonesian government regulations it is apparent, as

Year* (Single Year)	Middle East		Malaysia/ Singapore		Other	Total	Percent Change Over Previous Year	Sex Ratio (Males per 100 Females)
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.		
1994-95**	82,844	59	43,615	31	14,828	141,287	-	32
1993-94	102,357	64	38,453	24	19,185	159,995	-7	36
1992/93	96,772	56	62,535	36	12,850	172,157	15	54
1991/92	89,244	60	51,230	34	9,420	149,782	+74	48
1990/91	39,810	46	36,983	45	5,766	86,264	+3	73
1989/90	60,456	72	16,007	22	5,130	84,074	+37	32
1988/89	50,123	82	6,614	11	4,682	61,419	+1	29
1987/88	49,723	81	7,916	13	3,453	61,092	+11	35
1986/87	45,405	66	20,349	30	2,606	68,360	+26	61
1985/86	45,024	83	6,546	12	4,094	54,297	+18	44
1984/85	35,577	79	6,034	13	4,403	46,014	+58	79
1983/84	18,691	66	5,597	20	5,003	29,291	+39	141
1982/83	9,595	47	7,801	38	3,756	21,152	+18	n.a.
1981/82	11,484	63	1,550	9	4,570	17,904	+11	n.a.
1980/81	11,231	70	564	4	4,391	16,186	+58	n.a.
1979/80	7,651	74	720	7	2,007	10,378	-	n.a.
1977						3,675		n.a.
Five Year Planning Periods						Target	Total Deployed	
Repelita V:	1989/94					500,000	652,272	
Repelita IV:	1984/89					225,000	292,262	
Repelita III:	1979/84					100,000	96,410	
Repelita II:	1974/79					none set	17,042	
Repelita I:	1969/74					none set	5,624	

* = April - March. ** = April 1994 - December 1994.

Source: Suyono 1981; Singhanetra-Renard 1986, p. 52; Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan, Universitas Gadjah Mada 1986, p. 2; AKAN Offices, Bandung and Jakarta; AKAN (Antar Kerja Antar Negara)

Table 3: Number of Indonesian Overseas Workers Processed by the Ministry of Manpower, 1969 - 1994

one Indonesian commentator (Anon 1984, p. 14) has put it, that the Middle Eastern employer is in a stronger position than the Indonesian worker. Local labour legislation does not apply to domestic workers. Moreover if the worker is not regarded by the employer as satisfactory or she has to leave before the end of the contract all travel costs expended by the employer have to be refunded. The Indonesian woman has to have three eye witnesses to

successfully bring a complaint about her employer in Saudi Arabia. Two books recently published in Indonesia reflect the contrasting positive (Kelana 1993) and negative (Tobing et al. 1990) views held on the experience of female OCWs. The demand among Indonesian women, especially those from Java, to work overseas in domestic situations remains very strong.

As is the case with other Asian labour sending nations, there is an increasing tendency for labour migration from Indonesia to be directed toward other Asian countries, especially those experiencing significant labour shortages. In the Fifth Five Year Plan period, 36.4 percent of official temporary labour migrants moved to Asian destinations. Malaysia alone is now accounting for more than a quarter of official labour migrants. Nevertheless, the bulk of Indonesian movement to Malaysia remains undetected by official statistics. It is estimated that the number of Indonesian workers in Malaysia certainly exceed half a million and probably are in the vicinity of one million (Pillai 1992). Illegal entry from Indonesia along a number of established routes to both Peninsular and East Malaysia (Hugo 1993a) is neither difficult nor expensive although it can be dangerous. While official movements are dominated by women, the undocumented movements have more males than females involved. The movement is facilitated and organised by syndicates of recruiters (*calo*) and middlemen (*taikong*) in a well organised way (Spaan 1994). Most of the illegal workers are employed in low skilled, manual jobs located outside of the major cities in the plantation and construction sectors and on government land development schemes (Guinness 1990) but their presence in major urban areas is increasing (Hugo 1993a).

Malaysia's economy continues to grow at better than 8 percent per annum which in 1995 was the eighth such year in a row (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 April 1995, p. 38). The country is said to require an additional 1.3 million foreign workers and technicians to those already there which would probably be of that order (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 13 October 1995, p. 79). Moreover it is clear that labour market segmentation in Malaysia is facilitating this movement. Even when the Malaysian economy was in recession and unemployment high in the mid 1980s the clandestine movement from Indonesia continued. This was due to the fact that Malaysians (especially Malays) were unwilling to go into low paying, low status, manual jobs, especially those in the agricultural sector, even though they were unemployed (Hugo 1993a). Education and other social change had resulted in a significant shift in aspirations and expectations among the Malaysian population.

International labour migration from Indonesia undoubtedly will increase over the remaining years of the 1990s with demand increasing in the labour short economies of Asia and growth in the Indonesian labour force continuing to place pressure on local employment opportunities. Moreover the develop-

ment of social networks between movers and their families and friends in Indonesia and the growth of an immigration industry within Indonesia, most of it clandestine, will facilitate an increase in labour export. In the meantime there are many issues relating to international labour migration from Indonesia which command urgent attention. In particular, the legalisation of currently undocumented flows to Malaysia should be explored. Similarly the exploitative activities of some middlemen, agents and recruiters needs to be controlled. The problems faced by Indonesian female migrant workers must be addressed. From the perspective of the welfare of Indonesian labour migrants themselves, their families and communities and the Indonesian economy as a whole it is important that policies be developed to maximise the advantages to be derived from such movement and the exploitative and other negative elements associated with the movement be identified and minimized. This can only be achieved if there is a base of sound knowledge regarding the scale, patterns, causes and consequences of existing flows and this at present is largely lacking.

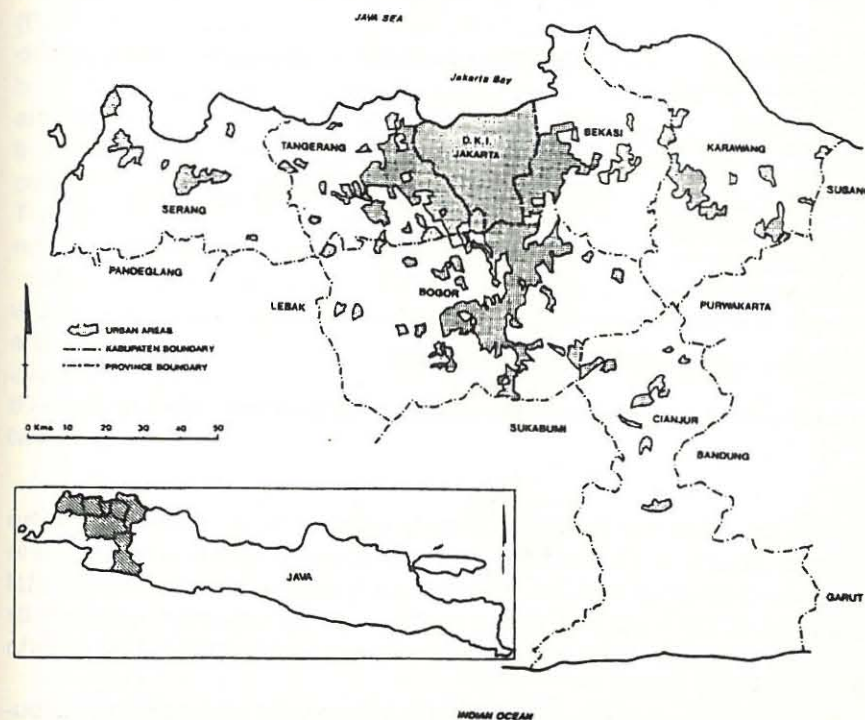
Rural – Urban Population Movement in Indonesia

Indonesia has long been characterised as one of Asia's least urbanised nations but the stereotype of Indonesians as predominantly rural dwellers is becoming less valid. Whereas at the time of Independence less than one in ten Indonesians lived in urban areas, currently a third are urban dwellers and within two decades more than half of the nation's population will be classified as urban. This represents an important transformation in the Indonesian space economy and in the way in which Indonesians live and work.

In the 1980s, not only was the rate of urban growth more than six times greater than that of the rural population but the absolute growth of the urban population (almost 23 million) was twice that of the rural population (11.8 million). If we examine urbanisation, however, the gains have been more modest than those in urban growth with the percentage of Indonesians living in urban areas increasing fivefold from 22.4 in 1980 to 30.9 percent in 1990. While substantial urbanisation has occurred throughout the post-Independence period in Indonesia, the 1980s represented a period of rapid urbanisation unparalleled in Indonesia's history. The increase in urbanisation between 1980 and 1990 in Indonesia was partly due to reclassification of areas from rural to urban. Gardiner and Oey-Gardiner (1991) report that the number of rural *desa* classified as urban almost doubled between 1980 and 1990 from around 3,500 to approximately 6,700. Hence a substantial part of the urbanisation recorded was due to reclassification. It is apparent that Indonesia's urban areas have not only recorded massive population gains

during the 1980s but there also has been a huge increase in the lateral extent of urban areas. This lateral extension of Indonesia's urban areas has tended to occur in corridors, along major transport routes radiating out from (and linking) major urban areas (McGee 1991; Firman 1989, 1991, 1992). Figure 4, for example, shows the extent of urban development around Jakarta and indicates the true geographical extent of the functioning mega-city of Jakarta. The map shows how unrealistic the official boundaries of cities are in these contexts. This is further indicated in Table 4, the first part of which shows growth in the administrative region of Jakarta giving a population of 8.2 million in 1990 and intercensal population gains of around a third. The second part shows growth in those parts of the adjoining three overspill *kabupaten* defined as urban at the three censuses. This gives a metropolitan region population of 13.1 million in 1990 and very rapid growth rates partly because of reclassification of formerly rural areas as urban between censuses.

Figure 4: The Functioning Urban Region of Greater Jakarta



The final part of the table includes the fixed boundaries of the entire JABOTABEK region and shows a more than doubling of the population

between 1971 and 1990 (while the national population increased at less than half this rate) and gives a metropolitan region population of 17.1 million. In functional terms the latter figure is certainly more realistic than that for DKI Jakarta. The transformation of the population of the areas adjoining DKI Jakarta is reflected in the fact that the number of residents in these areas who were employed in non-agricultural occupations increased from 583,450 in 1971 to 2,359,832 in 1990.

Definition	Population			Increase (%)	
	1971	1980	1990	1971-1980	1980-1990
Special Capital City District (DKI) of Jakarta	4,546,492	6,071,748	8,227,766	33.5	35.5
DKI Jakarta and Urban Bogor, Bekasi and Tangerang Kabupaten	4,838,221	7,373,563	13,096,693	52.4	77.6
DKI Jakarta, Kotamadya Bogor and Kabupaten Bogor Bekasi and Tangerang (Jabotabek)	8,374,243	11,485,019	17,105,357	37.1	48.9

Source: 1971, 1980 and 1990 Censuses of Indonesia

Table 4: Population in Jakarta Metropolitan Area According to Different Definitions, 1971 – 1990

It should be noted that there was already substantial commuting out of the region to Jakarta in 1971 but the growth of non-agricultural employment in the next two decades was 304.5 percent compared with an increase in total population of 131.9 percent. Hence commuting has increased substantially in the JABOTABEK region as field surveys have also indicated (DKI Jakarta 1985; Koestoes 1992).

A significant part of the urbanisation in Indonesia is caused by redistribution of population from rural to urban areas. However, it is not possible to establish the extent of rural to urban migration in Indonesia because:

- migration is only measured in census data when a person moves across a provincial boundary and the bulk of rural to urban movement occurs within provinces;
- the origins of migrants who are identified in the census are not differentiated according to whether they are rural or urban areas.

Moreover it is apparent that many Indonesians work in urban areas while living in rural areas. This is not only a result of substantial long distance commuting but also many people engage in circular migration whereby they work much of the year in Jakarta and other urban centres but keep their family and their stated place of usual residence in their home village. Hence while they are part of the real urban labour force they are not counted as urban residents at the time of the census (Hugo 1978, 1982).

Notwithstanding the fact that census data do not detect most of the rural to urban movement occurring in Indonesia, the data do point to the significance of such movement. For example, while 28.3 percent of non-migrants lived in urban areas in 1990 the proportion for migrants was 54.5 percent. For persons moving in the last five years the percentage was even higher (60.6). If we focus on the JABOTABEK area, the main focus of urban development in Indonesia, Table 5 shows that DKI Jakarta has continued to be a major focus for migrants from elsewhere in the nation. It is instructive also to consider the West Java areas adjoining DKI Jakarta. While migrants from other parts of West Java to these areas cannot be detected from the census, Table 6 shows that there has been significant immigration to Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi from other provinces. Suburbanisation trends are reflected in the large amount of movement from DKI Jakarta into the region.

Field studies in the early 1970s (Hugo 1975, 1978) demonstrated the widespread incidence and socio-economic significance of circular migration and commuting from rural to urban areas in Indonesia. While there are no substantiating data collected in censuses or national surveys it is clear that the tempo of non permanent movement has greatly increased over the last two decades.

	1930	1961	1971	1980	1985	1990	Percent Change 1980-1990
Born in Jakarta	328,929 61.7	1,423,302 49.0	2,724,659 59.9	3,881,287 59.9	4,805,826 60.9	5,063,824 61.5	30.47
Born elsewhere in Java	185,310 34.8	1,346,774 46.3	1,446,535 31.8	1,952,125 30.1	2,343,646 29.7	2,391,925 29.1	22.53
Born elsewhere in Indonesia	18,776 3.5	136,457 4.7	375,298 8.3	647,242 10.0	736,047 9.3	771,997 9.4	19.27
Total	533,015	2,906,533	4,546,492	6,480,654	7,885,519	8,227,746	26.96

Source: Hugo 1975; Indonesian Censuses of 1961, 1971, 1980 and 1990; SUPAS 1985.

Table 5: Birthplace of Population of Jakarta, 1930 – 1990

Birthplace/Origin	Males	Females	Total	Percent of Population
Jakarta	11,249	10,992	22,241	7.41
Central Java	7,869	7,849	15,718	5.23
Yogyakarta	898	884	1,782	0.59
East Java	2,256	2,071	4,327	1.44
West Java	123,932	123,041	246,973	82.24
Other Indonesia	5,148	4,127	9,275	3.09
Total	151,352	148,964	300,316	100.00

Source: BPS 1990 Census Unpublished Data.

Table 6: Bogor, Bekasi and Tangerang: Birthplace of Population, 1990

There are a number of case studies which demonstrate this. In particular studies which resurveyed villages studied in the early 1970s discovered a substantial increase in non permanent moves (e.g. Singarimbun 1986; Keyfitz 1985). Two studies which document such increases are the following ... Edmundson and Edmundson (1983, p. 32) in their comparison of two East Java villages in 1969 and 1981 found that in one of their villages:

The mid 1980 census included 630 urban workers who retained village residence cards but they were only present on weekend visits. This intermediate category of part-time migrants forms an important new group whose freedom of movement and social adaptability represent a significant change in attitude from the traditional and highly territorial throughout patterns of older villagers.

Manning's (1986, pp. 28 – 31) report of the Agro-Economic Survey's studies in six West Java villages from 1976 to 1983 concludes that:

Despite substantial increases in rice production and incomes; there appear to have been relatively few jobs created in rural areas. Quite a substantial proportion of rural households seem to have benefited from the 'trickle down' of urban income growth through entry largely into self-employed activities in transport and petty trade. This has been a major factor influencing agricultural income change in the survey villages over the seven year period studied ... permanent movement to urban areas and movement out of agriculture was not a dominant pattern.

The World Bank (1984, p. 20) estimated that at least 25 percent of rural households on Java have at least one family member working for part of the year in urban areas. This would imply that at least 3.75 million people are involved in this form of migration on Java, equivalent to just over 50 percent of the measured 1980 urban employment in Java. Of course, since migrants are only working in the cities for part of the year the average effect is less than this, but it is not unlikely that about one-sixth of the average daily urban workforce consists of temporary migrants not included in official employment figures. A series of studies sponsored by the Ministry of Population and Environment (Mantra and Molo 1985) examined circular migration and commuting in six Indonesian cities. In addition to establishing how significant and widespread this mobility was in cities of varying sizes in both Inner and Outer Indonesia it was found that the great majority of these movers had only been circulating to those cities since 1980.

A comprehensive survey of 37 villages in Java first studied in the 1967 – 1971 period (Collier et al. n.d., p. 1) has made the following conclusion:

Twenty five years ago many of the landless labourers on Java had very few sources of income ... Now most of the landless rural families on Java have at least one person who is working outside of the village, and in a factory or service job.

In all of the villages in the 1992 – 1993 resurvey, massive migration out of the village to jobs in the larger cities and towns was recorded and only 20 percent of households depended on agriculture for their total livelihood. The bulk of the movement recorded was on a temporary basis. The fact that those villages were deliberately selected to be representative of villages in highly accessible and low accessibility areas suggests that the scale of non-perma-

nent rural-urban movement from Javan villages has increased exponentially in recent years and that such movement still far outweighs permanent relocation from village to city. Moreover with the further labour displacing developments in agriculture described earlier, it seems likely that this movement will continue to be of great significance in Indonesia. The reasons for opting for a non-permanent migration strategy over permanent relocation have been explored elsewhere (Hugo 1978, 1982, 1985) and include the following elements:

- The cost of living in urban areas (especially Jakarta) is considerably higher than in rural areas so that keeping the family in the village and 'earning in the city while spending in the village' allows earnings to go much further.
- Many urban jobs, especially those in the informal sector, can be readily combined with regular visits to the home village.
- Java's transport system is cheap, diverse and allows workers to get to their home village quickly.
- Job options in the village, especially during seasonal increases in demand for labour (such as harvesting time) are able to be kept open. Hence risk can be spread over several sources of income.
- Many informal and formal sector employers in large cities, especially Jakarta, provide barracks type accommodation for workers.
- Often the movement is part of a family labour allocation strategy in which some members are sent out of the village to contribute to the village based family's income.
- In many cases there is a social preference for living and bringing up children in the village where there are perceived to be less negative, non-traditional influences.

While there are many similarities in the present rural-urban movements to that occurring in the 1970s, there have been some significant changes. Paramount among these is the increasing involvement of women in movement to the cities. Table 5 shows that women have outnumbered men among migrants to Jakarta for the last thirty years. However, the predominance of women has increased with the sex ratio (males per 1,000 females) among Jakarta residents who had ever lived in another province declining from 951 in 1971 to 860 in 1980 and 805 in 1990. In fact there was a decline in the sex ratio among migrants for all Indonesia over the period from 1,256 to 1,171 and 1,163 but only in Jakarta did female migrants outnumber their male counterparts. Table 7 shows that the proportion of females that had ever lived in another province increased by 78.5 percent between 1971 and 1990 while that for men increased by 68.8 percent. Jakarta was estimated to have an annual net migration gain of 5.087 per 1,000 females and 3.058 per 1,000 males in the 1980s (BPS 1994, p. 121). Table 6 also indicates that females have been prominent in the migration into areas adjoining DKI Jakarta.

Year	Males	Females
1971 - percent ever lived in another province	6.29	5.06
1985 - percent ever lived in another province	8.37	7.29
1985 - intra-province migrants	7.04	6.75
1985 - five year migrants:		
inter-provincial	2.07	1.85
intra-provincial	1.97	1.89
1990 - percent ever lived in another province	10.62	9.03

Source: Indonesian Censuses of 1971 and 1990; Intercensal Survey of 1985.

Table 7: Indonesia: Measures of Migration, 1971 - 1990

The causes of the increase in female rural-urban migration in Indonesia are complex and have been discussed elsewhere (Hugo 1992). They certainly have been associated with increased female labour force participation. Table 8 shows that the growth of female workers between 1980 and 1990 was more than twice as rapid as for males. Although less than a third of female workers are employed in the formal sector, the numbers in that sector doubled between 1980 and 1990. Much of this is undoubtedly associated with the rapid expansion of manufacturing, especially in the Jakarta region where many factories have sought to employ young unmarried women (Anaf 1986, p. 20; Wolf 1984) because of their relatively high degree of efficiency, lower ages and more malleable nature relative to other segments of the labour force (Lim 1984). This pattern has become even more prevalent in the years since the 1990 census.

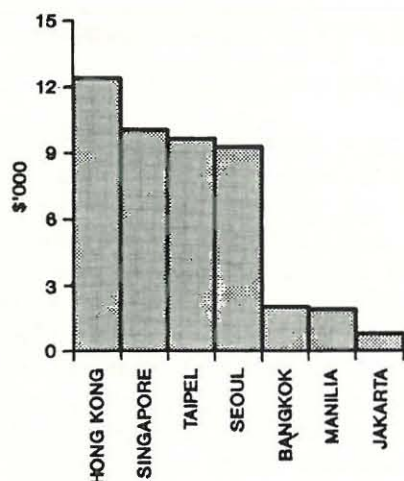
		Males	Females
Formal Sector	1980	11,008,213	3,984,201
	1990	18,209,252	7,894,481
Percent Change		65.4	98.1
Informal Sector	1980	22,966,035	12,411,189
	1990	27,767,290	17,594,607
Percent Change		20.9	41.8

Source: Hugo 1993a, p. 107.

Table 8: Indonesia: Change in Formal and Informal Sector by Gender, 1980 - 1990

As Figure 5 shows, wages paid to female industrial workers in Indonesian cities are very low by regional standards and foreign investment in textile, clothing, electronics, footwear and other labour intensive activities is proceeding apace. In a context where labour protection is minimal, the vulnerability of women workers to exploitation is considerable (Anaf 1986).

While employment of rural-urban migrants in formal sector employment is increasing, the informal sector retains its significance in absorbing urban workers. The urban informal sector's absorptive capacity enables migrants to obtain work relatively quickly even though the returns may be small, the hours long and the work hard, dirty or dangerous.



NOTE: Unskilled or semi-skilled worker in a medium-sized plant, in the textile industry

Source: Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 January 1995, p. 13.

Figure 5: Gross Annual Income for Female Industrial Workers in Selected Asian Cities, 1994 (in \$US)

Such employment is usually gained through kinship or friendship linkages. As a result, labour segmentation is common with particular occupations being dominated by migrants from particular areas. This segmentation is reflected in Table 9 which shows that in 14 villages surveyed in West Java in the 1970s, rural to urban movers tended to be highly concentrated in particular occupations. The fact that this pattern of occupational specialisation has been maintained is shown in the 1992 – 1993 resurvey of 35 villages in Java which found that rural dwellers moving out of particular villages on a perma-

nent or temporary basis tended to take up similar jobs as their fellow villagers at their urban destinations (Collier et al. n.d., pp. 4 – 5).

Village	n	Percentage of All Working Movers				First Two Occupations
		Main Occupation	%	Second Occupation	%	
1	74	Ground Nut Hawker	65	Government/Army	15	80
2	55	Cooked Food/Cigarette Hawker	35	Day Labourer	22	57
3	91	Cooked Food Hawker	43	Jewellery Hawker	21	64
4	70	Becak Driver	57	Day Labourer	16	73
5	82	Becak Driver	41	Factory Worker	34	75
6	100	Labourer	35	Hospital Worker	13	48
7	87	Kerosene Hawker	32	Household Domestic	15	47
8	77	Airline/Hotel Workers	32	Household Domestic	10	42
9	87	Kelontongan Hawker	60	Government/Army	12	72
10	88	Driver	27	Government/Army	26	53
11	87	Becak Driver	38	Construction Worker	20	58
12	92	Carpenter	49	Government/Army	28	77
13	99	Barber	31	Bamboo Worker	20	51
14	104	Bread Hawker	42	Driver	32	74

Source: Hugo 1978, p. 231.

Table 9: West Java Survey Villages: Occupational Specialisation in Urban Areas of Movers Who Are in the Workforce

As is the case with international migration, recruiters and middlemen of various types have played a significant role in the increasing rural to urban migration in Indonesia. As Collier et al. (n.d., p. 41) point out ... 'Often a factory manager will meet with the head of the village to recruit young people for his factory. They sometimes would send a bus in the morning to pick up the workers'. Such a pattern of strong mandor (foremen), calo (recruiter) and taikong (agents) has a long history in Java and has become even more significant in recent years in encouraging migration to both formal and informal sector jobs based in urban areas. Firman (1991), for example, has demonstrated the critical role played by mandors in the construction industry in urban Indonesia.

Conclusion

Indonesia is experiencing economic and social change at an unprecedentedly rapid rate and this is both reshaping, and in turn being influenced by, substantial shifts in the level and pattern of population movement. Forces of globalisation are impinging upon this movement in a myriad of ways as

foreign investment levels rise, multinationals set up factories in Indonesia, global mass media reaches into most Indonesian households and political and economic relationships with neighbouring countries and other nations develop and change. Within Indonesia, increasing commercialisation of agriculture, structural shifts in the economy, achievement of more or less universal education, widespread radio and television ownership, changes in the structure and functioning of the family and shifts in the role and status of women are all interrelated with increasing levels and complexity in population mobility. Nevertheless our knowledge of the shifts in population movement and its linkages with economic and social change remains very limited. This is partly a function of the paucity of data relating to the major movements. Government direct intervention to influence both internal and international population movements has been considerable in Indonesia. However, the knowledge base informing this intervention remains very limited and research efforts in this area should substantially increase as a matter of urgent priority.

Abstracts

Die letzten zwei Jahrzehnte waren in Südostasien gekennzeichnet von einem beispiellos schnellen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Wandel, der das Muster der Wanderungsbewegungen veränderte, gleichzeitig aber auch von diesen wieder beeinflusst wurde. Dieser Artikel untersucht einige Aspekte dieser Veränderung in der Migration, wobei das Hauptaugenmerk auf das größte Land dieser Region, nämlich Indonesien, gelegt wird, und dort zwei spezielle Formen der Wanderung betrachtet werden, und zwar die internationale Arbeitsmigration sowie Abwanderungen vom ländlichen in den städtischen Bereich. Sowohl die interstaatliche Arbeitsmigration als auch der Zuzug in die Städte wuchs, als Antwort auf weitreichende Verschiebungen in der indonesischen Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, enorm in Zahl und Komplexität. Der Artikel versucht diese Veränderungen zu beschreiben und zu erklären. Spezielle Aufmerksamkeit wird dabei auf die wachsende Teilnahme von Frauen an diesen Wanderungsbewegungen und die damit verbundenen Konsequenzen gelegt.

The last two decades have seen an unprecedentedly rapid social and economic change in Southeast Asia and this has both reshaped, and in turn been influenced by, patterns of population mobility. The present paper explores some aspects of this transformation of population movement by focusing upon the largest country in the region, Indonesia, and upon two important types of movement in that country, namely international labour migration and rural to urban movements. These movements have increased

greatly in scale and complexity in response to wider shifts in the Indonesian economy and society. The paper attempts to describe and account for these changes. Particular attention is paid to the increasing participation of women in these movements and its implications.

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