WHY DO THEY KEEP COMING?

A STUDY OF MIGRANTS TO JAKARTA, INDONESIA

by

Elizabeth Robin Lund

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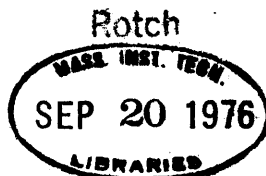and
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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning on May 21, 1976

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Science in Urban Studies and Planning and Master of City Planning.

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, we explore the phenomenon of migration to Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. Jakarta, like most major cities in developing countries, is experiencing great influxes of people, primarily poor, unskilled, and from rural backgrounds, who swell the ranks of informal sector trade and service activities, and who settle in ever-spreading squatter and slum neighborhoods.

Our study is drawn primarily from an extensive survey of 24,100 individual migrants in 25 Indonesian cities that was taken in 1972/73 by the Indonesian Ministry of Development (BAPPENAS) and the National Institute for Social and Economic Research (LEKNAS). The author worked as a reasearch assistant to Professor John R. Harris, who is currently directing the analysis of the survey data at Boston University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

As the basis of our investigation in the thesis, we propose a model of the locational distribution of economic opportunities within the country that uses a Harris-Todaro type of expected income analysis, but which incorporates the effects of a wider variety of locations, occupations, and migrant types than Harris and Todaro used in their original model. The model offers a way to look at economic opportunities from many different points of view -- from that of one type of migrant facing alternative choices of where to move to; from that of a city planner wishing to understand what types of migrants are coming and where they come from; and from that of a regional economic planner looking at the geographical range of opportunities open to workers of different skills and origins.

Our findings center around four main areas of investigation drawn from the model:
    1) Basic characteristics of migrants -- age, education, sex, family status, and motivations for migration.
    2) Places of origin of migrants, and travel costs.
    3) Entry into employment in various occupations -- selectivity by sex, education, and personal background -- leading to an estimation of employment probabilities for migrants of different types into various occupations.
    4) The structure of occupational wages in Jakarta, in rural Java, and in other regions of Indonesia, including the question of to what extent there exist inter-regional wage differentials.

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With the help of a preliminary empirical test of our model for male
migrants , we found that migrants, and presumably all workers in
the so-called 'free' Indonesian labor markets, are differentiated in
the labor market by sex, by education, and by access to land, wealth,and
personal connections, with the result that potential economic opportunities
for migrants differ widely among the various occupational and income
classes that this differentiation brings about.

Finally, in our conclusions, we emphasize the fact that, however poor and
undesireable it may appear to government planners, the urban informal
sector is not just a temporary abherration on the urban scene, but is
structurally knit to the existence of the modern sector. Furthermore,
the informal sector offers employment, housing, and services to the major
portion of the city's residents who would otherwise be un-served by the
system. If efforts are made to eradicate the poverty and harsh environmental
conditions the urban poor are living in, these efforts cannot simply be
to eradicate the symptoms of rural and urban poverty by forbidding
rural-to-urban migration, burning squatter settlements, and banning street
sellers. Rather, planners must take positive steps to orient their
policies and actions towards bettering conditions and opportunities to
include those who are the poorest in economic and social development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"Immense have been the preparations for me,

Faithful and friendly the arms that have helped me."
Walt Whitman

I am very grateful to Professor John Harris for inviting me to work

with him as a research assistant on the Indonesian migration project.

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and rewarding experience. I have especially enjoyed having the chance to

learn about Indonesia -- its people, its history, and its development.

I owe special thanks to my thesis advisor, Professor Karen R. Polenske, for

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of research, writing, and putting the thesis into its final form. It was

she who worked most closely with me once I began to concentrate on working on

this thesis, challenging me through many meetings to focus the very broad

range of possible themes from my research into a coherent, manageable task,

and offering many constructive criticisms and suggestions about the substance

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of the rough draft and her friendly guidance and encouragement did much

to help me along.

Professor Lisa Redfield Peattie, the third member of my thesis committee, has

been helpful in teaching me about the dynamics of the urban informal sector

in developing countries, and about what the process of development does to

and for _people_. Conversations with her have constantly challenged me to keep

human beings in mind as I have been in the midst of computers, statistics, and

economic models.

For the much-needed assistance of typing the text and tables of the final

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Finally, I would like to thank my parents, who have not only helped me to formulate my ideas for the thesis along the way, but have spent many evenings listening to and encouraging a sometimes bewildered daughter.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Why do they keep coming? Most developing countries today are

experiencing greater movements of people from place to place than they have

ever had before. In some countries, as in India, this consists mainly of

people moving from one rural setting to another in search of agricultural

employment. In many others, including Indonesia, rural-to-urban migration is

the predominant type of population movement, and is the major cause of very

high rates of urban population growth. Migrants to the urban areas, who are

usually without wealth or skills, swell the ranks of the informal sector

trade and service activities, living in ever-spreading squatter and slum

neighborhoods. The question of why people from rural areas continue to flock

to urban areas despite apparent under- and un-employment, poverty, and squalid

living conditions is one with which urban planners, government policy makers,

and development economists alike are now struggling.

In this thesis, we shall explore various facets of the phenomenon of

migration as it is happening in one of the great cities of Southeast Asia --

Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. In recent years, Jakarta's population

has grown tremendously, particularly since World War II. The colonial capital

of Batavia whose population in 1930 numbered 533,000 has grown into the

present day Jakarta of over 5 million inhabitants. Various population

policies in Indonesia and in Jakarta have attempted to mitigate the pressures

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of population growth and to stop or divert migratory flows, but most have had

very little success. In an attempt to gain a better understanding of the

phenomenon of migration in Indonesia, two very detailed surveys were under-

taken in 1972-1973 by the Indonesian Ministry of Development Planning BAPPENAS),

and the National Institute for Social and Economic Research. One was a survey of

migrants taken in 25 Indonesian cities, hereafter referred to as the Survey

of Migrants, and the second was a survey of inhabitants of 13 major rural

sending areas. The urban Survey of Migrants is currently being analyzed by

researchers both in Indonesia and in the United States.

Using the data from the 1973 Survey of Migrants, we attempt in this

thesis to draw a picture of the characteristics of migrants to Jakarta -- who

they are, where they come from, why they decided to come to Jakarta, and what

employment opportunities and living conditions they have found themselves in

upon arrival. The hypothetical framework that we shall use in our investi-

gation is drawn from current ideas in migration research, particularly those

of Harris and Todaro. The most basic premise of our framework is that migrant

individuals and/or family groups move primarily in search of better economic

opportunities. More specifically, we hypothesize that the migrant's decision

to move and his/her choice of destination is based on a judgement which

compares the costs of moving between the place of origin and the various

alternative destinations with a combination of three factors: first, what

various economic activities exist in alternative locations; second, what

income levels each of these activities offers in each place; and third,

what probability of employment the migrant perceives for him/herself in each,

given his/her personal qualifications and connections.

In the rest of this introductory chapter, we shall discuss briefly the

setting of the present study, exploring reasons why migration studies are important in the context of economic development planning, and introducing the reader to the Indonesian setting. In the second chapter, we shall review some of the major theories about the economic and behavioral causes of migration, including the Harris-Todaro model, and go on to combine some of the ideas from current theory into our own model of the economic factors upon which migrants base their decision to move. In chapter 3, we shall describe the design and implementation of the Indonesian migration research project and the urban Survey of Migrants, with particular emphasis on the data sources for Jakarta that were used in the present study. In chapter 4, we shall discuss our findings concerning migrants in Jakarta, with special emphasis upon presenting evidence that relates to the model of migration and employment outlined in chapter 2. Finally, in chapter 5, we shall summarize our findings with regards to how well our hypotheses about migration seem to fit the case of migrants to Jakarta, and suggest directions in which we feel later research and policies should be directed.

MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic development has often been defined by neo-classical economists in terms of the "transfer of economic agents [physical and financial capital, human beings and human skills] from rural-based traditional agriculture to urban-oriented modern industry" (Todaro, 1969, p. 139). Most developing countries today have tried to implement this prescribed shift in economic activity by adopting economic growth policies stressing industrial growth and investment, the exploitation of natural resources, the modernization of agriculture through increased use of machinery and improved agricultural

inputs and the rationalization of markets for goods, for capital and for labor.
Under such policies, urban centers have become increasingly important to
economic growth in these countries. Cities serve as centers of trade, transpor-
tation, and communication within the country and with other countries. Industries
often prefer to locate in major cities because urban areas in developing
countries are the best endowed with infrastructure and services, notably trans-
portation, electric power, financial services, and government central offices,
which are all vital to doing business. Often a developing country devotes a
larger than proportional share of its national investment efforts towards
developing the urban areas in order to enhance economic growth and to attract
business and industry.

Thinking from the point of view of human resources and labor markets, it
is clear that the path of economic development policy outlined above means that
there will be dynamic changes in labor demand and employment opportunities.
Rural population growth, the mechanization of agriculture, and the breakdown
of traditional systems of land management and hiring of   labor may bring
about a decreased demand for agricultural laborers, with the result that many
available agricultural laborers will no longer be able to find employment.
In contrast, the creation of urban-centered industrial jobs and of opportuni-
ties for employment in smaller-scale trade and services related to the new
industrial urban sector may create an increased demand for labor in urban
areas. The changes in demand for labor would in turn be reflected in lower
agricultural wages, high rural unemployment and high urban wages. According
to many development theorists, this difference in returns to labor should
result in the movement of people from rural to urban areas, until a relative
shortage of rural labor and a relative abundance of urban labor b   g rural
wages up and urban wages down to meet at an equilibrium point (see Lewis,

Reynolds, Ranis and Fei, and others). At a point where urban and rural real wages are equal, labor will be most efficiently allocated to the various rural and urban economic activities, and net migration should cease. In the eyes of the regional economic planner, then, migration is seen as a natural, indeed a desirable, process by which labor is re-allocated to its ·best use within the economy, as defined by the supply and demand for goods and services in the various locations within the country. In this context, studies of migration patterns and the characteristics are useful in revealing changing patterns of the supply of labor resources at various levels of skill and of the incomes that are available to workers in different parts of the country.

Migration can be seen as a constructive economic and social phenomenon, brought about by changes in a country's patterns of growth and development. Why, then, is migration of people from place to place so often viewed as a problem, particularly migration from rural to urban areas? Why do so many city governments try to stop or to divert migration? The explanation seems to be that extensive poverty and the spread of squatter settlements in urban centers are very highly visible to the eyes of government officials and to the eyes of the outside world, much more so than are rural poverty and population pressures in rural areas, although the latter problems may indeed be more acute. Rapid urbanization seems to be outstripping all capabilities of cities in developing countries to provide for their citizens in terms of adequate jobs, urban infrastructure of water and power, housing, and education and health services. The contrast between the living conditions and incomes of wealthy urban citizens and the low-income majority of urban inhabitants is stark and compelling, and with every new migrant, the inadequacies to serve the city's people become more widespread and harder to deal with.

It is clear that the growth of urban populations has great physical,

social, and political impacts. The living conditions in which the urban poor
live are physically more dangerous because of their high levels of concentration
on the land. Problems of sanitation, of water supply, of disease and of
uncontrollable fires are more critical in the crowded urban settlements, because
the traditional rural solutions of separate houses, throwing garbage and refuse
into a river or back yard are no longer suitable. Social changes also take
place with urbanization. The rural villager who comes to the city learns a
whole new, urban way of life, with new opportunities, new dangers, and often
new ethics. He or she may lose the kind of village communal social setting but
find it replaced by a greater political awareness and organization. It would be
naive to neglect the fact that one reason why governments try to restrict the
rapid growth of a class of urban poor people is the fear of political organi-
sations and of political unrest growing out of discontent.

So far we have talked about migration simply as a thing in itself, a
phenomenon. Migration has often been thought of in terms of flows of people
from one area to another, with an emphasis on measuring the numbers of people
flowing in and out and on trying to identify aggregate level causal factors that
may be bringing about these changes in settlement patterns. Aggregate measure-
ments of characteristics of sending regions and receiving regions, such as
levels of per capita income, education levels, technological endowment, levels
of agricultural versus non-agricultural employment, and other macro socioeconomic
indicators in addition to objective measurable quantities, such as inter-
regional distances and relative sizes and densities of population, have all
been used to try to derive causal models that would explain and predict the
volume and direction of population movements. If any correlation is found
between these macro indicators and population flows, population policy in turn
attempts to manipulate these macro characteristics in hopes that they are the

major causes of movement and that changes in them will change movement patterns.

Is this really what migration is all about -- stocks and flows, aggregated social indicators and the like? Not entirely, we think. For us, a more useful definition of migration is different from the one outlined above in that it focusses on the individual. What those observed flows really are composed of are human beings, alone and in families, children and adults, breadwinners and dependents, poor and well-off, educated and uneducated, skilled and unskilled. We believe that each migrant's decision to change location comes as a result of an intelligent consideration of the realities of his or her own present situation and of the alternatives open that brings him or her to the conclusion that life would be better in the new place -- materially, physically, emotionally, or otherwise. (Note that an intelligent decision is not always a strictly economically rational one!)

To study migration, then, it would be best to try to learn about the actual experiences of individuals and social groups who have moved, to understand the various aspects of the lives of people before and after migration and to derive our patterns and our models of migration from this reality as found in the richness of individual cases. We feel that the extensive survey approach that was taken in Indonesia is an excellent effort of combining the need for sufficient detail about individuals as well as sufficient numbers of individuals to enable those who use the findings of the interviews to make generalizations that will be meaningful and reliable for broader policy purposes.

BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO INDONESIA

Indonesia is probably the most diverse of all the Southeast Asian countries, geographically, socially and economically. As can be seen from the map (Figure 1.1), Indonesia is a country of islands -- the largest archipelago
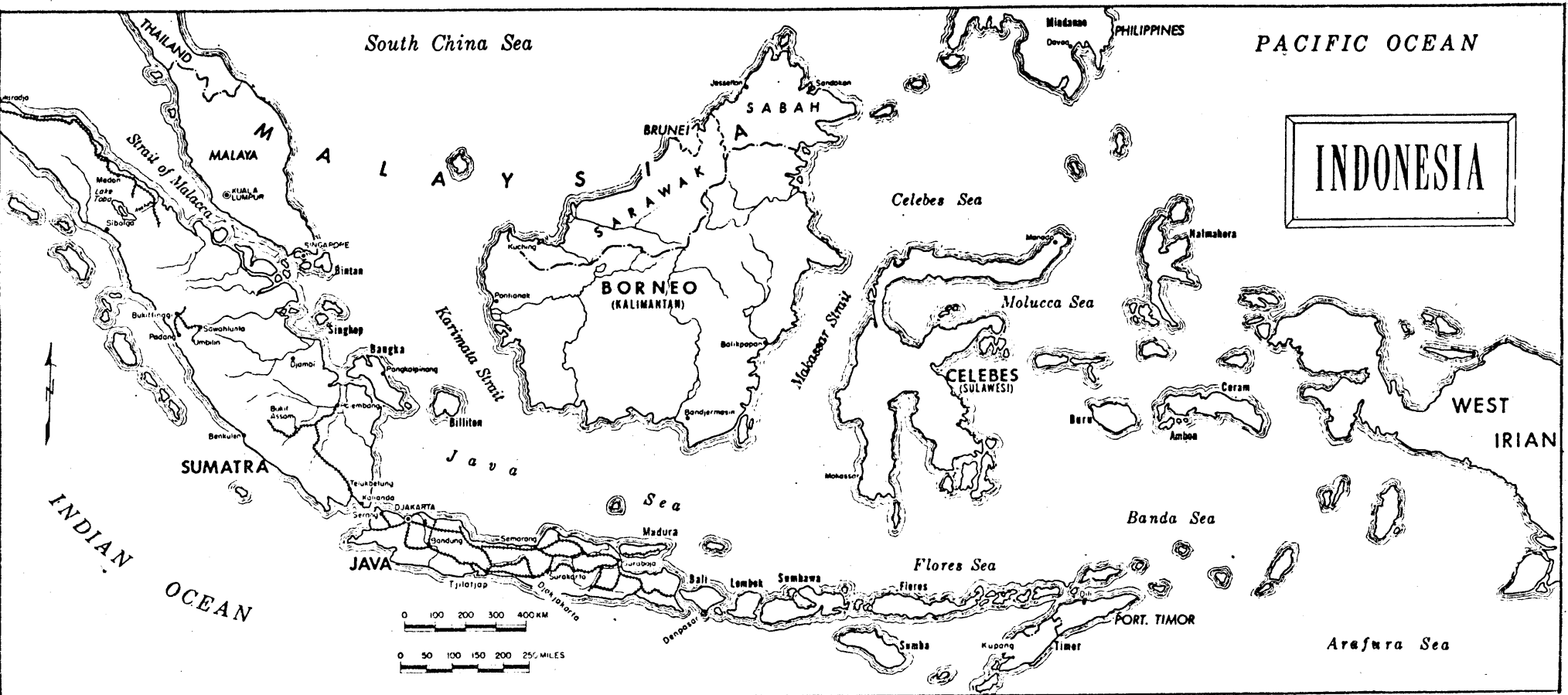
Source: IBRD,"The Indonesian Economy: Recent Developments and Prospects for 1972/73,"(1971).

FIGURE 1.1 : INDONESIA

nation in the world.* From west to east, it extends a distance roughly

equivalent to the distance between San Francisco and Washington, D.C., or the

distance between the Indian-Pakistani border and the east coast of mainland

China. There are five main islands in the country -- Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan

(formerly Borneo), Sulawesi (formerly Celebes), and Irian Jaya (the western

part of the island of New Guinea). In addition to these are approximately 30

smaller archipelagos, one of which, Maluku, is the famous Spice Islands of the

East Indies. All told, Indonesia has almost 13,700 islands, 6000 of which are

inhabited. Its total population was 118,460,000 in 1971, of whom 83 percent

lived in rural areas.

The island of Java and its smaller island neighbors Madura and Bali, are

the most fertile and inhabitable of all the Indonesian islands. Java-Madura,

although it constitutes only 15 percent of the land area of all the islands

combined, holds more than 76,103,000 inhabitants (1971 census), or 64.8 percent

of the total Indonesian population. With a land area of 134,703 square kilo-

meters, or roughly the size of England or of New York state, this comes to an

average population density for Java-Madura of 565 persons per square kilometer.

Java-Madura is inhabited by three main ethnic groups -- the Sudanese in West

Java, the Javanese in central and eastern Java, and the Madurese on Madura and

parts of East Java. Java's geography consists of a high central spine of

actively volcanic mountains, whose lava ejections enrich the mountain streams

with nutrients, which then are deposited in the many small alluvial plains

below. Ecologically, Java is ideally suited to intensive cultivation, particu-

larly of irrigated rice. Central Java is the most productive rice-growing

region and supports the densest rural population in all of Indonesia -- 635

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*The information about Indonesia presented here is drawn mainly from the
Indonesia Handbook 1973 and from the chapter on Indonesia in The Far East and
Australasia, 1973.

persons per square kilometer. The three most important Indonesian cities are also located on Java. Jakarta, the capital city, had a population at the last census of 4.6 million. Bandung, also in the western part of Java, had a 1971 population of 1.2 million, and Surabaja, in the east, had a 1971 population of 1.6 million.

Sumatra is the second most populated island in Indonesia, with 20,813,000 inhabitants in 1971. The island of Sumatra has a chain of volcanic mountains running along its western coast. East of these is a large lowland area, much of which is tidal swamp and difficult to inhabit. The people of Sumatra are of various ethnic groups -- the Achinese in the far northwest, the Gayos in the north central region, the Bataks around Lake Toba in the north, the Minangkabaus south of the Bataks in the area near Padang, the Malays on the east coast and the Lampung in the south. Agricultural techniques in Sumatra and the other non-Java islands have long been of the slash-and-burn rain-fed type, very different from the intensively irrigated terraces and fields of Java.* Sumatra is an important source of agricultural export crops, with many plantations of rubber, coffee, tea, oil palm, coconut, and other crops. Sumatra also holds many of the richest mineral resources of Indonesia, of which oil is becoming increasingly important for the international market. The Indonesian state petroleum company, Petarmina, has its main base in Palembang on the southeast coast of the island.

The rest of the major islands in Indonesia are much more sparsely populated than Java-Madura and Sumatra due to a combination of mountainous island geography and swampy coastal lowlands, covered with thick tropical forests. Nevertheless they do contribute to the total economy, mainly in the form of

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*For an excellent discussion of these two different agricultural techniques and their significance to settlement and cultural patterns see Clifford Geertz, The Agricultural Involution.

agricultural cash crops and mineral resources.

THE CITY OF JAKARTA

Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, is by far the largest and most important city in the country. Its population of 5 million people is almost three times the size of even the second largest city, Surabaja. In Jakarta are centered most of the operations of the national government as well as the government of the city-province of Jakarta itself. Jakarta's seaport, Tanjung Priok, is the port through which passes most of the country's inter-island and international trade. Being the location of the various foreign embassies and the central Indonesian offices of many influential foreign banks, businesses and industries, Jakarta is the center for international relations and business of Indonesia, Jakarta's expensive hotels and restaurants serve a constant stream of visitors from other countries, both businessmen and tourists. Amidst and alongside these activities also lives the country's largest population of urban poor people. They live in crowded kampongs, or urban neighborhoods, and are employed mainly in the city's informal sector as betjak (bicycle rickshaw or trishaw) drivers, street vendors and hawkers, assistants in tiny commercial shops, domestic servants in the households of the wealthy, dock workers, construction coolies, prostitutes, scavengers for resale-able discarded materials, and so on.*

Jakarta is located on the northwest seacoast of the island of Java. The city lies nearly flat in an alluvial plain formed by the five rivers Angke, Krukut, Ciliwung, Sunter and Cakung. Because these rivers are subject to

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*Most of the information about Jakarta which follows is drawn from an urban development study project in Jakarta, as reported in the Government of Indonesia's 1973 Kampong Improvement Program proposal.

heavy flooding in the rainy season, the Dutch modified the rivers Krukut,

Ciliwung and Sunter with a series of canal works at the beginning of this

century. Since then, this canal system has served many of the city's residents

as their only facility for washing, sewerage and garbage disposal.

The central part of Jakarta lies around Merdeka Square, the location of

Sukarno's huge Freedom monument (see Figure 1.2). Here, to the south lies

Menteng, the old Dutch residential district, one of the wealthiest residential

sections of Jakarta and location of most of the embassies and foreign business

offices. To the northwest of the center lies the oldest kampong, in which

lives the largest population group in Jakarta, mostly long-term low and middle-

income families. Along the streets throughout the city, and particularly

along the original north-south axis, are numerous retail shops of every size

and description, interspersed with large pasars, or market areas (the word has

the same Sanskrit root as the Turkish word bazaar). The older industries in

the city are located mainly in the northwestern areas, with newer industrial

areas appearing to the east at Cempaka Putik and Pulogadung and to the south

at Gandaria. Outside of the central city and to the northeast are the major

port and warehousing areas of Tanjung Priok and Pasar Ikan. Beyond the

currently settled areas of Jakarta but within the boundaries of the administra-

tive district lie some less populated rural areas in which agriculture still

takes place. These areas are gradually being taken up by the city as it grows.

Transportation in Jakarta is slow and expensive. For this reason most

people live in the same vicinity as the place they work. There are six

distinct types of living areas that may be distinguished in the city -- the

Inner Kampong, the Rumah Liar or squatter areas, the Pasars, the New Kampungs,

the high income housing areas and the Housing Estates. Referring to Figures

1.2 and 1.3, maps of Jakarta showing land use and income distribution

respectively, we can be more specific about the location of the above six areas:

Inner Kampong: Northwest of Merdeka Square, between the railway line and the Ciliwung river. Most residents have lived in Jakarta for a long time, and own their own, fairly sturdy houses.

Rumah Liar: Along canals and railway lines in the inner city; in the interior of the newer kampongs outside the city, away from surfaced roads and footpaths; in tents and shacks next to older residents' more permanent dwellings. The city government has tried a forceable relocation scheme to transfer some of these people to Cengkareng, Pondok Bambu and Semper, but these areas are 10 to 15 km. from the city, so most squatters just come back into the city.

Pasars: Clusters at Glodok, Pasar Baru, Senen, Tanah Abang, Manggerai, and Jatinegara. Some shops spreading to the outer suburbs. Merchants and vendors live in the same areas as the shops and markets. Pasar Senen has a particularly high concentration of traders who once came from Sumatra.

New Kampongs: The new kampongs at Grogol and Tanjung Priok hold mostly industrial and dock workers. Other new kampongs have grown on the fringes of the old kampongs and the wealthy neighborhoods. Many who squat or rent in the inner city for one or two years later move out to these peripheral areas.

High Income areas: The oldest is Menteng. Newer ones are at Tebet, Kebayoran Baru, with a very recent development taking place on the coast at Pluit.

Housing Estates: On the outskirts of the city, particularly the southern perimeter. Transportation to and from work is provided, so location is

not essential. For high-middle and high level employees of government

and private enterprises.

Table 1.1 summarizes some additional social and economic characteristics

of the six types of living areas that we have described above. From it we get

a clearer picture of the mix of occupations and incomes within parts of Jakarta,

and the stability and future potentials (social trajectory) of people at the

various levels. Home tenure and household size are also shown. It is clear

from the table that occupation, income, household size, and socioeconomic

potential are all positively linked together. We shall look into these factors

in more depth later in this study of Jakarta migrants.
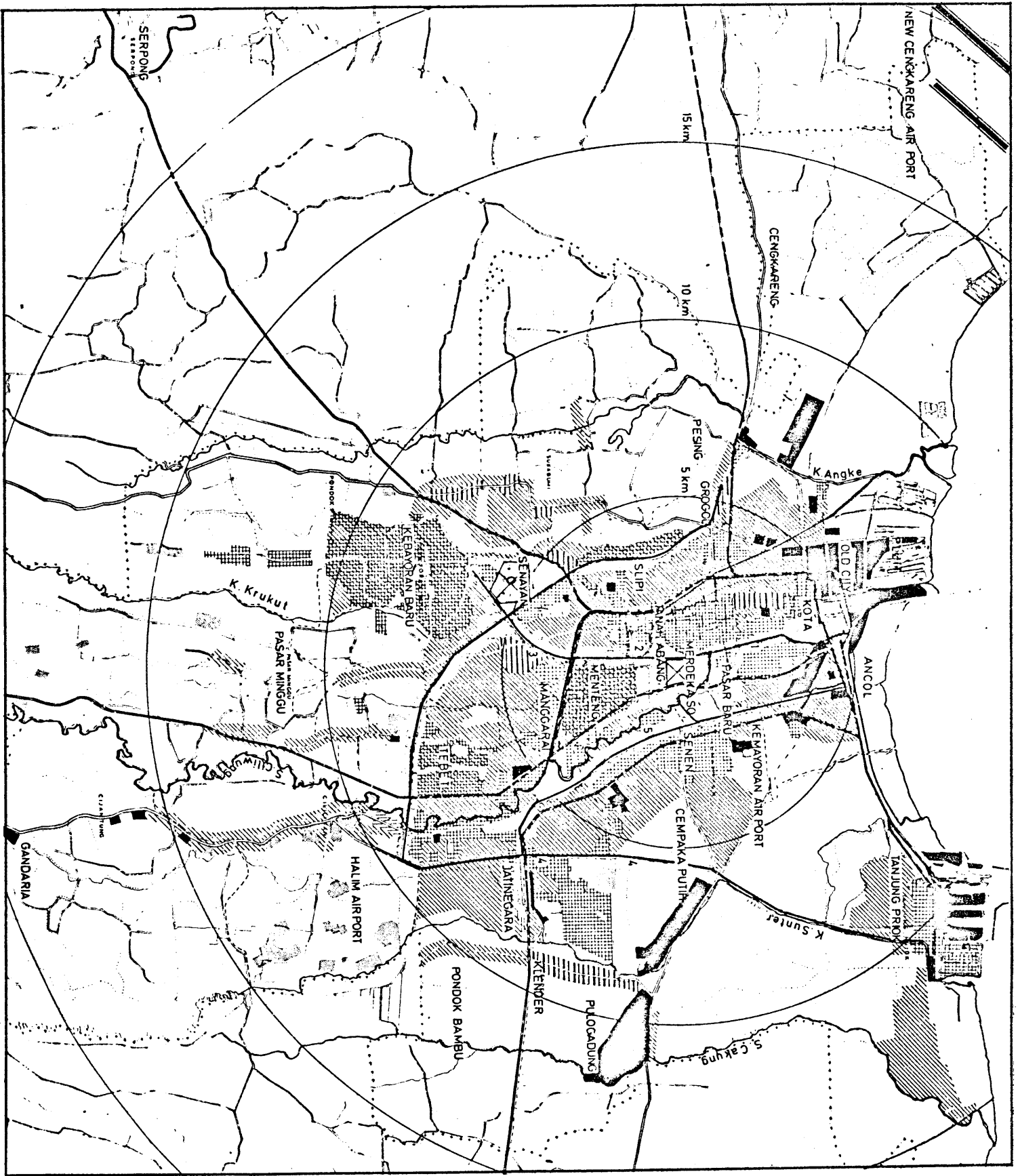
FIGURE 1.2 : LAND USE IN JAKARTA
            Source: Directorate General of Housing, Building, Planning
            and Urban Development, Kampong Improvement Program, 1973.

PLANNED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT LIMITED

D.K.I BOUNDARY	+·+·+·+·
WILAYAH LIMIT	—·—·—·—
KECAMATAN LIMIT	—·—·—
KELURAHAN LIMIT	·············
ROADS	═══
RAILWAYS	━┃━
Low Income Residential	
Moderate Income Residential	
High Income Residential	
Public Building, Offices	
Home Industry	
Industry, Ware House	

Streets :
1. Hayam Wuruk
2. Thamrin
3. Sudirman
4. By Pass
5. Kramat Raya

Public spaces

N

0   2,5   5
Scale Kilometres

LOCATION OF DISTRICTS AND EXISTING LAND USE

FIGURE 1.2,(cont'd)

PROJ.URBAN DEVELOPMENT STUDY JAKARTA
DEPARTEMEN P.U.T.L DIREKTORAT JENDRAL CIPTA KARYA
KERJA SAMA DENGAN PEMERINTAH D.K I JAYA

FIGURE 1.3 : INCOME DISTRIBUTION, JAKARTA
Source: Directorate General of Housing, Building, Planning
and Urban Development, Kampong Improvement Program,1973.

PLANNED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT LIMITED

D.K.I. BOUNDARY   ·+·+·+·1

WILAYAH LIMIT   ‒ ‒ ‒

KECAMATAN LIMIT   ‒ ‒ ‒

KELURAHAN LIMIT   ··········

ROADS   ═══

RAILWAYS   ▬ ▬ ▬

TOTAL H.H INCOME PER MONTH INCLUDING GOODS IN KIND	H.H.SIZE		
	1969 H.H.SURVEY	1971 CENSUS	
60.000 +	8.0	8.4	
30.000 – 60.000	8.0	8.4	
16.000 – 30.000	7.0	7.4	
10.000 – 18.000	5.7	6.0	
6.000 – 11.000	4.5	5.0	
4.000 – 7.000	3.6	4.0	
2.500 – 5.000	3.2	3.5	
	AVERAGE 4.8	AVERAGE 5.3	

SOURCE : P.C.D. INTERPRETATION

N

0   2,5   5
SCALE KILOMETRES

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

FIGURE 1.3, (cont'd)

TABLE 1.1
SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF JAKARTA.

LIVING TYPE (BY INCOME GROUP IN ASCENDING ORDER)	TYPICAL OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (in Rps./month)	RESIDENTIAL STABILITY	HOUSEHOLD SIZE	ESTIMATED TOTAL POPULATION AND GROWTH ANNUALLY	SOCIAL TRAJEC-TORY	HOUSE RENT OR OWN**	DENSITY PERSONS PER HA OF RESI-DENTIAL AREA	HOUSING MARKET
TRANSIENTS No fixed abode in city and suburbs.	Beggers Scavengers Becak drivers Hawkers	median: 3,000	transient	Average 1-2 Family remaining in rural areas	30,000 + 4%	up 20% 70% down 10%		—	
RUMAH LIAR Rumah liar- Squat-ter Shacks on Rail lines (30,000), Canal banks, Refuse areas Central city and inner suburbs.	Beggers Scavengers Becak drivers Construction Laborers Hawkers	median: 4,000 -5,000	transient	average:1-3	70,000 + 12%	20% 60% 20%	50% own 50% rent	200 to 500	BELOW POTENTIAL PRIVATE HOUSING MARKET
RURAL KAMPUNGS Existing kampung and kebon (garden) on the outer perimeter	Urban farmers Construction laborers Becak drivers Low level civil servants	median: 7,000	medium stable	average:4-5	300,000 + 1%	50% (poten-tial land sales) 40% 10%	80% own 20% rent	less than 100	
NEW KAMPUNGS Post 1950 and new kampungs inner suburbs along coast	Construction laborers Becak drivers Dock workers Hawkers Building craftsmen Lower level civil servants Small traders Small industry workers	4,000 to 20,000 median: 11,000	transient 35% stable 65%	average:5-6	1,600,000 + 15%	35% 50% 15%	60% own 40% rent	200 to 600 average: 300	
INNER KAMPUNGS Old, inner kampungs (pre-1950)	Dock workers Buildings craftsmen Small traders Shopkeepers Civil servants Businessmen	7,000 to 40,000 median: 13,000	transient 20% stable 80%	1 and 2 20% average:6-7	1,400,000 1%	60% 30% 10%	70% own 30% rent	300 to 700 average: 500	PARTIAL PRESENT AND POTENTIAL PRIVATE HOUSING MARKET
PASAR AREAS Pasar/workshop/ residential	Hawkers Small shopkeepers Small traders Small industry workers Businessmen) Traders) Kota only	median: 10,000 median: 50,000	transient 25% stable 75%	1 and 2 average:6-7	900,000 5%	70% 25% 5%	30% own 70% rent	400 - 800	
HOUSING COMPLEXES Government agency private business Housing for emplo-yees, Outer suburbs	Civil servants Bank employees Factory workers Military	8,000 to 25,000 median: 15,000 median: 25,000	stable	average:6-8	250,000 + 10%	70% 30% 0%	free housing @ 50% can retain after retirement	about 200	PRIVATE PRESENT HOUSING MARKET
UPPER INCOME Luxury and semi luxury housing in inner and outer suburbs.	Upper level civil servants Businessmen Foreigners	50,000 and up median: 70,000	transient 10% stable 90%	Indonesians only 7-10	450,000 + 6%	90% 10% 0%	20% own 60% free housing 20% rent	50 to 150	

* Includes goods in kind and income of all household members   ** Does not necessarily imply legal ownership of land.

Source: Directorate General of Housing, Building, Planning, and Urban Development, Kampong Improvement Program, 1973, Annex I, Table I.

The population of Jakarta has grown tremendously over the past fifty years, as can be seen from the table below:

TABLE 1.2: Jakarta population, 1930 to 1971

YEAR:	1930	1955	1958	· 1961	1971
Population (000's)	533.0	1871.2	2081.2	2975.2	4576.0
Average annual growth		5.2%	3.6%	12.6%	4.4%

Source: Statistical Pocketbook of Indonesia, 1957, 1960, 1963.

In contrast to these growth rates, the population growth rate for urban areas in Indonesia was 4.0% per year and that of the country as a whole was 2.0% per year for the period between the 1961 and 1971 censuses. Since natural population growth rates were not very different between urban and rural areas, almost all of Jakarta's growth above and beyond the national total, or about 2.3% per year, may be attributed directly to rural-to-urban migration.

Jakarta's annual growth rate is not unusually high. Its growth is actually quite typical of urban growth in many developing countries during recent years, and substantially less than some that have been growing at more rapid rates of up to 8% to 12% per year. But we can still understand the concern of urban administrators in Jakarta when we consider this growth in terms of absolute numbers of migrants per year of anywhere from 90,000 to 140,000 per year, despite the official policies to discourage migrants such as declaring the city closed in 1970, and forcible evictions of squatters from public places, canal banks, and railroad areas. The costs of providing adequate employment, housing, and services to 100,000 additional people annually is quite staggering when we consider that most of Jakarta's non-migrant population each year are already in occupations and environmental

conditions that are considered to be too low.

The reasons for Jakarta's rapid growth are complex. But when we look at the city's economic position relative to the rest of the country, as summarized in Table 1.3, we may find a partial explanation. In terms of population, Jakarta has 3.8 percent of the total Indonesian population. And yet the city's activities generate 8.5 percent of the total GNP, 50 percent of total tax revenues, and attracts almost 40 percent of the money that Indonesians put into savings banks (Tabanas). In recent years, Jakarta has accounted for 32 percent of the domestic private capital investments that received official incentives -- primarily in industry, transportation, and tourism. Of the country's total expenditures for urban services, 18 percent went to the city of Jakarta -- 11 percent of the Routine Expenditures for general services, education, transport and communication, health, social welfare, and housing, and 39 percent of the total Development Expenditures for the same services. As the seat of the national government, Jakarta holds 75 percent of government jobs that are in the top two grades of civil service, and 18 percent of national government workers at all levels. Finally, foreign investment has been particularly heavily concentrated in Jakarta. Table 1.4 shows the amount of foreign investment in Indonesia by types of industries. A full 51 percent of all foreign investment in non-extractive industries has been located in Jakarta. It is clear that of whatever economic benefits foreign investment is giving to Indonesia, both in terms of employment in foreign-based firms and in terms of the native service sector that grows up to support these firms, most of the urban-based types of development benefits are accruing to Jakarta. We see then, that from almost any standpoint, Jakarta holds a far more than proportional amount of Indonesia's economic activities -- in terms of revenues, non-agricultural employment, domestic and foreign investment, and development efforts.

TABLE 1.3 JAKARTA'S SHARE IN THE INDONESIAN ECONOMY

| Indicator	Jakarta total	Indonesia total	Jakarta as % of total
	(in Rp. billions unless stated)		
Population, 1971 (in millions)	4.6	119.2	3.8%
Gross National Product, 1970	270.3	3,196.2	8.5
National Government Tax Revenues, 1970/1971			
Direct	36,978.9	74,299.7	49.8
Indirect	18,590.8	34,586.5	53.7
Savings in _Tabanas_ (small savings banks)	-----	-----	37.5
Domestic Investment Project, 1967-1971	116.7	368.5	31.7
Large Manufacturers, 1970	-----	-----	11.3
Medium Scale Manufacturers, 1970	-----	-----	8.3
Government Employees, 1970			18.4
of these, top two grades			75.0 (approx.)
Total Expenditures for Urban Services, 1970/1971	8.2	44.75	18.2
Routine Expenditures	3.8	33.4	11.3
Development Expenditures	4.4	11.4	38.6
Foreign Investment Projects, 1967-1971			
(in millions of US$)	329.6	1,667.5	19.7
(Rp. estimate at Rp. 380/US$)	125,248.0	443,650.0	19.7
Excluding extractive industries			
(in millions of US$)	329.6	662.4	51.0
(Rp. estimate at Rp. 380/US$)	125,248.0	251,712.0	51.0

Sources: Directorate General of Housing,Building, Planning and Urban Development, _Kampong Improvement Program_, 1973, Tables I-X; Biro Pusat Statistik, _Monthly Statistical Bulletin_, April 1972, Tables III.11,12; IV.22.
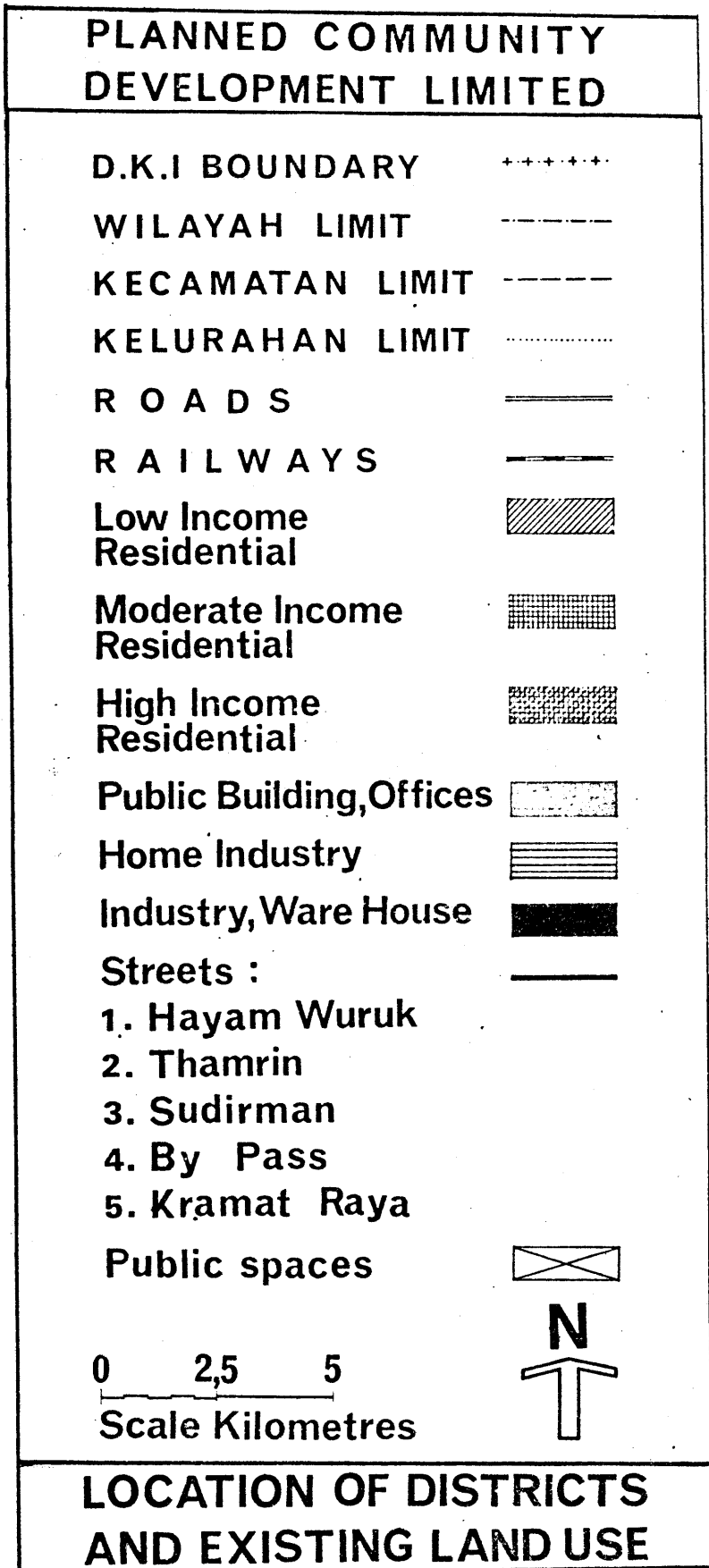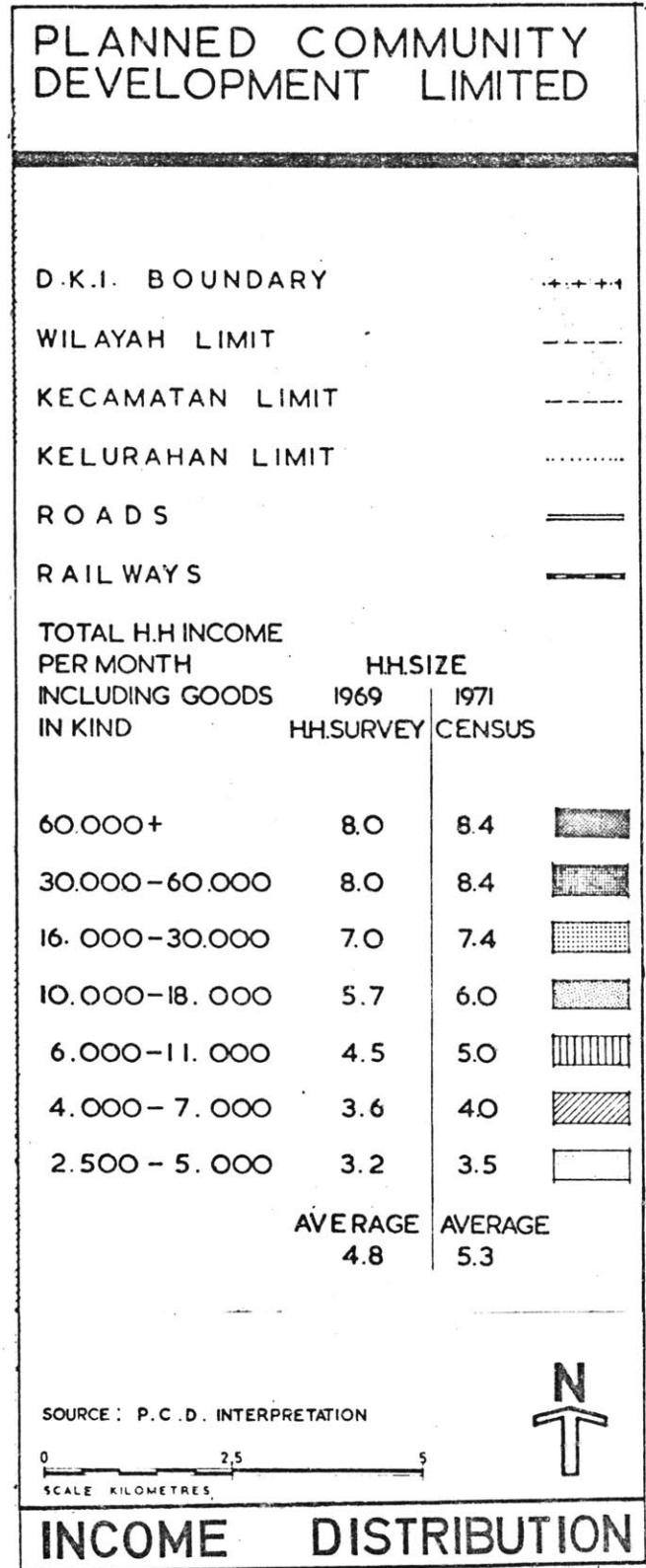
TABLE 1.4   APPROVED FOREIGN INVESTMENT PROJECTS, JAKARTA AND INDONESIA, 1967-1971

Sector	Number of Projects	Amount of Investment (US$ millions)	Number of Projects	Amount of Investment (US$ millions)	Jakarta as % of Total Investment
Basic and Heavy Industry	50	US$74.2	31	US$42.3	57.5%
Chemical Industry	14	85.5	11	23.5	27.5
Estate, Agriculture and Related	48	67.1	--	--	0.0
Fishery	10	16.8	1	2.7	16.1
Forestry	57	397.3	--	--	0.0
Hotel	3	60.9	7	54.9	90.1
Infrastructure	16	9.8	16	9.8	100.0
Light Industry and Handcrafts	123	119.3	79	87.6	73.4
Mining	15	540.7	--	--	0.0
Pharmaceuticals	33	39.7	18	21.5	54.2
Real Estate, Construction and Housing	24	86.0	21	31.6	36.7
Textile Industry	21	146.4	12	46.2	31.5
Trade (including crumb rubber)	10	7.9	1	0.1	1.3
Transportation and Communication	15	16.0	11	9.3	58.4
TOTAL	444	US$1,667.5	208	US$329.6	19.7

Source: Directorate General of Housing Building, Planning and Urban Development, Kampong Improvement Program, 1973, Table VII.

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Chapter 2

CURRENT THEORIES OF INTERNAL MIGRATION, AND A HYPOTHETICAL FRAMEWORK

FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The phenomenon of internal migration has been studied by many social scientists in developed and less developed countries alike. They have come up with a variety of theories to explain migration, as well as a number of policy prescriptions for changing the population patterns that internal migration is creating. In this chapter, we review and summarize some of the most important ideas from current migration theory. We then take a closer look at some of the economic and behavioral issues behind the income – differentials theory of migration proposed by Todaro and Harris. We conclude this chapter with a sketch of our own hypothetical model of migration drawn from existing theories and from a first look at the Indonesian case, and with a framework of five question areas upon which we shall base the discussion of our findings in Chapter 4.

OVERVIEW OF EXISTING THEORIES OF MIGRATION*

One of the first empirical studies of migration was done at the end of the last century by E.G. Ravenstein. His "The Laws of Migration" includes many of the seeds from which later migration models have grown. In his study of the British censuses of 1871 and 1881, Ravenstein came to the following conclusions (Brigg, p.1):

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* An excellent and concise discussion of the major theories and studies of migration is Pamela Brigg's "Some Economic Interpretations of Case Studies of Urban migration in Developing Countries" (see references). Much of the above discussion stems from her analysis and from Gordon Temple (1975a).

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--Distance is a negative factor. Most migration is short-distance. Long-distance migration is to industrial and commercial centers.

--Migration occurs by stages, with migrants from the most isolated rural areas moving to towns or to rural areas closer to large cities, and with migration to the large cities coming from these closer, more urban, places.

--Rural natives have a greater propensity to migrate than urban natives.

--People migrate to 'better themselves' materially.

--Every stream of migration produces a counter-stream of return migration.

--Increased technology increases migration.

Ravenstein's observations about the effects of distance upon migration have been strongly supported by studies in developing countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Researchers who have observed the predominance of short-distance migration have linked it to a variety of factors. It is less costly to travel to a nearby city than to a distant one, and information about living conditions and employment in the nearby city is most readily available to the potential migrant. Some theorists would go further, to postulate that opportunities for the unskilled majority of migrants are very similar from city to city. In this case, it is understandable that a typical migrant seeking the level of opportunities open to unskilled workers would choose the closest city, without regard for city size. A more skilled or ambitious migrant, on the other hand, who sought some higher urban opportunity such as education, large industry, specialized commerce, government employment, or access to finance, might have to travel a longer distance to one of the major urban centers to find what he/she was seeking.

The fact that most migration is short-distance also raises the issue

of whether or not migration to cities is permanent or whether migrants move

back and forth over time. Return migration has not been thoroughly studied,

but seems to be an important phenomenon in developing countries.

Ravenstein's conclusion that migration takes place by stages has for the

large part been contradicted by later migration studies. Some evidence for

village-to-town-to-city migration has been found among a minority of migrants

in the studies, particularly among the more educated and the more well-

to-do. But the majority of rural-urban migrants seem to come directly to

the city once they decide to move. In magnitude also, rural-urban migration

is far more significant than urban-urban migration.

Ravenstein's emphasis was on understanding the macro patterns and

determinants of migration (distance, rural versus urban characteristics of

regions, levels of technology). The one behavioral factor that appears is

the concept of personal economic motivations for moving. The economic

motive as a factor in migration is a strong theme throughout later migration

studies, as we shall see.

Everett Lee's "A Theory on Migration" looked more closely at urban

opportunities, rural poverty, and the obstacles that people must overcome

to move from their rural origins. Lee recognized a variety of positive

factors in urban life--technological advancement, economic opportunities, and

higher incomes, plus the advantages of education, public services, entertain-

ment, and chances to associate with many different people. In opposition to

these Lee takes into account what he calls intervening obstacles, particularly

distance and personal disinclinations to move. Lee also begins to suggest

that migrants have different characteristics from the population at large.
Migrants who are pushed from rural areas by poverty and/or lack of oppor-
tunities are likely to be "inferior" in terms of skills, whereas migrants
pulled to the cities by a desire to better themselves are likely to be
"superior".

The idea of selectivity of migration to favor certain personal
characteristics is carried further in the work of Simon Kuznets and Dorothy
Thomas concerning population redistribution in the United States.

> Migration differentials by sex, age, race, ethnic background,
> family status, education, health, income, tradition and social
> status are all factors to be considered....The different
> information, attitudes, ambitions and knowledge among different
> demographic groups mean different propensities to migrate.
> (Brigg, p. 4)

Young people, risk-takers, specialists, and highly economically productive
individuals are more likely to migrate. The ability to detach oneself from
the traditional setting and way of life is especially important.

Given current experiences of non-Western countries with migration,
there may be some question as to whether migration selects only the brightest
and the best, as Kuznets and Thomas and others have suggested. But their
recognition that personal motivations are the basis for migration and the
idea of looking at demographic and personal characteristics of migrants are
key components of migration research.

Economic motivating factors -- income differentials, employment oppor-
tunities, costs, and benefits of migration continue to be the most widely
accepted causes of migration. Although existing studies differ in their
emphasis on locational, social/personal, and institutional factors, they
are unanimous in finding that migrants move seeking a better living than

they can find in their place of origin, with the main emphasis upon income and employment. (Brigg, p.42).

The simplest and most common indicator used to make rural-urban and inter-regional comparisons is per capita income. Usually the per capita income of an area is taken as the average of total incomes over the whole population of an area, which greatly overestimates the actual income levels of its middle and low-income inhabitants. Some theorists have made per capita income levels more representative of the actual income levels of different classes of people by distinguishing them by occupation and skill level, and by making adjustments for cost-of-living differences between areas. If, after these adjustments have been made, there still exist real income differentials between region and region or between city and country-side, we should observe people moving from the low-income area to the high-income area. Neo-classical economic theory tells us that as workers move from one area to the other, the relative supply of labor changes and a new relative shortage of labor should be created in the sending area, while a new surplus of labor is created in the receiving areas. According to supply and demand for labor in the two areas, it follows that wages should be forced upward in the sending areas and downward in the receiving areas, until real incomes are equalized. After equalization, no further movement would be expected, since people could no longer benefit economically from moving.

It is clear that in addition to the comparison of income levels as determinants of migrants' opportunities, we must also take into account access to these incomes--i.e., employment opportunities. In a city where industrial wages are relatively high, but the number of industrial jobs is fixed below the number of available workers, a person who migrates to the

city cannot expect to readily share the higher income level enjoyed by some.
High wages and high unemployment may indeed exist side by side in such a
system (Todaro, 1969 and Harris and Todaro, 1970).

One of the most important comparative-income models of rural-urban
migration is that of John Harris and Michael Todaro. Rather than using
either absolute wage differentials or the number of job opportunities alone,
the Harris-Todaro model combines the two, using the concept of differential
expected wages; i.e., prevailing urban modern-sector wages weighted by the
probability of finding employment given an oversupply of available urban
workers (residents plus migrants). One of the basic predictions and policy
implications of the model is that if rural and urban wages are unequal, the
system should come to equilibrium at a point where there is urban unemploy-
ment, and, furthermore, that the effects of creating more urban jobs to
relieve unemployment may in fact be to attract more than one migrant per job,
hence worsening, not helping, the unemployment situation. In a later article
published in 1971, Harris and Todaro present a mathematical re-formulation
of their model and of its equilibrium conditions, and expand their discussion
of the model's welfare implications for current urban development policies
(Harris and Todaro, p.132). The underlying assumptions and formulation of
the Harris-Todaro model are discussed in more detail in the next section.

Some would argue that the income differentials approach outlined above
does not provide a broad enough picture of the push and pull factors that
rural-urban migrants are supposed to be responding to. For one thing,
distances, travel costs, and costs of settling in a new place may be so high
as to prevent some classes of people from being able to move. Furthermore,
ther are many other aspects of migration that may be less tangible than
income levels, but no less real in the migrant's decision.

The costs and benefits of migration include incomes before and after migration, but also come in many different forms. Costs of migration include travel costs, costs of information about employment opportunities, foregone income until new employment is found, training costs, and initial living costs. Some would add to these costs the psychic costs of leaving the family and familiar setting, and of adjusting to urban life.* Weighed against these costs are the benefits—increased income and/or access to employment opportunities, opportunities to improve job status, access to services, education, information, entertainment, housing conditions, and other urban amenities.

In Sjaastad's human capital investment theory of migration, he sees the potential migrant as weighing the above costs and benefits in deciding to move. Sjaastad also emphasizes that a city may offer the migrant opportunities to enrich his or her human capital through education, training and/or job experience, and so open up to the migrant chances to upgrade his/her income level and occupational status that would not be available in the place of origin.

SUMMARY OF EXISTING HYPOTHESES CONCERNING INTERNAL MIGRATION

Reflecting upon current theories and studies of migration, we see that the hypotheses fall into three major sets of factors:

1. Geographic and locational characteristics of sending and receiving areas.

2. Economic motivations.

3. Demographic and personal characteristics of the migrants themselves.

Using these three themes, the major hypotheses we have discussed are

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*See, for example, Lewis, p.150, Reynolds, p. 20, Achebe

summarized below. It is clear from this summary that there are some

hypotheses that are generally agreed on, but others that conflict with one

another.

I. Geographical and locational characteristics of sending and receiving areas.

    A. Topography

        - Topographical features of a country act as barriers to movement
          (ocean, jungle, mountains, marshy lowlands) as well as
          channels for movement (rivers).

        - Existing transportation routes (roads, railroads, rivers,
          shipping lanes) serve to channel movement into definite
          patterns.

    B. Distance

        - Distance is a negative factor in migration.

        - Most migration is short-distance. Migrants are likely to
          know more about a closer city through visits and personal
          contacts; hence, they feel more secure about moving there.
          Proximity to the place of origin enables a migrant to move back
          and forth more readily.

        - Long-distance migration is to large cities. Long-distance
          migrants are from the more educated and/or well-to-do classes
          of people, who seek occupations, living conditions and services
          that only the larger cities offer.

    C. Stages of migration.

        - Rural-to-urban, rural-to-rural, and urban-to-urban migration
          all exist, and vary in importance from one country to another.

        - Migration takes place in stages. Migrants from distant rural
          areas move to other less isolated rural areas or to local towns,
          and then from there to larger cities.

        - If migration is occurring in stages, the process may span
          two or more generations within given migrant families.

    D. Rural and urban population sizes and levels of development.

        - Migrants come from the most densely populated rural areas, where
          land pressures are greatest.

        - Technological progress in both urban and rural areas stimulates
          migration by changing employment patterns and living conditions.

- For skilled rural migrants, larger cities offer greater
  employment opportunities and opportunities for occupational
  mobility. Hence they are more likely to travel long distances
  to the major urban centers.

- For unskilled rural migrants, urban size and level of economic
  development may not. be as critical, since opportunities for
  unskilled employment (construction, manual labor, informal
  sector) are similar from one town or city to the next.

II. Economic motivations.

  A. Comparative incomes.

  - "The prime motive for migrating from rural to urban areas is
    economic, taking the form of an expectation of greater real
    income because of better employment opportunities." (Brigg, p.44)

  - "Migration is a function of the absolute real per capita income
    differentials for each skill level or occupation." (Brigg, p.44)

  - "Migration is a function of the job availability differentials
    for each skill level or occupation." (Brigg, p. 44)

  B. Dynamics of rural employment.

  - Widespread landlessness and unequal access to agricultural
    employment bring about very low agricultural wages and/or
    rural unemployment, which in turn push migrants out of rural
    areas.

  - There is a positive but low wage available to every rural dweller
    who wants to work.

  - Rural agricultural producers exhibit perfectly competitive
    behavior, paying workers their marginal product. (Harris and
    Todaro, p.128)

  C. Dynamics of urban employment.

  - The urban labor market is segmented into at least two distinguishable
    sectors. There is a relatively small formal sector that includes
    large industry, administration and large-scale trade and finance.
    There is also a large traditional or informal sector of urban
    employment, in which there is a wide variety of opportunities
    for employment at low levels of skill and income.

  - Rural-urban migrants seek to enter the urban formal sector of
    industrial, commercial or administrative employment. Some will
    remain unemployed if such employment is not readily available when
    they arrive. Many enter the informal sector of employment, but
    only as a temporary activity until something better is found.
    (Todaro, pp. 139 & 142)

- Most migrants seek and find employment in the urban
  informal sector. Waiting periods of unemployment are
  very short, especially for low income people. Most people
  in the urban informal sector remain there over time, and do
  not enter the formal sector.

D. Costs of migration.

- In order to compare rural and urban incomes, they must be
  adjusted by cost-of-living differences, and the costs of
  migration should be deducted from urban income. When esti-
  mating costs of migration, migrants include: travel costs,
  foregone rural income for the transition period of unemployment,
  initial living costs and job search costs in their calculations.

- A sum of money, whether from savings, a gift, or a loan, is
  necessary to cover the costs of migration (this would exclude
  the very poor from migrating).

E. Benefits of migration.

- Increased income is the major urban benefit from migration.

- Educational facilities and the opportunity to improve one's
  occupational status and income by improving one's "human
  capital" are economic benefits of migration, and are significant
  pull factors.

- Urban amenities - housing, public services, recreational
  opportunities, educational, medical, financial and commercial
  institutions - are all attracting factors.

- Those at higher income levels are more likely to consider non-
  economic reasons for migrating.

III. Demographic and personal characteristics of migrants themselves.

A. Characteristics of individuals.

- Most urban migrants are relatively younger than the population
  from which they come.

- Migrants are mostly single.

- Migration may be selective by sex.

- Children from large families tend to migrate. This may be
  because there is less income per family member, or because
  there is more than adequate labor available and they seek to
  augment the family's income.

- Older children are more likely to migrate.

- Risk-taking individuals are more likely to migrate.

- Educated rural indivuduals are more likely to migrate.

- Highly economically productive individuals are more likely to
  migrate.

B. Connections.

- A large number of migrants have connections with family or
  friends in the city, and rely upon these connections for housing
  at first, for help in finding a job, and for support in times of
  unemployment.

- Following family and friends to the city is an important phenomenon,
  especially for women.

It is clear from the above that there are a great number of hypotheses

concerning the underlying causes of migration, some of which even conflict

with each other. It would be impossible to build a model that could include

all of the factors that the various theorists have identified. In our analysis

of the Indonesian case, we shall focus on economic factors of motivation in

general, drawing upon the economic analysis of Harris and Todaro in particular.

We offer the above discussion and summary of alternative hypotheses in order

to make it clear that there are many alternative approaches to the one we

have chosen, and so that we and the reader may draw upon these other hypotheses

in order to enrich our investigation of migration in Indonesia beyond the

specific postulates of economic rationality.

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE HARRIS-TODARO MODEL OF MIGRATION

As mentioned above, one of the most important comparative-income

models of rural-urban migration is the one first set forth by Michael

Todaro in 1969 and expanded upon in 1970 in a joint paper with John Harris.

A major goal of the ongoing research with the Indonesian Survey of Migrants

is to bring out evidence relating to the Harris-Todaro model, in order to

determine how well it applies to the Indonesian case. In this section, we

shall take a closer look at the basic behavioral and economic assumptions

made by Todaro and Harris in their analysis of urban and rural labor markets.

In the two articles mentioned above, Harris and Todaro are primarily

concerned with the dynamics of employment and unemployment in the urban

sector. In their model, they reject earlier hypotheses that the transition

of individuals from rural agriculture to modern industry happens in one

step upon arrival to an industrial area. They continue to view the final

destination of migrants as the "modern" sector, but postulate a two-stage

transition process as follows:

> The first stage finds the unskilled rural worker migrating to
> an urban area and initially spending a certain period of time in
> the so-called 'urban traditional sector,' joining a large pool
> of unemployed and underemployed workers who arrived in town
> earlier and still are waiting for a modern sector job....The second
> stage is reached with the eventual attainment of a more permanent
> modern sector job. (Todaro, 1969, pp. 139 & 142)

Employment opportunities in the modern sector are assumed to grow over

time at an exponential rate. The chances for migrants to get into these new

jobs are assumed to be equal and random, with the probability of selection

equal to the ratio of new job opportunities relative to the number of

workers in this urban traditional sector (i.e., the pool consisting of

traditional sector workers already present in the city plus new migrants).

For any particular migrant, Todaro points out, such a probability function,

> captures the essential feature of the earnings history
> of a typical migrant, namely, that the path of expected urban
> earnings is positively related to the length of time that a
> migrant has been in the urban area, ceteris paribus. The longer
> (he) remains, the more contacts he can establish, and the more
> likely he is to be holding a job after a certain period of time.
> (Todaro, pp. 142-143)

This analysis further supports the assumption that the modern sector wage,

often legally determined, is the wage most urban workers will eventually

obtain. Combining the prevailing modern sector wage ($\overline{W}_u$), then, with their

assumptions about the probability of employment, Harris and Todaro arrive at

the key determinant in their model of migration, the <u>urban expected wage</u>:

(Harris and Todaro, 1970, p. 128)

$$W_u^e = \frac{N_i}{N_u} \overline{W}_u$$

where: W_u^e = expected urban wage

$\overline{W}_u$ = legally fixed minimum wage

N_i = number of jobs open in the industrial sector

N_u = number of workers in the traditional sector, including new migrants

Let us examine each of the supporting assumptions that lead to this

model of the urban sector, in the light of the theories and experiences of

others who are studying the urbanization process in developing countries.

First of all, let us consider the roles and importance Harris and

Todaro assign to the two sectors of urban employment--the modern industrial/

(an administrative) sector and the traditional sector. For many development

economists, the only form of urban economic activity that really counts is that

in the modern sector, and development solutions are seen mainly as a matter

of expanding this sector. There is some question, however, as to whether

this emphasis on the modern sector is justified. For one thing, the employ-

ment generated by increased modern development has been much too slow to

absorb the number of workers available in most developing countries. As

Reynolds points out, employment may actually <u>shrink</u> with increased indus-

trialization, as it did in Puerto Rico, because industrialization caused

employment to vanish in some traditional sectors, replacing it with capital-
intensive, high wage methods of production in which employers seek smaller
numbers of workers than those they have displaced. Job creation also
depends heavily on historical trends and government policies with regard to
types of development it encourages. If, for example, high inflation and/or
political instability discourage potential investors from investing, indus-
trial growth may stagnate, as it did under Sukarno in Indonesia. Or, if the
government encourages investment, but mostly in capital-intensive industrial
and agricultural development, the number of new unskilled jobs will grow very
slowly, although total product may be increasing satisfactorily.

If modern sector employment cannot keep pace with rural-urban
migration and requires workers with high skills, where do all the extra
people and unskilled workers go? For an answer to this, we must take a more
serious look at employment opportunities outside of the modern sector, in
the urban traditional sector. Harris and Todaro seem to take the same view of
this sector as does S.V. Sethuraman, who states that the urban informal
sector acts as a "holding activity," the "employer of last resort," and that
its members should be counted as "unemployed or underemployed" and as eligible
for modern sector jobs. (Sethuraman, 1974b p.30) Clearly, the urban traditional
sector offers a necessary, although low-income source of employment to
migrants who have a background of rural poverty and who are not likely to be
able to sustain themselves as unemployed for the one or more years postulated
by Todaro as the waiting period for obtaining a modern sector job. Do all
migrants eventually move to modern sector jobs? There is more evidence that
suggests that many urban dwellers remain in the traditional sector for their
whole working lives, accumulating some additional security in the form of
modest home improvements and possessions, but never obtaining a job in the

modern sector. Indeed, economists and anthropologists who have studied the

traditional, or so-called informal sector, find it to have a great deal of

order and permanence, in which workers are far from unproductive.* Contrary

to what the Harris-Todaro model postulates, it is probably not modern sector

jobs and wages that all migrants are aiming for.** In this case, the wage

used in a Harris-Todaro type expected wage model should be based upon the

prevailing returns to workers in all sectors. As Godfrey states,

> We would need to re-specify Todaro's economic variables since they
> assume that what migrants are aiming at is a job in the modern
> sector. Work in what is variously called the "low-productivity
> urban sector" is implicitly regarded as akin to open unemployment.
> If, however, most migrants are thinking merely in terms of picking
> up what they can in the low-productivity urban sector, then net
> migration will be related to what is going on in that sector as
> well as to earnings and employment possibilities in the modern
> sector. Presumably, therefore, we would substitute for the
> "modern-sector" variables some such variable as "expected urban
> income from whatever source." (Godfrey, p. 70)

The urban wage that is used by Todaro and Harris in their model is

the marginal product of labor, the economists' favorite parameter. When

employers hire workers and pay them their marginal product, employers maximize

their returns and labor is allocated in the most economically efficient

manner. In many occupations, particularly in the traditional sector, the use

of the marginal product may be too low. Stiglitz, in his analysis of wages

and labor markets in developing countries, points out that the informal sector

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*See, for example, Lisa Peattie, "The Informal Sector" and T.P. Schultz,
"Rural-Urban Migration in Colombia".

**Schultz says, "Little evidence was found that measured differences in wages
in modern manufacturing among major cities of Colombia could account for
differences in migration rates from the "watersheds" of these urban areas.
Slighton has also noted that the movement of real wages in Colombia in modern
manufacturing during the 1950's is not paralelled by changes in real wages in
the traditional class of activities he characterizes as 'craft.' There is little
reason to believe, therefore, that a strong relationship exists between changes
in observed wages in modern manufacturing and changes in the urban wage that
is actually relevant to the migration decision." (Schultz, p. 159)

typically has an abundance of sellers and laborers, each having a similar

product to offer. According to him, the situation is one of monopolistic

competition, where the only competitive advantage is that of convenience to

the customer or proximity to the employer. In such a case, each worker would

receive his or her average product, higher than the marginal product, and

migrants would use the higher, economically inefficient average product in

making their decisions to move. A further objection to the modern wage para-

meter used by Harris and Todaro is that not all countries have a minimum

wage such as there was in the Kenyan situation from which they drew their

model. Where there was no legal wage restrictions, as in the case in Indo-

nesia, it is important to ask whether or not there are still differentials

between wages in the formal and informal sectors, or whether wages are

equivalent, as perfect competition would dictate. It there are differentials,

what institutional factors are there which keep it so? Besides wages,

differences in the degree of security of employment of the two sectors, such

as daily versus monthly hiring and cash income versus part compensation in

kind (food, housing), are important factors.

In trying to formulate an "expected wage," what are the dynamics

of the probability of employment for migrants? At one level, we may still

concern ourselves with formal employment opportunities, and explore the

dynamics of employment access and hiring. The Harris-Todaro model uses a

simple assumption of random selection from the pool of urban workers and

migrants at each point in time. In a short paper based on this model, Michael

Roemer proposes two alternative formulations of the probability term

(Roemer, pp. 2-4). The first takes into consideration that nor all urban jobs

are open to available workers at each period (i.e., that labor turnover is not

100% in each period). This leads to an expression of employment in the form:

40

$$P_e = \frac{J_t + T_t}{U_{t-1} + M_t + T_t}$$

where: P_e = probability of employment

J_t = new jobs created

T_t = job turnover

U_{t-1} = previous urban "traditionals"

M_t = migrants

The second alternative considers the possibility that migrants do not view new jobs as open to them directly, but as "reducing unemployment and thus increasing their chances by reducing competition for jobs," and furthermore, that "new jobs are likely to be filled by somebody already on the scene," but that jobs created by turnover are open to migrants. (Roemer, p.4) The probability of employment for migrants in this case looks like:

$$P_e = \frac{T_t}{U_{t-1} + M_t + T_t - J_t}$$

Roemer concludes that when the probability function is made more specific in these ways, the strength of the "pull" of urban jobs upon rural migrants may be substantially reduced, and hence that the great over-supply of labor coming from rural areas may be responding to other "pulls" and "pushes" as well.

There may be some reason to question a completely probabilistic approach to worker hiring, even as modified by Roemer. In many hiring situations, personal factors enter strongly into employer's choices. For many jobs, personal connections are of the utmost importance. Furthermore, personal qualifications, especially education and skills, differentiate one

potential employee from another, and may screen out whole categories of
workers from being considered.

What if we accept the general notion of employment probabilities,
perhaps modified by some considerations of personal connections, but focus
now upon the issue that was raised above: where do migrants actually find
employment? Here we may have to distinguish several urban employment sectors,
each displaying very different characteristics. Consider, for instance,
a possible simple distinction of five urban sectors:

1) manufacturing,

2) government / bureaucracy / administration,

3) established small-scale commerce,and production,

4) individual,peddling, commerce and production, and

5) scavengers / beggars.

For each of these five urban occupational groups, it is clear that supply
and demand for labor in each of the five groups will be determined by
different combinations of social and economic factors. There are likely to be
significant differences in terms of monetary wealth, investment in physical
goods, level of education/certification, previous experience, personal
connections and length of time spent waiting before finding employment
required for entry in each occupation as well. Hence, a migrant's probability
of employment in any of the various urban occupations will depend very much
upon a) the entry requirements for the various jobs and b) the characteristics
and qualifications of the migrant him/herself.

The rural sector, and its structures of employment opportunities and
wages, must also be analyzed in a comparative-income model of migration.
Let us briefly consider assumptions about employment in the rural sector that
are made by Harris and Todaro. The question of how the agricultural product is

distributed to those in the rural sector has been debated on many sides. In early development theory, it was believed that the problem of rural poverty stemmed from a surplus of agricultural labor, with a marginal productivity of agriculture of zero or less than zero (Lewis). Fei and Ranis and others have argued that agricultural labor receives its _average_ product due to a more or less equal access to land and equal distribution of whatever is produced among all workers. Harris and Todaro, in their discussion of the rural sector, state that "the agricultural marginal product is positive and inversely related to the size of the rural labor force," (Harris and Todaro, p.26), and use an agricultural wage equal to the marginal productivity of agricultural labor as their estimate of rural wages (Harris and Todaro, p.128). Use of marginal productivity as the determining factor in wages is based on the assumption that there is not free access to agricultural land and employment, that rural agricultural producers exhibit perfectly competitive behavior, and that landowners hire labor according to the profit-maximizing principle of hiring workers only until the marginal productivity of an additional laborer equals the wage the landlord must pay (Harris and Todaro, p.128). This system could result in lower wages and lower numbers of people employed than before, with landowners taking profits. In the Indonesian case, the historical studies of Clifford Geertz and others suggest that what is really happening in agriculture may be a more complex system of incomes, determined to a large degree by social relationships and changing traditions. If, as Geertz suggests, the traditional village social structure dictates that all village members be allowed to participate in agricultural production, landowners will be far less able to maximize profits and to restrict hiring. Furthermore, under the traditional village social ethic within which all members share with each other any prosperity they find, returns to each member will tend toward

equality, but each share may be very little.

Harris and Todaro postulate that rural wages are low, but that every rural person who wants to work has access to agricultural employment at these wages. In a country, such as Indonesia, where some rural areas are extremely densely populated and where many rural dwellers are landless, rural unemployment may also be a major push factor. In his 1969 article, Todaro acknowledges that rural unemployment may also be an important factor, and suggests that migrants may take into consideration the possibility of unemployment in rural areas in addition to the probability of urban employment. To introduce this into the Harris-Todaro model would mean introducing a factor for the probability of finding rural employment on the rural wage side of the model. At equilibrium, the comparative wage equation would be of the form

$$P_r \ W_r = P_u \ W_u$$

where P_r and P_u (the probabilities of rural and urban employment respectively) would be determined primarily by rural and urban unemployment rates.

HYPOTHETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The central hypothetical framework that we have chosen to use is a model that is drawn primarily from the Harris-Todaro model of migration. The Harris-Todaro model stresses three factors that appear realistic and vital to the Indonesian case, namely: (1) that the majority of migrants move in search of better income-earning opportunities, (2) that in weighing perceived opportunities in the rural and urban alternatives, they take into account their chance of securing a job, and, (3) that migrants will continue to move as long as incomes and/or employment probabilities are higher elsewhere than in their place of origin.

The model that we are proposing is an extension from the Harris-Todaro two-sector, two-wage model in that is takes into account the effects of differentiated labor markets and spatial location. In its complete form, the model incorporates four new factors: (1) a diversity of occupations and incomes in different locations, (2) the existence of different probabilities of employment in each of these occupations depending on the characteristics of the individual migrant, (3) the effects of travel costs, and (4) costs of living.

The economic benefits side of the model is an expected income term for each alternative location, calculated as the sum of the prevailing income levels for each local occupation weighted by the probability that the potential migrant could find him/herself in that occupation. Compared to the expected income benefits are two types of costs for each location - the local cost of living and the transfer/transportation costs of moving there. In its simplest form, the net expected economic returns for a particular type of migrant who is considering moving from origin 0 to location j are:

where R_{oj} = net return to migration to location j from origin 0.

P_i = probability that the migrant will be employed in occupation i if he/she comes to location j, such that $\sum_i P_i = 1$.

$$(2\text{-}1) \quad R_{oj} = (\sum_i P_i W_i)_j - C_{oj} - T_{oj}$$

W_i = prevailing wage (income) in occupation i

C_{oj} = consumption expenditure difference between 0 and j.

T_{oj} = costs of traveling to location j from origin 0.

The overall scheme of the model is shown in Figure 2.1. As can be seen from the figure, the model requires us to decide initially upon three sets of categories. First, what is a useful categorization for workers -- their sex, education or other criterion? Second, what are the important locations in the country where movement is taking place, both rural (sending) and urban (receiving) areas? Third, how may we define a useful set of occupational categories, within which workers' tasks, skills and income are consistent within the group? Once we have defined migrant types, locations, and occupations, constructing the model requires finding values for the four key parameters -- P_i, W_i, C_j, T_j -- defined above. A discussion of some of the difficulties of obtaining these four parameters may be found below, after the following basic explanation of the mechanics of the model.

The model works as follows. In step 0, we define "i" worker types, "k" occupations, and "j" locations. In step 1 we construct two matrices showing: 1) average monthly income for each occupation in each location, and 2) the probability that each given type of worker in a particular location would be found in each of the various occupations. By multiplying the wage by the workers' probability of receiving that wage, and summing these products over the whole set of occupations, we arrive at a table that shows one value of expected income for each worker type in each location. In step 2, we compare the expected income values between locations, deriving a matrix showing origin-to-destination expected income differentials. In step 3, we adjust the expected income differentials by the difference in average consumption expenditures for each type of worker between origin and destination, giving real expected income differentials. The final computational step is step 4, where we subtract the costs of moving from origin to destination from the results in step 3.

FIGURE 2.1 : HYPOTHETICAL MODEL FOR THE PRESENT STUDY -- OVERALL SCHEME

STEP 0: Choice of indices -- i - occupations

j - locations

k - worker types

STEP 1 :

$$\sum \quad W_{ijk} \qquad \times \qquad P_{ijk} \qquad = \qquad \text{Expected Income}$$

Sum over i occupations of INCOME LEVELS   times   PROBABILITIES OF EMPLOYMENT   equals   EXPECTED INCOMES

STEP 2 :

EXPECTED INCOMES   compared between locations for each worker type   yields   EXPECTED INCOME DIFFERENTIALS

FIGURE 2.1, cont'd.

STEP 3 :

EXPECTED
INCOME
DIFFERENTIALS   minus

CONSUMPTION
COST
DIFFERENTIALS   equals

REAL EXPECTED
.INCOME
DIFFERENTIALS

STEP 4 :

REAL EXPECTED
INCOME
DIFFERENTIALS   minus

TRAVEL
COSTS   equals

NET. INCOME
BENEFITS TO
MIGRATION

FIGURE 2.1, cont'd.

STEP 6 :

Net Income
Benefits to
Migration

worker
type

destination
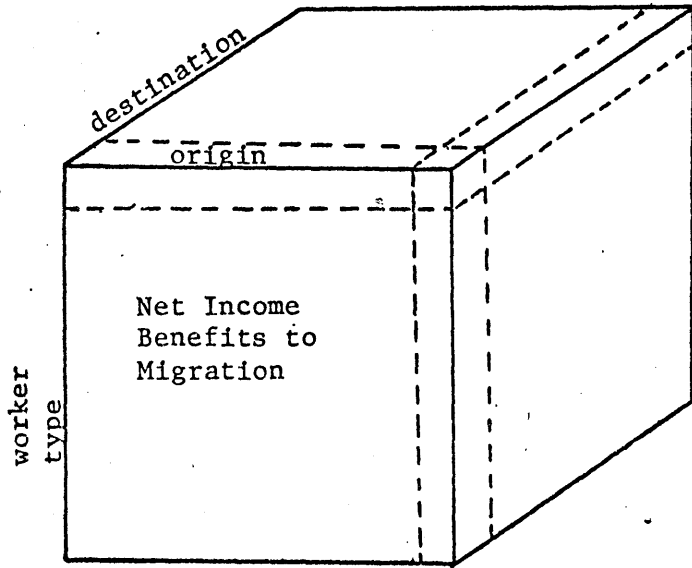
origin

(A) CHOICES FOR WORKERS

of migrant type 'm'
from origin 0

(A)

worker type
'm'

destination
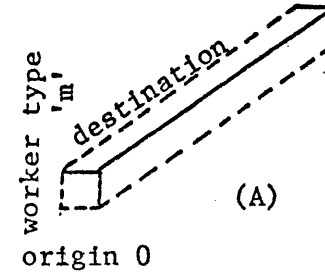
origin 0

(B) INFORMATION FOR CITY
ADMINISTRATORS

origins and types of
workers among migrants
to city 'j'.

destination
'j'

origin

worker
type

(B)

NET INCOME BENEFITS   can be broken
TO MIGRATION   down into:
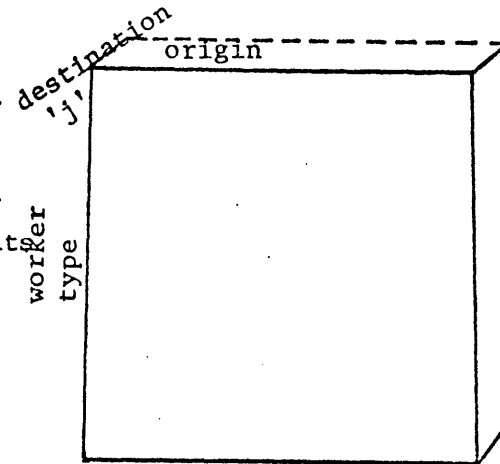
(C) INFORMATION FOR REGIONAL
EMPLOYMENT PLANNERS

opportunity differences
between regions for
workers of
type 'm'.

destination

origin

worker
type 'm'

(C)
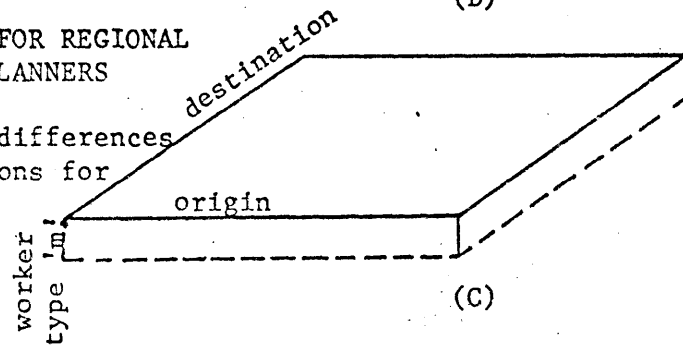
After taking into account wages, probabilities of employment, consumption

costs, and travel costs in the manner described above, we have a matrix that

should represent the nature of net benefits or costs associated with moves

between each location, for each type of worker. Where the difference is zero,

we would expect no movement. Where the difference is negative, we would

expect reverse migration, and where the difference is positive, we would

expect migration in the positive direction.

One useful feature of this model is that it can be used to show the

economic determinants of migration from three different points of view.

First, for those of a particular migrant type in a particular origin, the

model shows the alternatives that are open, and which one seems best (step

6-A). Second, from the point of view of administrators in a single city, the

model helps to show both where migrants are coming from and what types of

workers the city is receiving (step 6-B). Finally, the model can help to

formulate national plans for regional development and for employment of workers

of various skills, by helping to identify regional misbalances in income-

earning opportunities for different types of labor. In the Indonesian

regional planning context, for instance, the model might help to identify

critical areas for rural development in order to stem the tide of rural

migrants from these areas.

Beneath the seemingly simple parameters of equation 2-1 are many

assumptions and decisions about how each is defined. Let us briefly examine

each in turn - P_i, W_i, C_j, T_j - to explain more carefully what they mean and

how they might be measured.

The key parameter of the model is P_i, the migrant's probability of being

employed in each of a number of existing occupations. As we shall define it,

P_i is based on what occupations we have seen migrants go into until the

present. We have not directly addressed either the phenomenon of job search
or the phenomenon of changing labor demand and supply patterns over time. We
assume that migrants of each skill level know enough about the various existing
occupations to know what is the highest type of job open to them. At the
high wage end of the spectrum, jobs may be limited to workers of a certain
education or skill level, thereby beyond the aspirations of an unskilled
migrant. On the low wage side, informal sector activities may have relatively
free access, but offer such low incomes that highly-skilled workers will
rarely enter them, even if unemployed. Certain occupations may also be sex-
specific. In Jakarta, for example, we find jobs in traditional transport
(trishaws, carts), motor transport, and peddling services and trading to be
almost exclusively male, whereas prostitution, domestic service and house-
keeping are almost exclusively female. Age, family status, and access to
financial assets (land, savings, family wealth) may also play a part in a
worker's job chances. Of course, one factor of critical importance to a
worker's job search and job success is often personal connections, by which
a worker is guaranteed a specific job in a specific place, thereby bypassing
our whole probabilistic framework. Unless we find that personal factors do
indeed dominate all others, however, we may assume that if we take the
occupational distribution of a large sample of one type of worker, we will
see an approximation of the chances facing a new migrant of the same type.

In order to define W_i, the wage available to workers in each occupation,
we must take several factors into account, especially pay period, steadiness
of employment, and variability of wages within occupations. When we look at
the pay period of Indonesian migrants by occupation or by education level
(see tables B.2 to B.5, Appendix B), we see that the majority of workers have

relatively low skills and work for a daily wage, whereas workers in higher-skilled formal sector occupations are usually paid weekly or monthly. Of course, the critical question is - how may we make these different forms of income equivalent to one another? If daily paid work is only sporadic, as for a farm laborer, or daily intake of earnings varies widely from day to day, as in peddling or trishaw driving, what are the equivalent monthly or seasonal incomes? At this point, we have not achieved a satisfactory answer to this question. In the ongoing work with the Survey of Migrants, however, we hope soon to have a fairly good idea of monthly equivalents of daily and weekly wages. At this point, however, we have only a rough preliminary idea of daily wages, let alone how to convert them to monthly incomes. For this thesis, we shall focus on daily equivalent wages, begging the question somewhat of high wage variability and sporadic employment.

Planners and economists would certainly be gratified if we could in fact come up with a value for C_j, daily consumption expenditures, which would give them a reliable idea of daily subsistance and consumption. It is our intuition that "when people have it, they spend it"--i.e., that consumption expenditures vary, depending on what a person has to spend. For this reason, the parameter C_j is an elusive one, and one that probably varies over workers at different levels of skill and income.

Travel costs, T_j, may also vary from one income group to another, but for those travelling between the same two locations, seem less variable than consumption expenditures. The most important characteristic of travel costs, we feel, is that they are typically in a lump sum. This means that a migrant must have savings or financial assistance from his/her family or a money-lender to cover the lump sum. There are two ways in which we may compare travel

costs to the net expected daily income - by subtraction or by division. If
we choose to keep the subtraction method of equation 2-1, the travel costs
should be distributed over the migrant's length of stay in the city, either
between return visits, or over a period of a year or so. Another approach
would be to take the ratio of benefits to travel costs, which would be useful
if the lump sum quality of travel expenses is acting as a barrier to migrants
of different types.

The model outlined above is clearly on a very grand scale. The structure
of alternative incomes and differing access to the various occupations in
different locations is very difficult to define quantitatively, let alone to
build a mathematical model of it.In the ongoing research under Professor Harris,
we are trying to unlock the structure of migrant opportunities by looking at
incomes and occupational patterns by region, by sex, by educational back-
ground and by personal factors, such as personal connections, and the worker's
relationship to his/her employer (self-employed, family-employed, employed
by a non-related person/firm, etc).

Before one can begin to test any model of economic relationships, one
must always make sure that the underlying behavioral and structural assumptions
of the model match the realities of the situation being studied. In the rest
of this thesis, we shall discuss the evidence from the Survey of Migrants
and other Indonesian sources that relate to the fundamental assumptions,
structure, and parameter values of the model we have proposed above. Specifi-
cally, we shall be concerned with four key areas:

1. Basic characteristics of different types of migrants--age,
   education, sex, family status, and economic versus non-economic
   motivations for migration.

2. Places of origin and travel costs.

3. Entry requirements for obtaining employment in various occupations--

sex, education, waiting times of unemployment--leading to an estimation of the probabilities of employment for different types of migrants.

4. The structure of occupations and wages in Jakarta, in rural Java, and in other regions of Indonesia, including the question of whether or not wage differentials do exist, and to what extent.

After a brief introduction to the contents and methodology of the Survey of Migrants in Chapter 3, we shall go on in Chapter 4 to discuss our findings from this and other Indonesian sources, in the context of the four areas of focus outlined above.

Chapter 3

THE 1973 INDONESIAN SURVEY OF MIGRANTS

The 1973 Survey of Migrants conducted by the Indonesian National Institute

for Economic and Social Research (LEKNAS) was done in order to gather detailed

micro information about individual migrants in Indonesian cities as a step

towards a better understanding of the phenomenon of migration and urbanization

as it is occurring in Indonesia. The important elements of migration that the

survey addresses are:

1. Urban income-earning opportunities including means of entry
    into various labor sub-markets, skill and education requirements,
    and wage determination in both "formal" and "semi-traditional"
    urban sectors;

2. Rural income-earning opportunities including land and tenure
    arrangements, agricultural labor markets, technical improvements
    in agriculture, and rural non-agricultural opportunities...;

3. Networks for transmission of information between areas
    (emphasizing the role of extended-family and other "traditional"
    networks), and reliability of information transmitted;

4. Transportation costs (and means);

5. Support and aid for new urban arrivals from friends and
    relatives;

6. Amenities and social services that affect real-income levels;
    and

7. Importance of savings and remittances from urban workers to
    rural areas (Harris, pp. 3-4).

In addition to questions designed to clarify the above elements, the survey also

includes comprehensive demographic data about each individual -- age, sex,

family situation, educational background, place of origin, present urban living

conditions, and possessions, as well as qualitative individual responses as to

motivations for moving, preferences between rural and urban, and plans for the future. A copy of the survey and its English translation is found in Appendix A.

A task force for migration studies was formed in BAPPENAS (the Indonesian Ministry of Development Planning) under the direction of Dr. Hasibuan, with participation by Mr. Suharso of LEKNAS and representatives from nine regional universities. Professor John R. Harris, then a member of the Harvard-BAPPENAS applied research program, served as advisor to the task force. At Mr. Hasibuan's invitation, Gordon Temple, then a Ph.D. candidate from the University of Wisconsin, was engaged to develop the survey questionnaire and coding scheme. He constructed a tentative list of questions that was tried out in numerous preliminary interviews in Jakarta. As a result of daily tests of the questionnaire, the survey questions were changed and rearranged, and with the collaboration of Mr. Suharso and of a friendly group of trishaw drivers, the appropriate wording of the survey questions was worked out. After approximately 400 preliminary interviews in Jakarta, the questionnaire was in its final form. The execution of the Survey of Migrants was carried out under the direction of Mr. Suharso, head of the Population Section of LEKNAS.

In the original research design, two major surveys were planned. The first was a survey of migrants within major Indonesian cities. The second was a survey of inhabitants in several rural districts (kabupatens) that were identified as major sending areas. The idea of combining the urban survey of migrants with a rural survey of non-migrants grew out of the recognition that rural-to-urban migration is not an isolated urban phenomenon, but rather that conditions in rural areas and the characteristics of non-migrants and returned migrants are vitally related to the phenomenon of migration. As the project stands to date, the rural area surveys have been taken, but the data from this

survey are not yet available. In our current research, therefore, we are solely concerned with the urban survey of migrants, which we simply refer to as the Survey of Migrants.

Twenty-five Indonesian cities were chosen for the urban Survey of Migrants (see Figures 3.1 to 3.3). The goal was to obtain a mix of large (pop. 200,000+), medium (pop. 60,000 to 100,000), and small (pop. 20,000 to 50,000) cities in each of the areas of East, Central, and West Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi, plus the capital city, Jakarta. The interviews were carried out by trained students from nine Indonesian universities during the period of November 1972 to March 1973. Table 3.1 shows the population of the chosen cities and the total number of interviews completed in each city.

The Indonesian administrative system divides the entire country into a hierarchy of units descending from 26 provinces, kabupatens (districts), subdistricts, etc. finally down to these household groups (rumah tetangga -- RT's) with an officially appointed head who is responsible to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The RT unit was the basic enumeration bloc used for the 1971 census. This system is quite uniform throughout Java in both rural and urban areas while there are many deviations from the pattern in "outer islands."

The overall survey includes two different types of population sample within each city. The major sample is the Household Sample, which was constructed by randomly drawing up a list of household groups (RT's) from the official city lists. Within each household group, usually consisting of 40 to 50 households, all migrants who could be found were interviewed. For the purposes of the survey, a "migrant" was defined as any person over 14 years of age who had moved from outside the city on or after 1 January 1968 -- five years prior to the time of the survey. This sampling procedure was designed to provide an equal probability of any migrant's being selected, since there

THAILAND

MALAYSIA

• Medan

• Siantar

• Padangsidempuan

• Bukkitinggi

• Padang

SUMATRA

MALAYSIA
INDONESIA

KALIMANTAN

• Palembang

• Teluk Karang/Teluk Betung

JAKARTA
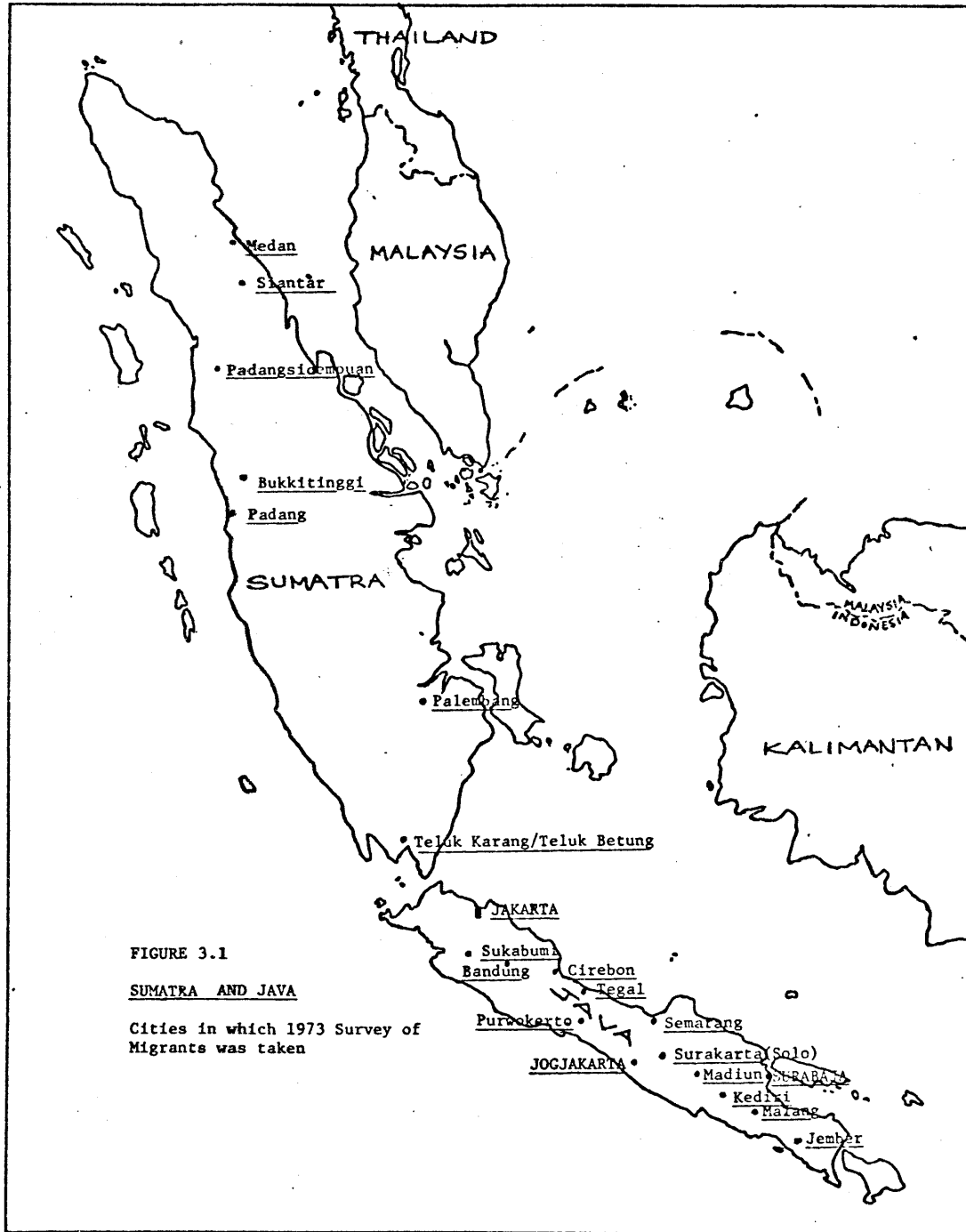
FIGURE 3.1

SUMATRA AND JAVA

Cities in which 1973 Survey of
Migrants was taken

• Sukabumi

Bandung

Cirebon

Tegal

Purwokerto •

• Semarang

• Surakarta (Solo)

JOGJAKARTA •

• Madiun SURABAJA

• Kediri

• Malang

• Jember

KALIMANTAN

MALAYSIA/INDONESIA

MALUKU

SULAWESI

Parepare

Wantampong

Makasar (Ujung Pandang)
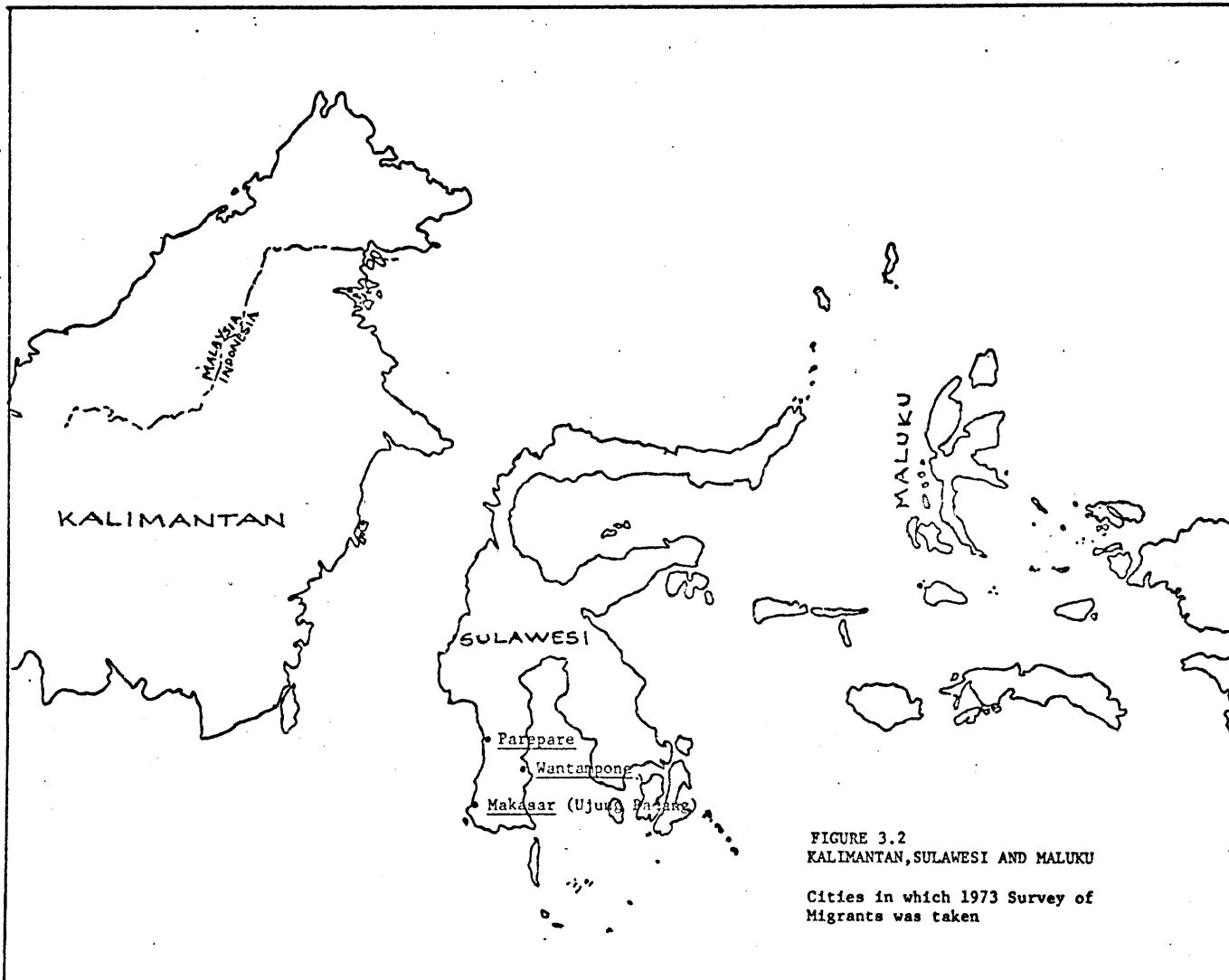
FIGURE 3.2
KALIMANTAN,SULAWESI AND MALUKU

Cities in which 1973 Survey of
Migrants was taken
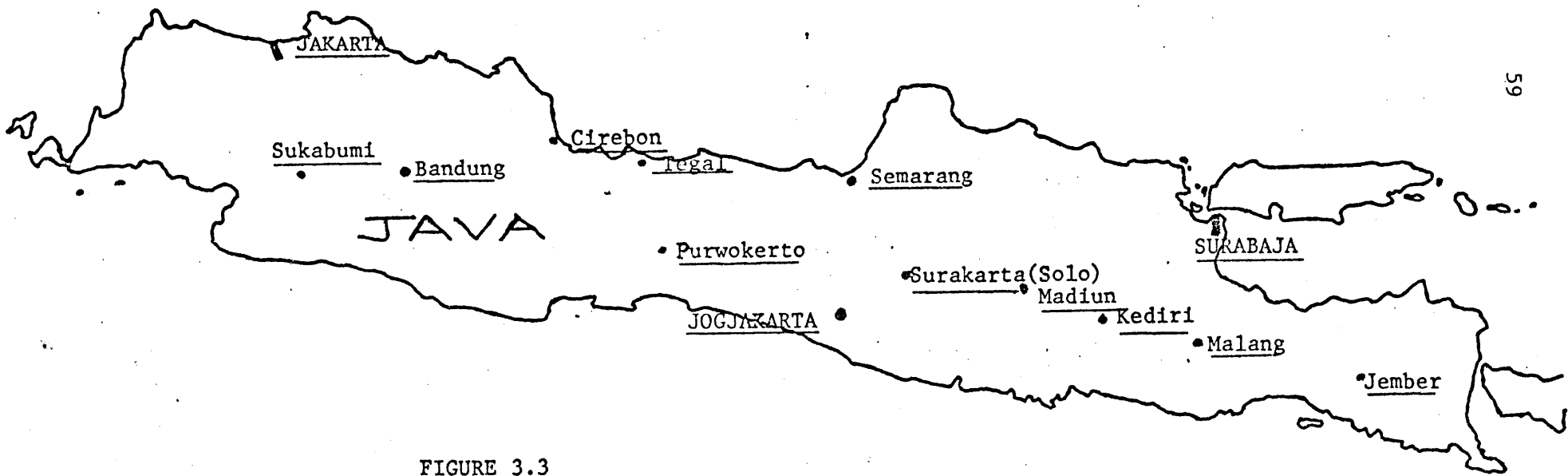
FIGURE 3.3

JAVA

Cities in which 1973 Survey of Migrants was taken

TABLE 3.1   CITIES IN WHICH THE 1973 SURVEY OF MIGRANTS WAS TAKEN
Total population in each city, and number of interviews in each sample

| City | 1971* Population (000's) | Household Sample | NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS TAKEN | | | | TOTAL ALL SAMPLES |
			Squatter	Petty Trader	Trishaw Driver	Prostitutes	
JAVA:							
Jakarta	4,576.0	3080	213	322	238	356	4209
EAST JAVA:							
Surabaja	1,556.3	2003	185	408	198	195	2989
Malang	422.4	721	49	46	97	49	962
Jember	122.7	405	24	49	75	25	578
Kediri	178.9	288	24	25	24	25	386
Madiun	136.2	392	23	49	76	22	562
Jogjakarta	342.3	947	47	195	144	50	1383
CENTRAL JAVA:							
Surakarta (Solo)	414.3	845	45	194	147	50	1281
Purwokerto	658.9	373	48	102	48	25	596
Semarang	646.6	910	94	168	193	99	1464
Tegal	106.0	342	74	50	73	72	611
Tjirebon	178.5	411	--	105	95	--	611
WEST JAVA:							
Bandung	1,200.4	1124	97	194	166	100	1681
Sukabumi	96.2	421	30	91	128	36	706
Cirebon	178.5	411	--	105	95	--	611
SUMATRA							
Palembang	583.0	732	--	97	97	49	975
Medan	635.6	1091	2	31	26	1	1151
Teluk Karang/ Teluk Betung	199.0	250	--	50	46	50	396
Siantar	129.2	316	--	--	--	--	316
Padang Sidempuan	---	186	--	3	1	--	190
Padang	196.3	438	24	174	98	--	734
Bukkitinggi	63.1	191	--	44	--	--	235
SULAWESI							
Makasar (Ujung Padang)	434.8	756	48	96	117	23	1040
Pare-pare	72.5	494	--	51	49	--	594
Watampone	54.7	331	--	47	50	--	428
TOTAL ALL CITIES:		16,797	1,027	2,541	2,140	1,177	24,078

Source: Lund tabulations

*Sensus Penduduk 1971, advance tables, Series B. No. 1.

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was an equal probability of selection for any household group in the city. In reality, however, the fact that migrants are not randomly distributed among housing units and neighborhoods meant that the sampling variance in the proportions of migrants found within each household group was likely to be high.

In the initial development stages of the Survey of Migrants, it was found that the sampling strategy of random household groups, which was built on the frame of the 1971 census, probably excluded the more recent and lowest income migrants. Not all migrants live in the household groups that constituted the sampling universe, due to the administrative structure of the city. Even given Jakarta's highly structured administrative organization of control, as described above, there are an unknown number of persons, particularly in Jakarta, who do not live in recognized dwellings. The prevalence of non-registered households is partly due to the fact that in order to be officially registered, household members must obtain "identity cards that frequently cost the equivalent of fifteen days urban labor, or even more" (Temple, 1975a, p. 57).

The results of a small survey of workers in six low-income occupations in Jakarta illustrate the fact that a great number of people in the lowest informal sector activities do not own such identity cards (see Table B.1, Appendix B).

Due to the administrative structure of Jakarta and the way the Household Sample frame was constructed, therefore, large areas of non-official dwellings, usually inhabited by recent, very low-income migrants, would have been missed by the Household sampling strategy, giving this sample an upward bias. In order to capture the excluded migrants, four kinds of purposive cluster samples were also taken of people in occupations likely to be frequented by migrants who have not established a recognized place of residence and therefore may have been excluded from the Household Sample. The four "Cluster Samples", as

we shall call them were of Squatters, Petty Traders (hawkers, kaki lima),

Trishaw (betjak) drivers,and Prostitutes. Frequently, people in these

occupations do not live in recognized housing units but rather at the work

place -- many petty traders sleep at the markets, trishaw drivers in sheds by

the trishaw park, etc. Squatters present a slightly different problem as they

live in abandoned rail cars or flimsy bamboo or cardboard shelters along

railway sidings, under bridges, or along stream banks. As such, they too are

seldom included in the official household groups.

The sampling procedure followed was to identify areas of the city in

which people in these occupational categories were known to concentrate --

e.g.,markets for petty traders, trishaw parks for drivers, and identifiable

areas of prostitution. Once several such areas of concentration were identi-

fied, interviewers were instructed to enter the designated area, to randomly

select persons there, and to interview those who said they had migrated within

the previous five years. A quota of interviews to be conducted was assigned

for each area. It is clear that some of the migrants in the Cluster Samples

were also, in fact, residents of household groups and were subject to being

sampled in the Household Survey. It is also true that the Cluster Samples

were drawn from an undefined sampling frame, so that it is impossible to

estimate their actual numbers in the total population. Nevertheless, these

four samples do provide information concerning the characteristics, the

experiences, and the structure of opportunities for important groups of migrants

who have been systematically underrepresented or entirely excluded from standard

sampling procedures and most existing studies.

Following the completion of the interviews, the responses were coded onto

cards and subsequently onto computer tape. A copy of the complete but somewhat

modified computer tape was sent to Professor John Harris at the Massachusetts

Institute of Technology (MIT) Center for International Studies. The "cleaning" of the data on this tape and data analysis are currently being undertaken at MIT and at Boston University, under Professor Harris' direction.

The present study focuses on one city out of the total survey -- Jakarta, the capital city and by far the largest Indonesian city in terms of population and of industrial and commercial development. The data for the analysis of Jakartan migrants that follows is drawn from two sets of tabulations of the interviews done in Jakarta. The first, and the one upon which we shall rely most heavily, is a tabulation of the answers to all of the survey questions by sample type that was done by Gordon Temple for his doctoral thesis work. The second set of tabulations (hereafter called the Lund tabulations) were prepared by the author in conjunction with John Harris' Indonesian Migration project, and include some further examination of personal characteristics and motivations, as well as some preliminary income and wage data for various occupations.

In the tables of migrant responses to the questionnaire that are given here, the reader may notice considerable discrepancy in the total respondents which are reported to be in each sample. In part this is due to missing responses to the various questions. The largest source of discrepancy, however, is between the number of respondents reported by Gordon Temple in his tabulations for Jakarta and the somewhat smaller number of Jakarta interviews that were contained on the final computer tape as it was sent to Professor Harris. Table 3.2 shows the exact number of respondents in each sample, as a future reference for the reader.

TABLE 3.2: NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH SAMPLE,
TEMPLE AND LUND TABULATIONS

| | TOTAL | Household Sample | Squatters | ---------- Cluster Samples----------- | | |
				Petty Traders	Trishaw Drivers	Prostitutes
Temple tabulations	4404	3197	234	352	250	371
Lund tabulations	4209	3080	213	322	238	356

Four additional outside data sources have been very important as bases for comparison of our results. These are the 1971 census tabulations for Jakarta, which include several special tabulations of migrants; various studies using the Indonesian Agro-Economic Survey that have been published in the Bulletin for Indonesian Economic Studies; a 1972 survey of about 300 people in low-income occupations in Jakarta; and assorted documents from BAPPENAS concerning production and consumption levels and wages.

Before going on to discuss the results of the Jakarta survey in chapter 4, let us identify several overall characteristics of the survey that should be kept in mind.

As we have already explained above, the administrative structure of taking interviews necessitated two types of samples -- the Household Sample and the four stratified samples. The Household Sample is biased towards the formal employment sector and better established migrants, whereas the stratified samples are focused towards the informal sector and migrants in low occupation and income groups. For this reason, the contrasts that can be drawn between migrants in the five different samples will help to identify the significance of underlying class differences between urban residents of different income, educational and occupational levels.

By concentrating exclusively on recent migrants, the survey is biased

towards young people. We know from other sources that migrants typically come to the city at an early age, and that they may then stay in the city for a long time. Indeed, the 1971 census for Jakarta showed that migrants have been coming steadily to Jakarta for far more than a decade, and that of all persons whose birthplace was elsewhere than Jakarta, 60% had lived in the city for 6 years or more (see Table 3.3 below). By the working definition of a "migrant" as one who arrived within five years or less, the Survey of Migrants did not include earlier arrivals, who have had more time to enjoy a degree of social and economic mobility since migration. The survey's bias towards younger, less-established migrants should continually be kept in mind in the discussion that follows. Nevertheless, for our main purpose of understanding the migration process itself, this emphasis upon the immediate causes and effects of migration is probably the most useful.

The survey is somewhat biased towards males. Although every member of each household or dwelling who had migrated was to be interviewed, usually the questions would be answered by the male head of the household. This explains the fact that whereas the 1971 Indonesian census shows migrants to Jakarta as evenly split between males and females (51%/49%), our Household Sample contains 58% males and our squatter sample contains 68% males (see Table 3.4, below). Again, however, the survey bias is fortuitous, since it emphasizes decision-makers, the ones that migration theory and policy is primarily aimed at.

The sex composition of our five samples should be firmly kept in mind throughout our discussion of the findings below. The two samples chosen by type of residence -- households and squatters -- contain both males and females in high proportions, although males predominate. The occupational samples -- Petty Traders, Trishaw Drivers, and Prostitutes -- are almost completely sex-specific, with males in the first two occupations and females in the third.

TABLE 3.3 TOTAL JAKARTA POPULATION -- DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN JAKARTA, 1971

Years in Jakarta	Number of people	As percent of total migrants	Cumulative percentage	Approximate median age
under 1 year*	82,335	4%	4%	18 yrs.
1 year	127,127	7	11	18
2 years	136,945	7	18	20
3 years	130,933	7	25	21
4 years	109,557	6	31	22
5 years	113,376	6	37	23
6 years	97,368	5	42	25
7 years	88,995	5	47	26
8 years	75,857	4	51	27
9 years	60,903	3	54	28
10+ years	796,677	43	97	36
Not stated	46,562	3	100	--
TOTAL	1,866,635	100%	----	27 yrs.

*Note: Census was taken in September 1971.

Source: Sensus Penduduk 1971: Penduduk D.K.I. Jakartalaya, Table 25, p. 134.

TABLE 3.4: SEX OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS (as % of total)

----------Cluster samples--------------------

	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample	Jakarta total, 1971 Census
MALE:	58%	68%	92%	100%	0%	49%
FEMALE:	42	32	8	0	100	51
TOTAL: (%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	3197	234	371	250	352	1.87 million

Sources: Temple tabulations, Sensus Penduduk, 1971, Penduduk D.K.I. Jakarta Raya, table 2.

Several other important issues concerning the survey methodology arise when we think about its policy applications. The complex informal nature of the urban environment in Jakarta precludes gathering reliable estimates as to the real proportions that our survey samples represent. Policy-oriented projections of our numerical results onto the whole population of the city or of the country are thus very difficult. We do not have comparably detailed information about a control group of non-migrants, whether in the rural or in the urban setting. Some of our findings concerning migrants that may seem striking may actually be common to the population in general and thus far less significant for policies attempting to affect migration specifically of this survey. A set of rural surveys designed to complement the urban Survey of Migrants was taken as part of the migration study, but is not yet in useable form.

Finally, we should keep in mind that the survey we are discussing here is from a single point in time, now several years past, and does not incorporate

direct observations on the dynamic nature of the lives of the individuals very well, although a considerable effort was made to construct such a picture through recall. However, memory is undoubtedly imperfect, and furthermore, we cannot obtain recall of previous migratory experience from people who have moved on. Let us beware of trying to construct a movie of the economy and culture of this developing society from only this one snapshot, even as large and complex as it may be! The information we do have about time patterns from the survey is particularly important, but we must use caution in interpreting it. If we observe a trend in occupations or income levels according to year of arrival of the migrant, for example, are we observing real economic mobility or are we simply looking at the more and more successful people who have stayed in the city while unsuccessful ones have died or moved away? The problem of attrition over time is complex, and has baffled many observers of similar one-shot surveys.

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS CONCERNING JAKARTA MIGRANTS

At long length we turn to the Jakarta migrants themselves, to listen

to their story. In this chapter, we shall first take a glimpse at a number

of snapshot stories of migrants and their experiences. We then go on to

relate the collective stories of Jakarta migrants to the economic model of

migration outlined in Chapter 2. Our discussion focuses on the four major

points raised at the end of Chapter 2, namely:

1) Basic characteristics of different types of migrants - age,
   education, sex, family status, and motivations for migration.

2) Places of origin and travel costs.

3) Entry requirements for obtaining employment in various occupations -
   sex, education, waiting times of unemployment - leading to an
   estimation of the probabilities of employment for different types of
   migrants.

4) The structure of occupations and wages in Jakarta, in rural Java,
   and in other regions of Indonesia, including the question of whether
   or not wage differentials do exist, and to what extent.

PRELUDE--PICTURES IN WORDS

To make it in Begadjah, a village 10 miles from Surakarta in Central
Java, a man must own land or have the use of land. Less than one-
half of the villagers in Begadjah own land. There are 184 hectares
available. Farmers own 154 hectares in plots of less than one-half a
hectare, about an acre and a quarter. Of the rest of the land, 18
hectares are government land; the village chief is given the use of
5 hectares, the religious leader, 1 hectare, and 13 hectares are used
to provide funds for the village treasury for development projects.
(Sterba, 1971)

Mr. Pitung, like many Indonesians, had only one name and was not sure
how old he was. He came to Jakarta five years ago because village jobs
were scarce and seasonal, and he could no longer make a living. He
had no land, no savings. Except for the floppy blue hat he treasured,
and the shirt, shorts and sandals he wore, his possessions would fit
neatly into a pocket. (Sterba, 1973)

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The train fare was[fifty] rupiah; [Husen's] father gave him [seventy-five].
He joined a friend, Supardi, who was two years older and sometimes went
to Jakarta to sell rice; they found a place to stay near the Hotel
Duta in the old Dutch city with a poor shopkeeper from Tegal in central
Java, a bamboo shack divided into three cubicles with a dirt floor.
In one the shopkeeper and his family slept, keeping their few clothes
and possessions in a small tin trunk; a tiny kitchen barely had room
for a pot on the primus stove and a bag of rice; in the third cell-like
cubicle Husen and Supardi slept on a bamboo floor mat, hanging their
clothes on nails. There was no electricity or water; coconut oil
lamps were used at night, and Husen had to bathe, relieve himself and
wash his laundry in a brown, sludgy canal along the nearest road.
(Critchfield, p.239)

[Husen] drove a betjak for a year and then drifted from one job to
another, first as a construction laborer, then as a knek or truck
driver's helper in the waterfront district of Tandjung Priok, finally
settling down as a garbage-removing coolie for the public works
department. This meant filling baskets with rotten, stinking refuse...
and loading them onto a truck; soon even his food tasted of the stench.
But the driver shared with Husen the illegal profits he made selling
the garbage to farmers on the Bogor road instead of taking it to the city
dump, and the money was good." (Critchfield, p.241)

Narjo Bin Upan, 33, who vends vegetables, rises at 4:30 AM and walks
two miles to a market to buy two baskets of cucumbers, cabbage and
other greens. He carries them from door to door, making at best 150
rupiahs (US$.40) per day. A fourth is spent on food and cigarettes and
the rest he saves to take once a month to his wife and two children in
a village two hours by bus from [Jakarta]. (Sterba, 1973)

Another vender, Rachmat, 35, sells tropical fish from house to house
in a well-to-do section. On a good day he makes a dollar or two (Rp.
400 to Rp.800). He thinks he walks eight miles a day. His fifteen to
twenty water jars [containing fish] must be delicately balanced on the
wooden platforms that are attached by steel rods to each end of his
shoulder board. The whole thing weighs about 80 pounds....He lives with
his sister, paying no rent, and he tries to spend less than 25 cents
(Rp. 100) a day for food. (Sterba, 1973)

In the Sinabung Market,...were tailor shops, bakers, barbers and
carpenters. For a pittance one could buy either a snack or subsistance:
a piece of fried mutton on a skewer, coconut and lentil porridge, soda,
coffee, tea, iced beer, rice, boiled eggs, fried chicken, sweet cakes,
roasted peanuts, shrimp cakes, peanut crisps and vegetable soup. The
grocery shops sold mostly to the poor; they were stocked with all their
daily needs: dried fish, lentils, beans, dried peas, potatoes, onions,
eggs, noodles, rice, ketchup, coconut oil, kerosene, matches, tea, soap,
mosquito repellent, cigarettes, apples, bananas, papayas, combs,

handkerchiefs, toothbrushes, toothpaste or charcoal in tins, perfume, paper, cheap ballpoint pens, notebooks, sugar, flour, ropes, lamps, knives and candles. Some of the vendors had movable bamboo pole shops they carried about on their shoulders; one brush salesman sold enough to fill a storeroom: brooms, wicker laundry baskets, tin tubs, long-handled brushes, shoebrushes, whisk brooms, hairbrushes and every other imaginable kind of brush. Usually there would be cheap sales, hawkers' voices amplified by loudspeakers, crying, "I don't sell you anything. I just give you prizes. Who wants to try?" (Critchfield, pp. 267-268)

Some gather bricks from building sites and use heavy mallets to pound them into powder for resale to construction concerns that turn them back into bricks. One cubic meter, which takes one or two weeks of pounding, sells for Rp. 1750 (US$ 4.60). (Kamm)

Sulastri, 29, lives with her husband, Supardjo, in a small shack along the river near Menteng, the old Dutch Central district. Each morning at 3 a.m. she rises and prepares a pot of rice, to which she adds a few bean sprouts and green vegetables to make nasi pecel, a dish native to her Central Javanese home. With some peanuts, peppers and other spices, she also prepares sambal pecel, the sauce to pour over the rice. When all is ready, she packs the still-hot rice, wrapped in banana leaves, into a basket on her back. By 5:30 a.m. she has reached the streets of the waking neighborhoods of Menteng. Late in the morning the basket is empty and she has made 750 rupiahs (US$ 1.75). Of this money, she will spend Rp. 500 for rice and vegetables for the next day and the rest for food for the evening meal with her husband.*

Sarman, who is 34 and has six children, used to go to Jakarta every year to sell balloons. He would buy 100 balloons for 35 rupiahs, blow them up and sell them for one rupiah apiece. "On a good day I would get 150 rupiahs," he said. "I would always leave for Jakarta on a lucky day after the fasting month. When I would save 8000 rupiahs (US$ 20) I would come back to Begadjah [my village]. Sometimes it would take four months. Sometimes six." (Sterba, 1971)

Endang, 21, came to Jakarta from her West Javanese village about a year ago, after she and her husband were divorced. She found a place to stay with her friend Sutanti, a prostitute, and soon became a prostitute also in order to support herself. In the evening, Endang and Tanti go to the Pasar Senen, Jakarta's bustling central marketplace, to look for customers. In one night, Endang usually earns 600 rupiahs (US$ 1.50). If she is lucky, she will meet a visiting foreign businessman who will pay her even more highly.*

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*Written by the author.

Hasan, 24, came to Jakarta five years ago to join his brother in his business, a small hardware and repair shop in the Pasar Senen, where many Sumatrans have established shops. Hasan had three years of technical training in Bukkitinggi, West Sumatra, where he comes from. He and his parents knew that he could become more prosperous of he went to Jakarta, so they saved enough money for the bus to Padang and the ship from Padang to Jakarta, about Rp. 2000 (US$ 5), plus some money to take along, about Rp. 1750 (US$ 4.40). Upon arrival in Jakarta, Hasan moved in with his brother and his sister-in-law and their two young children, who live in a small bamboo-walled, tile-roofed house near the Pasar Senen. Their house has one electric outlet, hooked to a wire with which some neighbors pirated electricity from the city lines, but all of their water is carried by hand from a pump in the neighborhood. Hasan saves his money to take to his parents when he visits them once a year -- right now he has almost 9000 rupiahs saved in a hidden place in the house.*

Soeparman, 36, came to Jakarta 12 years ago after finishing his Arts degree at the Institute Keguruan dan Ilmu Pedidikan in Surabaja. He has been to Jakarta before, alone and with other student friends, and had secured a job working in a government bureau. When Soeparman first came to the city to stay, he came alone, and lived and worked in Jakarta for a year until he could send for his wife and child. Since that time, another child has been born. At present, Soeparman and his family live in a small solid house provided to them by the government as part of his monthly salary of Rp. 15,000 (US$ 37.50). They are able to save money, and to send their children to school. Several times each year they have visiotrs from their home, including Soeparman's brother, who hopes that Soeparman can help him to find a job in the Bureau also.*

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

Age

We have already looked briefly at the age and sex characteristics of migrants to Jakarta in chapter 3, above. There we saw that most migrants now resident in Jakarta came to the city as very young adults, with a median age at migration under 20 years old (see Table 3.3). The age of migrants from the Survey of Migrants is in general agreement with the Census findings. It also offers some further insight into the age structure of the various urban

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*Written by the author.

groups represented by our five samples.

TABLE 4.1: AGE AT MIGRATION (as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample	------Cluster Samples----------			
	Household Sample	Squatter	Petty Trader	Trishaw Driver	Prostitute
18 or under	34%	24%	33%	32%	39%
19-21 yrs.	21	15	22	17	36
22-25 yrs.	17	15	17	21	16
26-35 yrs.	17	32	19	22	8
36-65 yrs.	10	13	9	9	1
over 65 yrs.	--	1	--	--	--
MEDIAN (approx.)	20 yrs.	25 yrs.	20 yrs.	21 yrs.	19 yrs.
N =	3078	213	322	238	355

Source: Lund tabulations

Prostitutes are the youngest of any of our occupational groups -- 75 percent

of their number were 21 years old or younger when they came to Jakarta.

Households, Petty Traders and Trishaw Drivers all show fairly similar age

patterns to one another with a median of 20 to 21 years old, but a fairly

even age spread above that. Squatters tend to be older than any of the other

four groups, with a high concentration between 26 and 35 years old at migration.

As we can see from Tables 3.3 and B.6*, the years of arrival of migrants

presently residing in Jakarta are spread almost evenly over the past five, ten,

or even more years. In our five samples, the only one that strongly contra-

dicts this pattern is the Prostitute Sample, where most women had come only in

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*All tables numbered with a "B" followed by a number (e.g., B.6) are to be found
in appendix B.

the past one or two years. We have seen that this group is also the youngest
of all migrants. What happened to prostitutes who migrated before 1970? It
is possible that they returned again to their place of origin (see Table B.8),
but our data do not really give us a clear answer to this mystery.

In addition to age at migration, the census and Survey of Migrants show
the present age structure of Jakarta migrants, some of whom have been here
for many years. These distributions are shown in Tables 3.3 and B.7. Later,
when we talk about the whole migrant population, let us remember that although
each migrant may have moved to the city at a similarly young age, the present
migrant population of Jakarta migrants has a wider spread of ages, than each
year's new influx of migrants, and longer-resident migrants may have enjoyed
some occupational or economic mobility since they first came.

Education

The distribution of educational attainment of migrants and of Indonesians
in general is shown in Tables B.8 to B.10. For the purposes of comparing the
characteristics of the various groups, we have also accumulated the educational
distribution to show what proportion of each population group was able to
surpass each successive educational step (a sort of backwards cumulative total).
These cumulative proportions are shown graphically in Figures 4.1 to 4.3. To
illustrate the meaning of the figures, let us look at the difference between
males in the Household and Squatter Samples (see Figure 4.3). Here we see
that very few (6%) male squatters ever got past a primary diploma, whereas a
large proportion (43%) of Household males went beyond primary school, beyond
junior high school (28%), and even some beyond senior high school (9%). The
proportion of both groups that had no schooling can be deduced from the first
figure of how many had some schooling at least. For Squatter males, for

example, the proportion with no schooling is 41 percent (100 minus 59). On
the graphs, the group with the upper curve of education is the one whose
members have the highest achievement.

From these figures and graphs, we can see that there exist significant
differences in educational attainment between urban and rural residents,
between the sexes, between Jakarta migrants and Indonesians in general, and
among the five migrant sample groups.
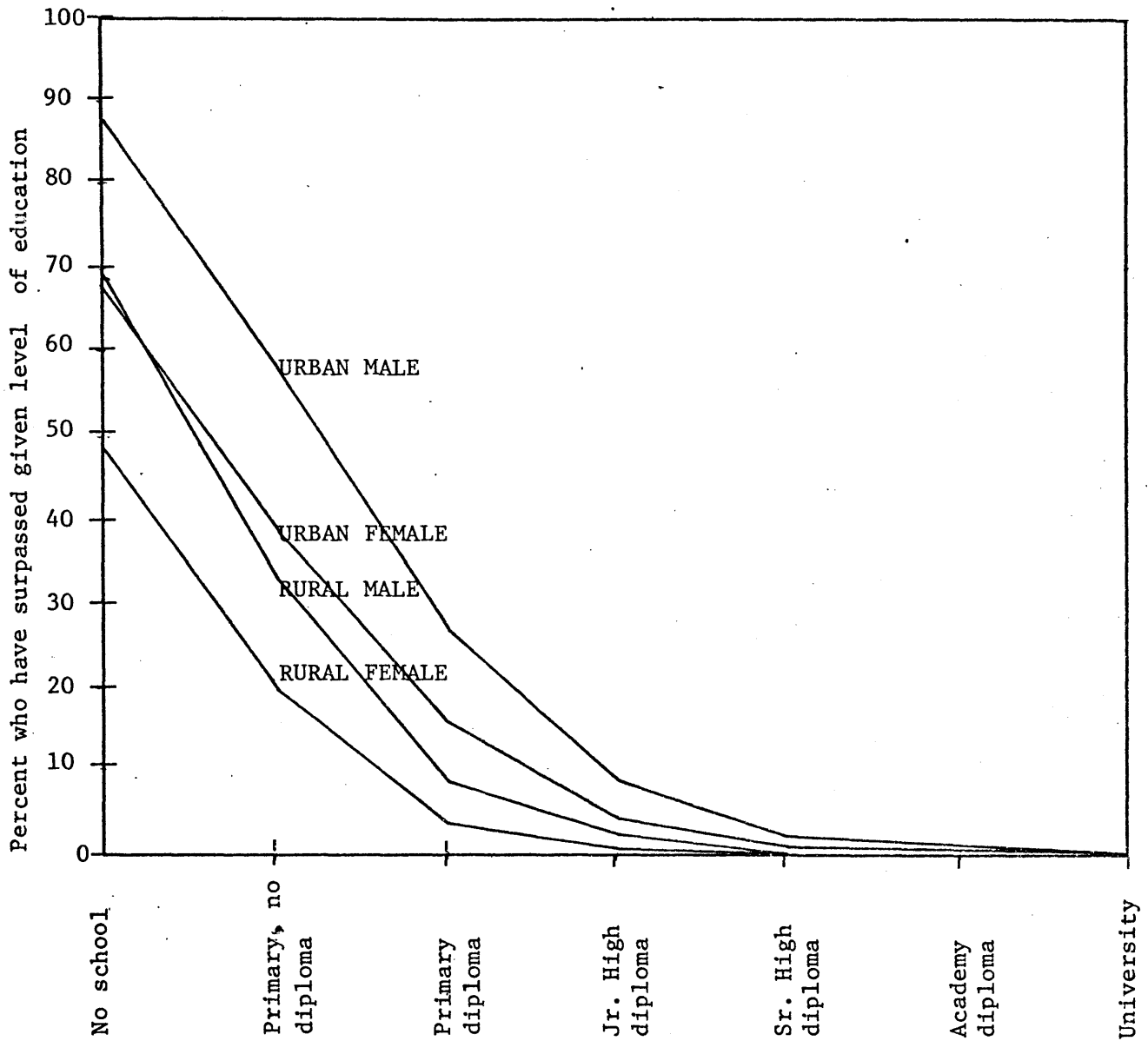
FIGURE 4.1 : HIGHEST EDUCATION OF INDONESIAN POPULATION, BY RURAL AND
URBAN PLACES AND SEX, 1971.

Source: Sensus Penduduk 1971, as quoted in Sethuraman, Table 4.5.
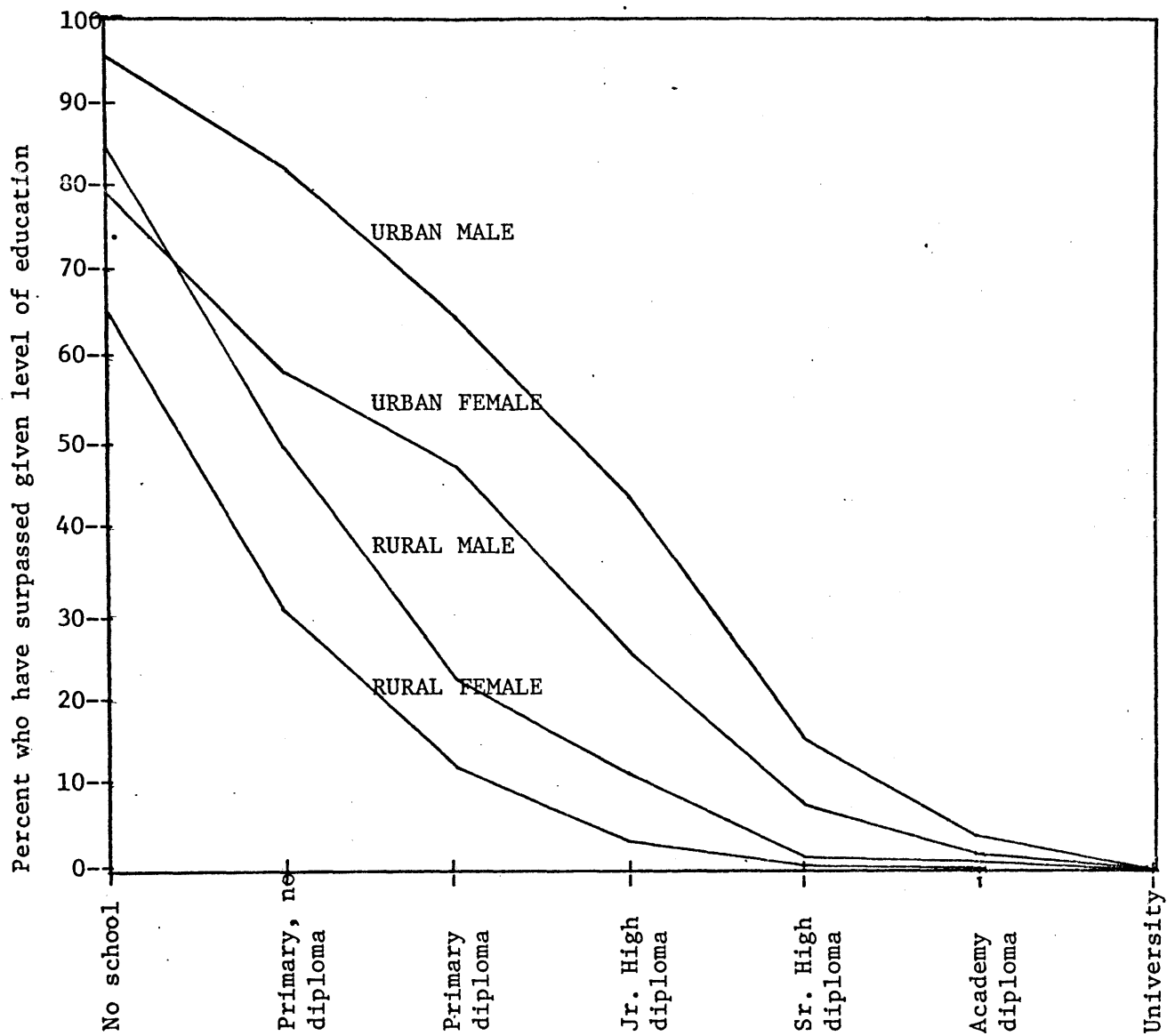
FIGURE 4.2 :   HIGHEST EDUCATION OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS,
                 BY RURAL VERSUS URBAN ORIGIN, AND SEX
                 (all samples combined)

Source : Lund tabulations
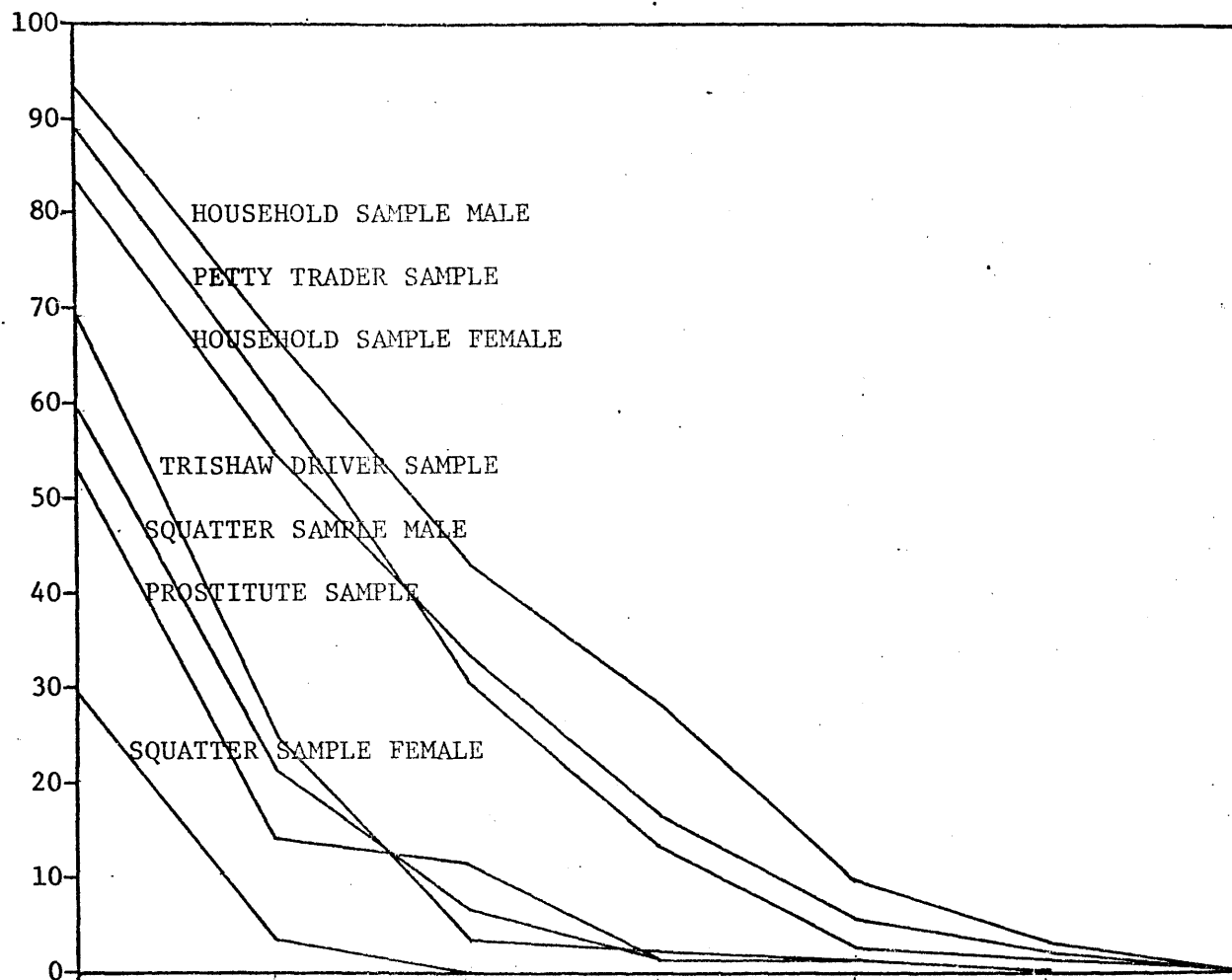
FIGURE 4.3

.PROPORTION OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS WHO HAVE SURPASSED GIVEN LEVELS OF EDUCATION, BY SAMPLE AND SEX

Source : Lund tabulations

First of all, Indonesian residents in urban areas have considerably more education than Indonesians as a whole, 85 percent of whom live in rural areas (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Education levels have risen considerably in the whole country over the past ten years, but have progressed slightly faster in urban areas, widening the rural-urban gap. It is interesting to note from Table B.8 that females in both urban and rural areas in 1971 match the corresponding 1961 figures for males. Apparently women's education is progressing, but lags as much as ten years behind the progress of males. The lag of female education is clearly shown throughout the population and in each of our five migrant samples.

Having five different migrant samples, we can take a closer look at educational differences between urban occupations and economic classes. Immediately we see that the Household and Petty Trader samples reveal a very high level of education among the large Jakarta population that fits in these groups. Trishaw Drivers and Prostitutes both have lower educations typical of rural Indonesian residents. Respondents in the Squatter sample, by far the poorest economically, were also strikingly low in educational background. Only 6 percent of all Squatter males had any schooling beyond a primary diploma, and 41 percent of them had no school experience whatsoever. Even more strikingly, 75 percent of female Squatters had no schooling whatsoever, and only 3 percent of them even reached a primary school diploma.

When we look at respondents' reasons for leaving school (Table 4.2, below), we see that economic necessity cut short the educations of the majority of people in the cluster samples, those whom we have considered to be in the traditional employment sector. Very few (15 to 25%) of the Squatter, Trishaw Driver, or Prostitute respondents had left school because they graduated, in contrast to a high proportion (approximately 40%) of Household and Petty Trader

respondents who had done so. Among women, leaving school to get married appeared relatively common (12%) as well.

TABLE 4.2: MIGRANT'S REASON FOR LEAVING SCHOOL (as % of sample type)

	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
			---Cluster samples---		
Economic reasons	39%	74%	54%	67%	61%
Still in school	9	--	2	--	--
Graduated	41	14	37	24	19
Failed	3	--	3	3	3
No vacancies	2	9	2	3	3
Marriage	4	--	1	--	12
Parents objection	1	--	--	--	1
Bored--sought other activity	2	2	2	3	1
TOTAL (%)*	101	99	101	100	100
N =	2866	117	314	179	204

*May not add to 100 due to rounding error

Source: Temple tabulations

Sex and Family Status

The 1971 census for Jakarta tells us that males and females are in almost equal proportions in the city's total migrant population (see Table 3.4). This fact may come as quite a surprise to those who have studied migration in other developing countries, notably Africa, where most migrants to urban areas are males, either single or having wives and families who remain in the migrant's

place of origin. For the purposes of providing urban services, it is important to know the numbers of people of both sexes who are coming to the city, and whether they are coming alone or in family groups.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 below show the marital status and spouse's location for respondents in the five sample groups. Looking at these tables, we can see some interesting differences between male and female migrants, and between the five migrant samples as well.

TABLE 4.3 : MIGRANT'S PRESENT MARITAL STATUS
(as % of sample totals)

	Household sample		Squatter sample		Cluster samples Trader sample		Trishaw Driver sample	Prostitute sample
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
SINGLE	50%	26%	48%	18%	55%	10%	35%	11%
MARRIED								
Spouse in Jakarta	34	59	26	59	23	59	14	2
Spouse at origin	12	2	8	2	14	7	35	3
WIDOWER/WIDOW	1	8	9	13	4	14	3	15
DIVORCED	2	5	9	9	4	7	7	69
TOTAL (%)*	99	100	100	101	100	97	94	100
N =	1780	1287	145	68	291	29	238	354

Source : Lund tabulations

TABLE 4.4 : WHEREABOUTS OF MIGRANT'S SPOUSE

(as % of married migrants)

| | Household sample | | Cluster Samples | | | | | | TOTAL | |
| | | | Squatter sample | | Petty Trader sample | | Trishaw Driver | Prostitute | | |
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	sample	sample	Male	Female
Spouse in Jakarta	74%	96%	76%	98%	62%	90%	29%	44%	68%	95%
Spouse at origin	26	4	24	2	38	10	71	56	32	5
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	811	786	50	41	106	19	118	18	1085	864

NOTE: To see the effect of distance on whether migrants came alone, see Table B.11.

Source: Lund tabulations

It is true in Jakarta, as has been found in migration studies elsewhere, that a large proportion of migrants are single. As we would expect, single males are far more common than single females. In three of the four samples containing male migrants, roughly one-half of male migrants are single, having never been married, compared to only 10 to 25 percent of all female migrants. Among female migrants, being divorced or widowed is a far more common cause of being single than it is among males (rather than never having been married). The incidence of divorce is particularly striking in the Prostitute Sample, where almost 70 percent of women responding reported that they were divorced. In Indonesia, particularly on Java, marriage often takes place at a young age, and divorce is relatively common. Furthermore, women seem to enjoy a greater degree of personal and economic freedom in Indonesia than they do in most traditional societies.* Of all the women in our samples, prostitutes seem to be the most independent. Could it be that for a woman who can no longer stay with her husband or family and who must support herself financially there are very few alternatives as available or as lucrative as those offered in the city, particularly prostitution? We shall look further into women's occupations and wages below.

As we would expect, married women almost never come to the city independent from their husbands. Among married male migrants, however, it is relatively common to have come to the city while having their wives at the place of origin. The occupational group which shows the strongest tendency towards the wives-at-origin pattern is the Trishaw Driver Sample, where 71 percent are in Jakarta independent of wife and family. Not surprisingly,

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*For a more detailed analysis of men's and women's roles in traditional Javanese society, see Robert Jay, Javanese Villagers. A study of the status of women migrants from four cities in the Survey of Migrants is currently being undertaken at Boston University by Dr. Bisrat Aklilu, as part of Professor Harris' Indonesian Migration project.

these men are also the ones who come from the closest province, West Java, and who visit and send money home most frequently (see Tables 4.5 and B.12 to B.15). They also are more rooted in the rural sector than any other sample group, with higher land ownership and seasonal migration (see Tables B.13 and B.30).

Not withstanding some evidence of a wives-at-origin pattern among male migrants, it remains true that most migrants who are married are living together with their spouse in Jakarta. The implications of this fact for the city planners is clear -- a large proportion of migrants are living in the city as families, requiring urban services suitable for families -- housing that provides some personal privacy, provisions for the health of children and parents, and educational services -- none of which are such pressing needs for independent adult migrants. Similarly, once settled in the city, families may be much more likely to stay permanently and to lose contact with their rural origins.

When we look at whom the migrant travelled with to Jakarta, and who paid his/her travel expenses (Tables B.17 and B.18), we may gain some further insight into financial dependence and independence. An outstandingly high proportion of respondents in the Trishaw Driver and Prostitute samples paid their own travel costs to Jakarta, and had come alone or with a non-related friend. Having to be financially self-sufficient may have caused some of the restricted geographical mobility of these two groups. Later on, we shall see other indications of how few supportive ties these two groups possess. In the Household, Squatter and Petty Trader samples, paying one's own way and travelling alone were also quite common, but in these groups, family connections had a high level of importance. This was especially true of women, who typically came supported by and travelling with their husbands. Apparently

a typical pattern for married male migrants is to leave their families at their place of origin until they have enough money and security in the city to bring their family with them.*

Although some have told us to expect a high degree of extended-family relationships and living groups in Jakarta (see Kamm), the evidence from the Survey of Migrants and from other social accounts of Indonesia seem to indicate that the nuclear family (husband, wife, plus children) is the most predominant pattern among Jakarta migrants. Married migrants most commonly live with their spouses and children, but very few respondents reported having their mother or father with them in the urban area (see Table B.19). If anything, families in the city are "extended" horizontally rather than vertically, with some migrants depending on a sibling, uncle, or further relative for assistance with housing and/or employment (see Tables B.21 and B.32) once they arrive in the city.

Economic and Non-Economic Factors of Motivation

In our whole approach thus far, we have made it clear that we are mainly concerned with migration as an economic phenomenon of individual responses to economic incentives, and that we hope to provide information which will aid Indonesian population planners to understand the structure of economic opportunities in Jakarta and its sending regions, and to make policies altering this structure of incentives if they wish to re-direct migration. We have already looked at some of the major personal characteristics of migrants -- age, education, sex and family status.

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*Not proven by any data, but comes out of Robert Critchfield's story of a Jakarta trishaw driver, as well as from conversations with an Indonesian friend of the author.

For the purposes of an analysis of migration from the economic point of view, however, we must proceed further than this to see to what extent migrants come to Jakarta for economic and non-economic reasons. From this discussion of migrants' reasons for and means of coming to Jakarta, we shall also see to what extent migrants come as the result of their own independent decision, and to what extent some migrants' decision to move hinges on the prior migration of another person, and to draw some basic conclusions about the unit of decision-making that migration models and policies are aimed at.

The Indonesian Survey of Migrants approached the subject of migrants' motivations for moving from three slightly different angles. At three separate points in the interview the migrant was asked, "Why did you come to Jakarta?", "Why did you leave your place of origin?", and "Why did you choose Jakarta rather than the capital city of your own province?". In all three cases, the reasons were overwhelmingly economic- or employment-related for males and independent females (e.g. Prostitutes). For women in the samples where marriage was common, on the other hand, accompanying their husband to the city predominated as the reason for moving (see Tables B.21 to B.23). Non-economic and non-spouse reasons for migration were diverse, but very much secondary in proportional terms. The attraction of urban life and amenities, which appeared as a fairly strong motivation in most samples, may also be related to economic motivations in some cases, such as saying "life is easier in Jakarta", or referring to the bustle of the city, which in turn indicates that it is easier to sell goods and services (vendors, prostitutes) there. Continuing education was the motivation for a sizeable number of male migrants in the Household and the Petty Trader samples. Personal problems appeared as an important motivating factor among Prostitutes -- again, we remember the very high rate of divorce among this group.

Distance ("Jakarta's closer") and familiarity with the destination were both

factors in migrants' choice of Jakarta over their capital city. They appeared

less important than either economic reasons or personal relationships

(accompanying husband, relative, friend) for migrants in the Household, Petty

Trader and female Squatter samples, but were somewhat more important in the

case of the male Squatter, Trishaw Driver, and Prostitute samples -- the

most independent and the poorest of our five sample types.

Not only do migrants expect to be better off than they are at the place

of origin, the majority of them do indeed find the life in Jakarta the same

or better than their expectations, and plan to stay for good, or at least

as long as they can find employment (see Tables B.24 to B.26). The only

migrant group who reported that life was worse in Jakarta was the Squatter

sample. It does not take much imagination to see why, since most people of

this group are living in the most extreme poverty and privation of anyone

in the city. If they could earn the same in both places, where would

migrants prefer to live? Respondents in the five samples were almost evenly

split (see Table B.24), but most preferred Jakarta overall.

Economic Decision-Makers

What may we conclude, then, from the above discussion of male and

female, married and single, economic-minded and family-minded? First of all,

we have seen that economic motivations are indeed the most important single

motivation for moving, particularly for males and for non-dependent females,

and that the migrant's knowledge of whether employment is available is also

of importance in choosing among alternatives. We also may draw from these

findings some ideas about the implications of sex roles and family patterns

for the population planner who is trying to affect/deflect potential

migrants by means of economic and other incentives. What we need to know
is -- Who are the decision-makers, upon whom economic policies may have some
effect? How many other persons may we expect to come with each decision-
maker?

As we have seen above, a large proportion of migrants are indeed single,
whether due to never marrying or due to divorce or widow(er)hood. We see
that such people show all the signs of being independent decision-makers,
coming to the city for economic reasons, travelling alone, paying their own
way, and becoming independent of their place of origin. For married
migrants, however, there is more evidence of interdependent decision-making.
Males may decide to migrate to the city due to better economic opportunities
for them there, but they use these benefits to support a family, either by
sending money back to their wife and children or by bringing their family
to the city to join them. For married migrants, the decision-making unit is
not an individual, therefore, but a household. In some cases, the household
may be best served by having only the husband move to the city, particularly
where the family has some access to agricultural production but where agri-
cultural employment is only seasonal.* In other cases, the household does
best to move to the city as a family. For economic policy, we are only
concerned with identifying decision-makers. Here we need not mind that the

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*Trishaw drivers in Jakarta seem strikingly similar to the seasonal Mexican
migrants studie d by Wayne Cornelius with the assistance of Juan Diez-
Canedo, as reported in their paper "Mexican Migration to the United States--
The View from Rural Sending Communities." Both of these groups come from
agricultural backgrounds in which they continue to participate seasonally;
both leave their families back in the village, work and live with fellow
male migrants, and save as much money as possible to remit home.

decision-making unit may be either a single individual or a household unit.
But for urban planning policy, we are also concerned with numbers and needs
of people. As urban planners, when we model the behavior of the migrant in
response to economic policy, therefore, we shall do well to recall that "the
migrant" will oftentimes be in fact a family of two or more individuals,
with very different behavior and needs from the single migrant.

Places of Origin and Travel Costs

The highest proportion of migrants in every sample came from the
province of West Java, nearest to Jakarta (see Table 4.5 below). Of
second importance for every group was Central Java, the second nearest
province. In the national census of those who had ever moved to Jakarta,
this pattern appears even stronger. The fact that most Jakarta migrants
come from Java is not surprising, since Java holds the majority of Indo-
nesia's population, and is experiencing the country's most severe population
pressures in its rural areas. Furthermore, Java and Jakarta are separated
from all of the other parts of Indonesia by the sea, which makes travel more
difficult and expensive. What are more interesting to look at than simply
places of migrant origins, however, are the degree to which migrants come
from urban or rural backgrounds, and which migrants have come a compara-
tively longer distance than others, particularly with respect to their
educational and economic status.

The majority of Jakarta migrants in all five samples came from rural
areas, as is shown in Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.5: PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE BEFORE JAKARTA (as % of sample totals)

	Household sample	Squatter sample	Petty Trader sample	Trishaw Driver sample	Prostitute sample	1971 Census*
			------Cluster samples------			
West Java	36%	44%	35%	58%	72%	43%
Central Java	31	39	30	38	18	26
Jogjakarta	5	3	1	1	2	3
East Java	7	10	3	2	7	7
Aceh, North and West Sumatra	10	1	26	--	1	8
Riau, Jambi, South Sumatra, Lampung, Bengkulu	6	1	4	--	--	5
Islands, Kalimantan, Sulawesi	6	2	--	1	--	7
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
N=	3185	234	347	250	369	1,866,635

Source: Temple tabulations, *Sensus Penduduk, 1971, D.K.I. Jakarta Raya, Table 25.

TABLE 4.6: RURAL VERSUS URBAN QUALITY OF MIGRANT'S PLACE OR ORIGIN (as % of sample totals)

	Household sample	Squatter sample	Petty Trader sample	Trishaw Driver sample	Prostitute sample	Total Population of Indonesia, 1971
			------Cluster samples------			
Rural (village)	63%	80%	73%	88%	85%	87%
Urban (town or city)	37	20	27	12	15	13
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	3178	185	256	218	314	118.5 million

Source: Temple tabulations, *Sensus Penduduk, 1971 (advance tables), table 2.

It is interesting to note, however, that a large proportion -- 37 percent -- of the Household sample came from urban areas. So did a somewhat lower, but still fairly large proportion (27%) of the Petty Trader sample. We know that these two groups are also correspondingly better educated and higher-status than those in our other three samples. Respondents in the Trishaw Driver and Prostitute samples came from urban areas only in proportions comparable to the Indonesain population as a whole -- the vast majority of their number were from rural backgrounds.

Very few migrants in any sample had moved around before coming to Jakarta. Comparing migrants' province of birth with their province of origin, we see very few differences. Indeed, Table B.7 shows that on the average, 94% of all migrants combined reported having last lived in the same province as they were born in. Of course, provinces are large, so this does not exclude the possibility of having moved within the province. Looking more closely at Table 4.7, which shows how many people reported a second-to-last residence (province and subprovince*) different from their last residence, we see that the evidence still shows very little migration in stages. The only exceptions are msot commonly found in the Household and Petty Trader samples, and may well be attributed to previous moves to an urban area seeking higher educational facilities or a skilled job. If migration in stages does occur, it seems to be limited to the more economically mobile. In general, the vast majority of all migrants come directly to Jakarta.

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*kabupaten or kotamadya

TABLE 4.7: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS REPORTING ONE TO FOUR DIFFERENT PREVIOUS
PLACES OF RESIDENCE

Percent of sample who reported:*	Household sample	Squatter sample	Cluster Samples Petty Trader sample	Trishaw Driver sample	Prostitute sample
Last residence	99%	100%	99%	100%	100%
2nd-to-last residence	17	8	14	9	7
3rd-to-last residence	5	1	4	1	1
4th-to-last residence	2	0	1	0	0
N =	3185	234	347	250	369

*Columns are not meant to sum to 100%.

Source: Temple tabulations.

Respondents in the Household and Petty Trader samples came from a
wider variety of origins than the average, including a large proportion from
other islands. The high proportion of Petty Traders from Northwestern
Sumatra (26%) may be explained by the fact that these migrants belong to the
Minangkebau (see Table B.28), an ethnic group from northern Sumatra, who are
famous in Indonesia as successful entrepreneurial traders (partly due to the
enterprising ethic inherent in their Muslim faith). The effect of distance
upon travel cost can be clearly seen in the case of the Household and Petty
Trader samples of migrants from North Sumatra, whose travel expenditures
(Table 4.8) were between Rp 3000 and Rp 7000.

Travel expenditures for migrants in the three remaining groups -- the
Squatter, Trishaw Driver, and Prostitute samples -- were substantially lower
by all measures than those of migrants in the Household and Petty Trader
samples. Expenditures between Rp 100 and Rp 750 were most common for these
three lower status samples, whereas expenditures above Rp 750 were not at
all uncommon in the upper two samples. Looking at the amount of wealth in

TABLE 4.8 : TRANSPORTATION EXPENDITURES: 1st TRIP TO JAKARTA
                    (as % of sample totals)

	Household sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter sample	Petty Trader sample	Trishaw Driver sample	Prostitute sample
Rp 0	2%	21%	--	2%	1%
Rp 10 - 90	3	11	7	6	3
Rp 100 - 290	16	26	19	40	30
Rp 300 - 490	14	12	13	24	26
Rp 500 - 990	25	20	16	22	28
Rp 1000 - 2990	22	7	12	6	12
Rp 3000 - 6990	12	2	28	1	1
Rp 7000+	6	--	4	--	--
N =	3084	213	349	249	365
(approx.) Median	Rp 700	Rp 240	Rp 700	Rp 300	Rp 370
(approx.) 75% level	Rp 2000	Rp 550	Rp 5000	Rp 550	Rp 700
(approx.) 90% level	Rp 5000	Rp 800	Rp 5000	Rp 1000	Rp 1000

Source: Temple   tabulations

cash that migrants brought with them (Table B.29), we observe that migrants

in the Petty Trader sample brought substantially more money with them than

any other group, with a median amount of Rp 1750. Respondents in the House-

hold and Prostitute samples fell into the middle in this regard, with a

median of Rp 900-1000, whereas Trishaw Driver respondents tended to bring

under Rp 400, only enough for a week's low-level urban subsistence or less.

The figures for Squatters begin to illustrate their very low income status.

A surprisingly high number of migrant squatters surveyed had spent nothing

at all coming to Jakarta, presumably by illegally hopping a freight train or truck. Similarly, respondents in this group had brought very little with which to establish themselves upon arrival. The majority had brought less than Rp 200, only about enough for one person to buy two bowls of rice a day for four days, given no other expenditures.

One thing that is somewhat surprising about migrants' travel expenses is that the amounts do not seem extremely high when compared with the average urban wages for the five migrant samples. Although the absolute amounts varied, most migrants paid approximately one to three days' urban wages for travel costs, and brought along two to six days' urban wages in extra money. Can such seemingly small amounts actually be serving as barriers to migration, or be playing a major role in the potential migrant's decision of where to move to? After observing the economic class differences between Jakarta migrants from close and distant origins, we are still inclined to say -- yes, they may be. Low-income wages in Indonesia, as in many developing countries, are extremely low, particularly in rural areas, and people may often be living simply on a subsistence basis, not able to save even two weeks' worth of income without great sacrifice to themselves and their families. Likewise, if the purpose of going to the city is to work to save money in order to bring or send back home or to make small improvements in the migrant's living place or daily diet, he/she may not be capable or willing to spend very much money to travel back and forth from the place of origin.

From the above discussion of origins and travel costs, we can conclude that those migrants who moved longer distances to come to Jakarta, primarily found in the Petty Trader and Household samples, also tended to be wealthier, better educated and of more urban backgrounds than those who

had come more commonly from nearby areas. The tendency of these middle-
and upper-status migrants to come long distances to reach Jakarta may be
because Jakarta offers some unique opportunities for more highly qualified
and ambitious migrants which they could not find anywhere else but Jakarta,
such as university, government, or business positions, or commercial enter-
prise. It is also true that such people can also better afford to pay the
costs of moving to begin with, and that their returns to choosing Jakarta
over other places are great enough to justify moving even a long distance.
Lower-skilled, lower-income migrants, on the other hand, have less of an
incentive to move a long distance just to come to Jakarta. Travel costs
increase with distance, particularly across the ocean for those from other
islands, so if tradiitonal sector or low-skilled modern sector activities
similar to those in Jakarta are available in a closer city, it is most
advantageous for them to stay closer. Our data for this study is restricted
to Jakarta migrants, so it does not tell us where low-skilled workers from
other parts of Indonesia may have gone in preference to Jakarta, but the
lower number of migrants from East Java and the further parts of Central
Java leads us to suspect that a large number of low-skilled migrants do
indeed choose closer cities over Jakarta. Distance and travel costs may
serve as barriers in several ways. Because they represent a lump sum which
must be financed out of savings or by the help of other people, travel costs
may be a barrier to those who must pay their own way, as most male migrants
and those in the Prostitute sample did. Remaining close to the place of
origin for family reasons may also be very important, particularly for men
whose wives and children are at the place of origin, and for those who
travel back and forth to their place of origin frequently, as do a high
proportion of each sample. Economic returns to migration and the migrant's

knowledge about employment opportunities are indeed the major decision factor. Nevertheless, migrant responses also tell us that the choice of Jakarta over other cities is a complex one in which personal relationships and connections also play a significant role, usually greater than distance alone.

EXISTING OCCUPATIONS AND OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION

What are the various occupations that people are engaged in in Indonesia? The variety is overwhelming, particularly in the realm of the traditional sector and of part-time, marginal occupations. Much of the flavor of variety is lost when one puts workers into groups for ease of analysis, as we have with the Survey of Migrants. To help the reader's imagination, Table 4.9 shows the particular jobs that are included in the fifteen occupational categories that have been used in our research.

Not all of these occupations exist everywhere in Indonesia. In rural areas, agriculture employs as much as 80% of the population, with some additional jobs in regional and municipal government, small-scale manufacture, small-scale commerce/trade and the like. The very poor rural landless may also earn subsistence by gathering firewood and brush, collecting and boiling palm sugar, or transporting goods by shoulder pole to neighboring markets. In Jakarta, there are a wide variety of non-agricultural jobs for workers of different skills. Trades and services make up the largest part of the city's total employment. Construction, transportation, and manufacturing are also important sources of employment. For skilled workers, Jakarta holds the largest number of professional, administrative, and clerical jobs of any city in the country.

TABLE 4.9 : SKETCH OF OCCUPATIONS IN INDONESIA

1. Student

2. Housewife

3. Agriculture

   Landowners
   Sharecroppers
   Seasonal laborer
   Plantation worker
   Fisherman
   Shepherd

4. Traditional transport

   Trishaw (betjak) driver
   Cart/Carriage driver (drawn
     by horse or bullock)

5. Motor Transport

   Drivers of taxis, buses,
     trucks, locomotives, ships,
     airplanes
   Bemo, helicak drivers

6. Domestic servant

   House-helper
   Children-helper (governess)

7. Peddling services/trade

   Junk sellers
   Non-food sellers
     water,
     fuel,
     household items,
     cloth, etc.
   Food sellers
     cooked
     uncooked
   Barbers
   Laundrymen, carwashers
   Bootblacks
   Photographers
   Knife sharpeners

8. Settled Services/trade

   Salesperson
   Waiter/Waitress
   Junk seller
   Non-food seller
     water,
     fuel,
     household items,
     books,
     cloth, etc.
   Food seller
     Cooked
     Uncooked
     Restaurant
   Barbers/Beauticians
   Repairmen
   Dressmaker/shoemaker
   Maintenance worker in workshop
   Traditional medecines
   Go-betweens for selling goods
   Handicraft worker
   Photographer
   Butcher

9. Daily Worker
   Construction, road projects
   Stevedore at harbor or railway
   Business companies

10. Production/Manual

    Janitor, office guards, etc. in
      private or government offices
    Production workers
    Postal and Telecommunications
      clerks
    Transportation company worker
    Graveyard doorkeeper

11. Lower clerical (private and
        government)

    Trainees
    Administrative worker (managers
      not included)
    Cashier, Bookkeeper, etc.
    Clerks in Banks, insurances,
      business
    Plumbers

TABLE 4.8, cont'd

12. Manager/Administrator

   Extension worker in agriculture,
    family planning, etc.
   Physician
   Pharmacist
   Teacher - religious and public schools
   Translator
   Managerial staff of private or
    government office
   Researcher
   Contractor
   Foreman/Supervisor
   Editor/Reporter
   Consultant
   Teacher of private courses
     (language, cooking, etc.)
   Salesman/Detailman
   Irrigation/Waterpump supervisor
   Designer/Architect
   Lawyer/Judge

13. Prostitute

   Call girl
   Brothel
   Streetwalker

14. Scavenger

   Paper collectors
   Cigarette butt collectors
   Collector of metal, glass, etc.
   Beggar

17. Other

   Actor
   Military
   Retired civil servant
   Athlete
   Betjak (trishaw) owners
   Cook
   Brothel keeper

19. Unemployed

Source: Survey of Migrants, codebook.

The informal sector, or traditional sector as we have called it, is an extremely vital part of total Jakarta employment. It has been estimated* that of approximately 1,179,000 total employed persons in 1971, only 333,500, or one-third ,   were in officially registered enterprises. Another 170,000 or so were estimated to be government employees, and perhaps up to 100,000 in hospitals, schools and the like. Even after making these allowances, there still remain over 500,000 employed persons -- almost one-half of the total -- who are presumably in the informal sector.

The present occupational mix of migrants in the five Jakarta samples and the occupations which they were in before migration are shown in Tables 4.10 and 4.11. As we would expect, the four cluster samples show very high job-specificity. The very low status of the squatter sample is clear from the fact that the vast majority of their number are engaged in scavenging for a living. The squatters we are looking at are not simply those living on city land, but are those who live in the most temporary of dwellings -- plastic or paper huts, storefronts, under bridges and the like. The Household sample, on the other hand, displays a wide variety of occupations, with very few of the very lowest or location-specified occupations such as trishaw driver, prostitute and scavenger. In the Household sample, we can see the importance of trades and services that was mentioned above, as well as the importance of the higher-status jobs that Jakarta has to offer -- student and bureaucrat.

The previous occupations shown in Table 4.10 are more of a mixed bag than the present occupations, since they include migrants from very diverse backgrounds. We can still see, however, that agriculture, trades, and

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*See Sethuraman, 1974a, pp. 2.7 - 2.9.

services are the most common backgrounds. Schooling figures highly only among the Household and Petty Trader samples -- the highest status groups. Among all groups, unemployment was higher before migration than in Jakarta, but was particularly high among squatters -- the lowest status group. Clearly not all migrants move because of the pull of yet more attractive urban opportunities, such as in the case of students; many are forced to move due to the push of unemployment in the place of origin.

TABLE 4. 10: MIGRANT'S PRESENT OCCUPATION , BY SAMPLE AND SEX
(as % of sample totals)

| Occupation | Household Sample Male | Female | Cluster Samples | | | |
			Squatter Sample Male	Female	Petty Trader Sample (M&F)	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
Student	10%	7%	--	--	--	--	--
Housewife	1	51	--	28	1	--	--
Trishaw driver	3	--	2.	--	1	98	--
Motor transport	2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Domestic servant	2	14	--	3	2	--	--
Peddling trader	17	2	6	--	16	--	--
Settled trader	19	7	9	6	78	1	--
Daily worker	11	1	3	--	1	--	--
Production/manual	11	3	1	--	1	--	--
Lower clerical	10	2	--	--	--	--	--
Manager/ Administrator	4	3	--	--	--	--	--
Prostitute	--	1	--	--	--	--	99
Scavenger	--	--	75	53	1	1	--
Unemployed	7	6	2	10	--	--	--
TOTAL (%)*	101	97	98	100	101	100	99
N =	1764	1287	145	68	322	238	354

*May not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE 4.11   MIGRANT'S PREVIOUS OCCUPATION, BY SAMPLE AND SEX
(as % of sample totals)

			Cluster	**Samples**				
				Petty Trader Sample		Trishaw Driver	Prosti-tute	No. of
	Household Sample		Squatter Sample					
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Sample	Sample	Cases
Student	27	21	3	2	21	10	3	0	830
Housewife	1	25	0	19	1	45	0	20	431
Agriculture	24	9	30	22	26	14	59	38	960
Traditional Transport	0	0	3	0	0	0	4	0	21
Motor Transport	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	13
Domestic Servant	3	10	2	13	2	7	2	9	227
Peddling Service-Trade	2	2	4	3	5	0	4	2	95
Settled Service-Trade	9	6	10	4	17	3	5	5	334
Daily Worker	3	0	5	0	1	3	3	1	69
Production-Manual	4	2	3	0	2	3	1	0	113
Lower Clerical	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	78
Manager-Administrator	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	97
Prostitute	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	16
Scavenger	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	5
Other	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	48
Unemployed	19	21	36	37	23	14	17	22	865
TOTAL(%)*	102	101	101	100	100	99	98	101	
N =	1782	1294	145	68	293	29	232	355	4203

*Columns may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Lund tabulations.

When viewed by sex and educational backgrounds of workers, the occupations of Jakarta migrants seem to form a rough class structure, both in the place of origin and in the city. Figures 4.4 to 4.7 show the educational attainment of males and females in Jakarta (Figures 4.4 and 4.5) and in their places of origin (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). Looking at urban males (Figure 4.4), we can see the most clearly that there seem to be three distinct skill classes emerging from the picture:

1. Skilled -- Student, Clerical, and Manager-Administrator.

2. Semi-Skilled -- Motor Transport, Production-Manual, Domestic Servant, and Settled Services-Trade.

3. Unskilled -- Daily Worker, Peddling Services-Trade, Traditional Transport, Agriculture, and Scavenger.

The above class structure is visible both in Jakarta and in the migrants' origins. For women, the whole education scale is lower, but the skill relationship remains much the same, with an even wider gap between the Skilled class and the other two.

It is interesting to look at the skill mix of migrants who said they were unemployed, shown in the figures by a broken line. For both males and females, the education level of the unemployed falls between the Semi-skilled and Skilled classes of occupations, not in the lowest group. What we may be seeing here is the phenomenon of middle-class unemployment, where workers do not take any job while they are searching for a suitable occupation. Low-status workers can rarely afford to be totally unemployed. Often they do not have any cushion of savings, and will go hungry on days they do not work. For them unemployment may not be the issue -- rather it is extremely low incomes and underemployment (long hours, low pay) that the lowest status group is facing.
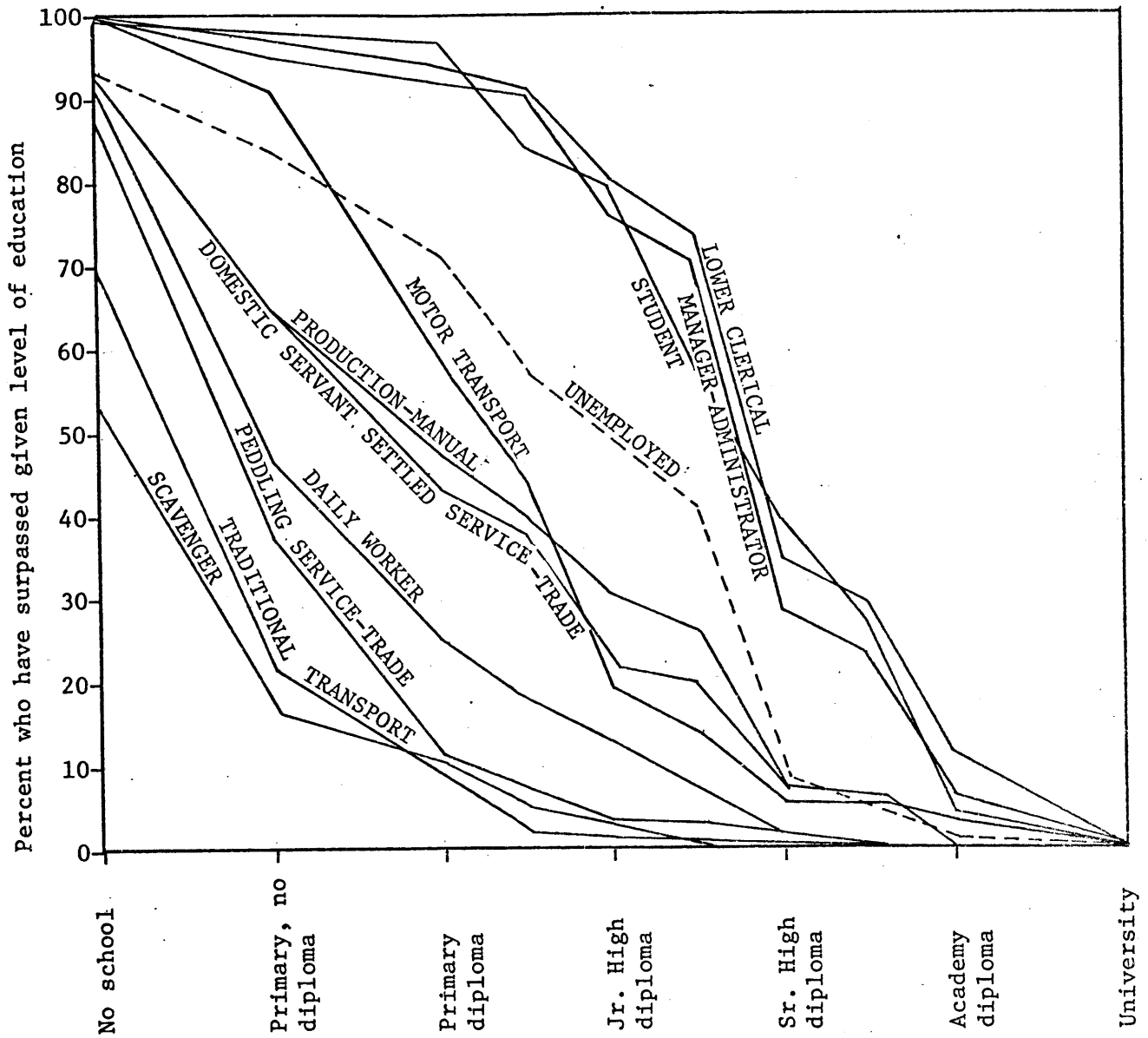
FIGURE 4.4

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS' PRESENT OCCUPATIONS -- MALE
(% who surpassed given levels -- all samples combined)

Source : Lund tabulations
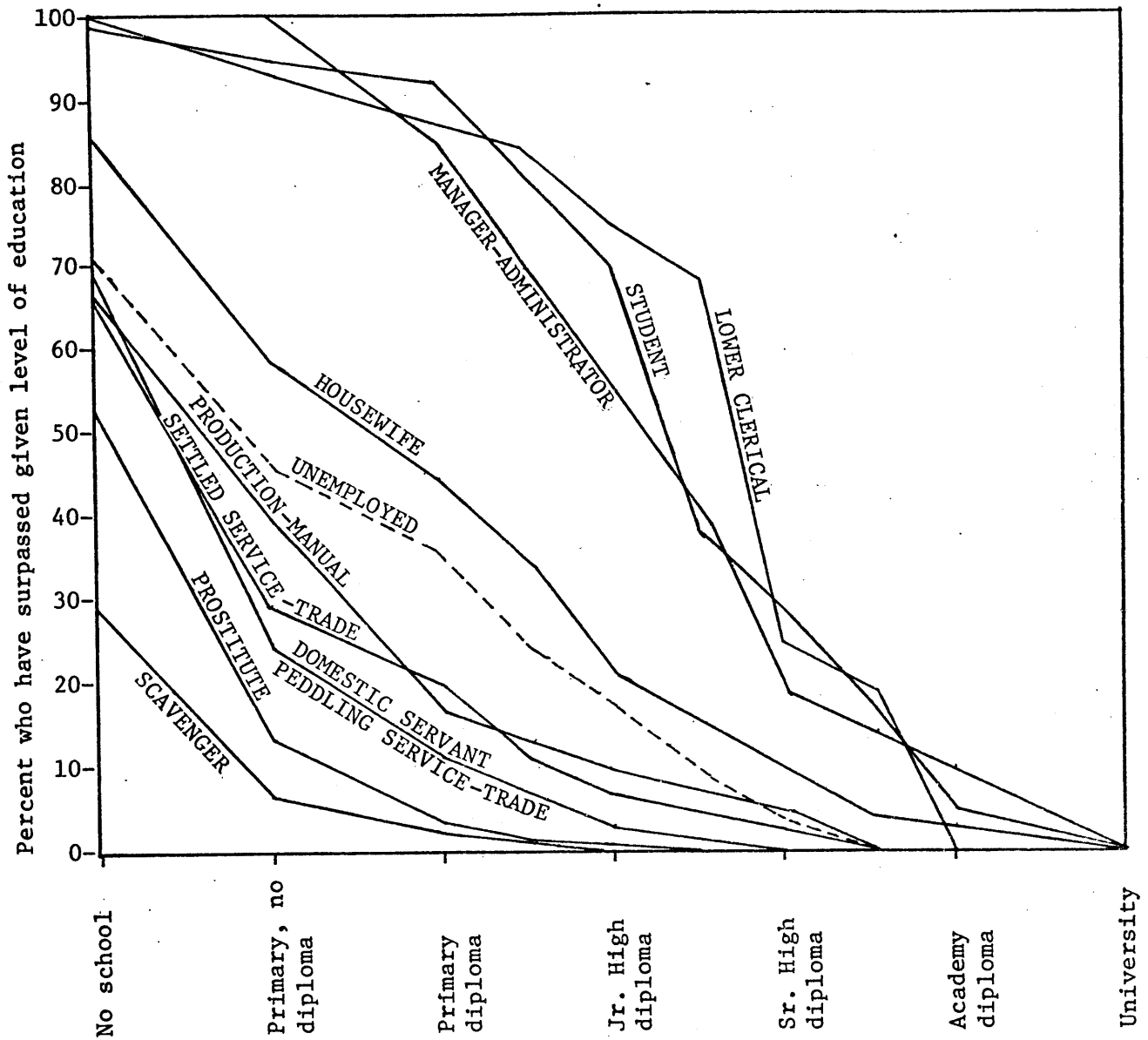
FIGURE 4.5

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS' PRESENT OCCUPATIONS -- FEMALE
(% who have surpassed given levels of educations -- all samples combined)

Source: Lund tabulations
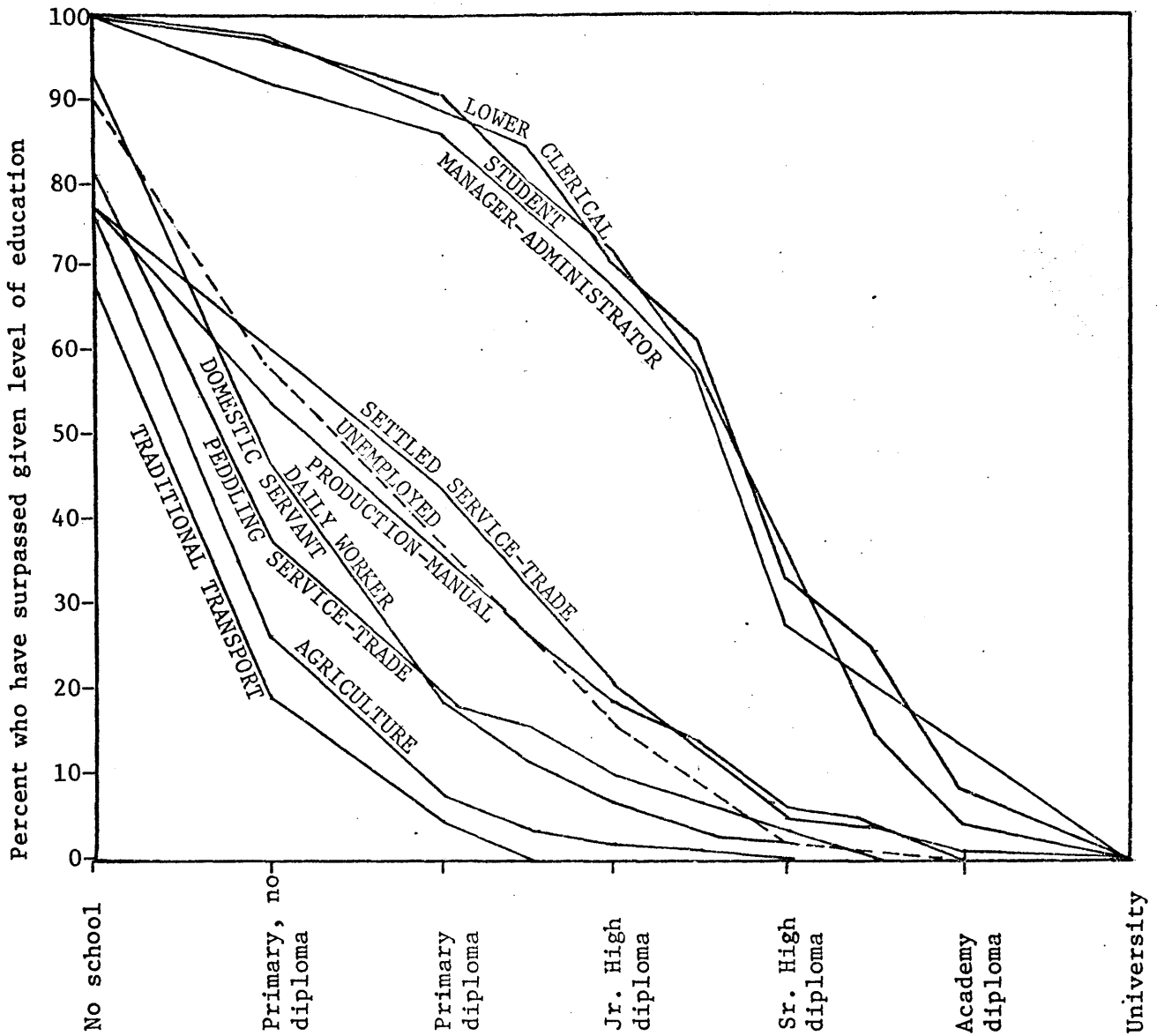
FIGURE 4.6

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS' PREVIOUS OCCUPATION -- MALE

(% who surpassed given levels --all samples combined)

Source : Lund tabulations
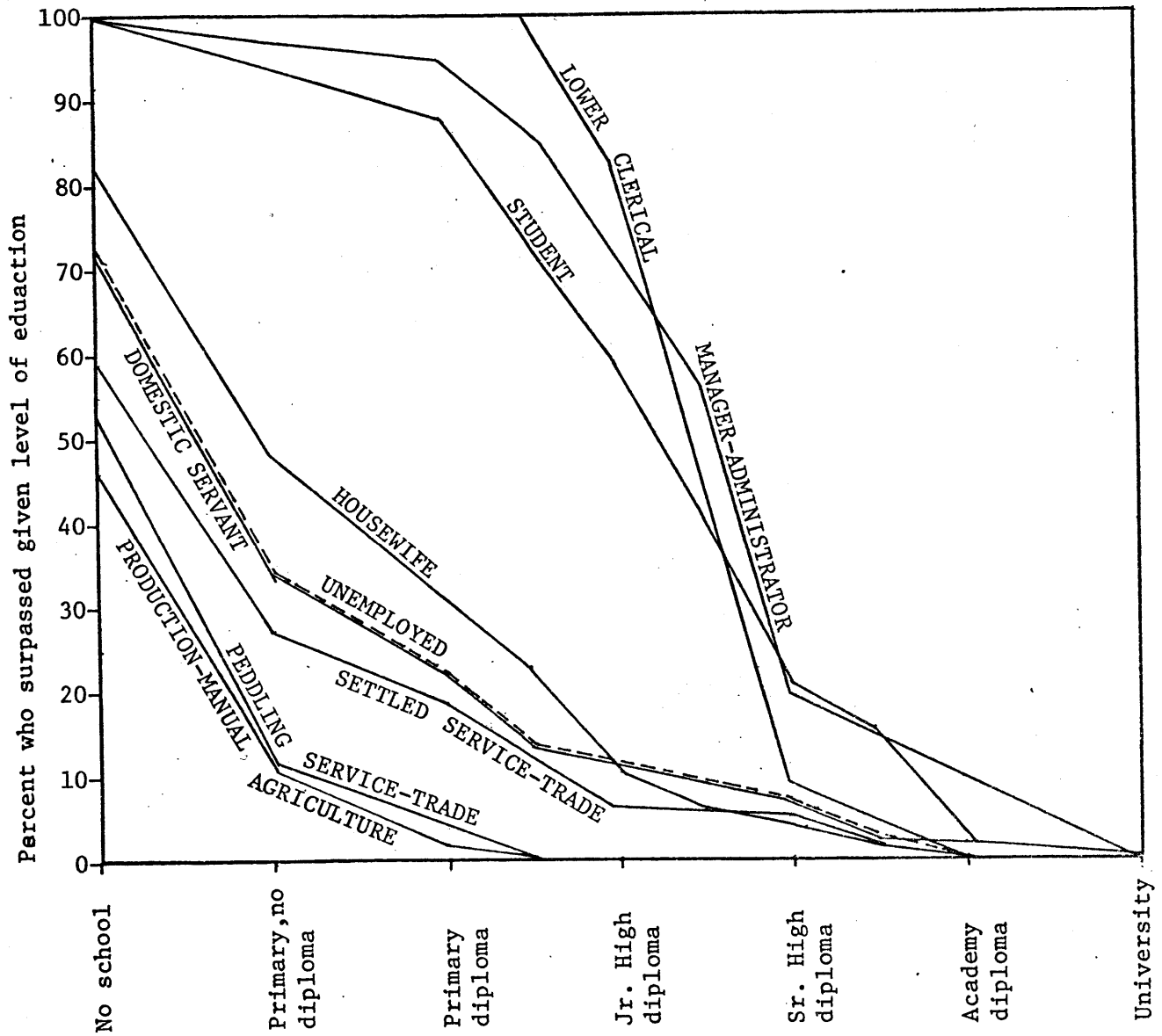
FIGURE   4.7

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS' PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS -- FEMALE
(% who surpassed given levels -- all samples combined)

Source : Lund tabulations

From the point of view of individual workers, and of our hypothetical framework, the important question we need to answer about skill classes is to what degree education (skills) are determinants of entry into occupations. In both Jakarta and the place of origin, the influence of education upon occupation appears to be very high. Tables 4.12 and 4.13 show what occupations migrants are now in in Jakarta, and what occupations they were in before migration, for five different educational strata, by sex. The pattern of occupational status is especially clear among males. In the city, males who have less than a junior high school diploma are most commonly found in the jobs of peddling services-trade, settled services-trade, daily labor, production-manual, and traditional transport. In rural areas, the great majority of unskilled workers are in agriculture. Table 4.13 is somewhat deceptive in this light because it includes all migrants in all samples combined, and mixes those of urban background with those of rural background. We would get a much clearer picture if we could look at education levels and jobs in the place of origin broken down by rural/urban origin as well as by sex.

For migrants above the unskilled level, the proportion who work in Lower Clerical, Manager-Administrator, and Student becomes greater as skill level increases. In the place of origin, agriculture disappears as an occupation for the more highly skilled groups -- the vast majority of skilled migrants were students before they came to Jakarta. Among females, the above patterns are also evident, but relatively few women are in similar occupations to males. Among females, housewife is consistently the most common occupation. To fit housewives into our hypothetical economic framework, we would have to look more closely at their whole household unit, as we have suggested previously.

The proportion of workers of various skills who are unemployed varies
a great deal between Jakarta and the place of origin. In Jakarta, the
greatest unemployment reported was among males who had finished junior or
senior high school. But in Jakarta in general, unemployment did not appear
as major as did employment for most groups. In the place of origin, on the
other hand, unemployment was very common, particularly among those who were
unskilled. The effect of unemployment as a push factor among the rural
unskilled is clear here.

TABLE 4.12 : PRESENT OCCUPATIONS OF HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE, BY HIGHEST DIPLOMA AND SEX (as % of totals)

Occupation	MALE					FEMALE				
	None/no diploma	Primary diploma	Jr High diploma	Sr High diploma	Academy or more	None/no diploma	Primary diploma	Jr High diploma	Sr High diploma	Academy or more
Student	0%	6%	20%	13%	30%	1%	6%	15%	13%	25%
Housewife	1	1	1	0	1	45	57	50	50	43
Traditional Transport	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Motor Transport	1	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Domestic Servant	2	3	2	2	1	23	12	4	3	2
Peddling Service-trade	27	22	3	2	1	3	2	2	0	0
Settled Service-trade	16	25	20	14	8	11	5	3	3	0
Daily Worker	15	13	9	4	1	1	0	0	1	0
Production-Manual	10	11	10	13	5	4	4	1	2	0
Lower Clerical	1	3	12	23	34	0	1	2	11	9
Manager-Administrator	1	1	6	11	12	0	3	5	9	13
Prostitute	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Other	4	2	4	3	2	1	2	1	3	3
Unemployed	3	7	8	14	3	7	7	7	4	5
TOTAL (%)*	99	99	99	100	99	98	100	101	99	100
Number of Cases	692	430	264	329	149	593	276	221	143	64

*may not add to 100 due to rounding. Source: Lund tabulations.

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TABLE 4.13 : PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE, BY HIGHEST DIPLOMA AND SEX (as % of totals)

Occupation	MALE					FEMALE				
	None/no diploma	Primary diploma	Jr High diploma	Sr High diploma	Academy or more	None/no diploma	Primary diploma	Jr High diploma	Sr High diploma	Academy or more
Student	1%	16%	37%	63%	56%	2%	17%	40%	48%	64%
Housewife	0	1	1	0	0	22	32	31	14	9
Traditional Transport	50	26	5	2	3	25	9	0	0	0
Domestic Servant	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peddling Service-trade	4	3	14	1	0	2	1	0	0	0
Settled Service-trade	9	12	1	6	6	7	5	3	4	0
Daily Worker	4	3	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Production-Manual	4	4	3	2	3	2	0	1	0	0
Lower Clerical	0	1	5	6	11	0	0	1	5	3
Manager-Administrator	0	1	3	4	9	0	2	5	10	13
Prostitute	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	3
Other	0	2	6	2	2	0	0	1	0	0
Unemployed	21	27	22	11	8	25	23	12	15	3
TOTAL (%) *	97	101	102	94	98	98	101	100	103	100
Number of Cases	997	591	328	368	154	970	332	226	144	64

* may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Lund tabulations

What are the other determinants of employment besides education and sex? The answer to this question is very different depending upon whether one is talking about the place of origin or about the migrants' arrival in Jakarta. The employment patterns of migrants before they came reflects mainly the ongoing conditions of labor markets in various locations. Information about what jobs migrants entered in Jakarta and how they did so, on the other hand, gives us a clearer picture of job entry restrictions and search strategies.

The Survey of Migrants contains some information on rural employment, land ownership, and seasonality of employment. We have not yet had the opportunity to analyze these as closely as would be necessary to deduce conclusions about employment conditions in rural areas. We know from other sources, however, that in agriculture, access to land is perhaps the single most important determinant of employment chances and incomes. In Javanese farming villages today, two characteristics stand out very clearly. Land holdings are very small and fragmented. Furthermore, a growing majority of village families and individuals own no sawah at all, and so must depend upon working for a landowner or upon non-agricultural activities in order to find a living. These patterns are discussed below.

In 1957, an agricultural survey on Java showed that 80% of sawah owners owned less than 0.5 hectares (Pelzer, p. 134), an amount close to the lower limit for family subsistence (Penny, BIES, p. 83). Since then, the estimates have fallen. In a recent study of agricultural conditions in a Central Javanese village named Miri, David Penny and M. Singarimbun found that average family holdings were about 0.3 hectares, with a "shockingly high ... number of families who are either landless or who possess very small holdings: 37 percent ... owning no sawah at all and another 30 per-

cent owning one tenth of a hectare or less" (Strout, pp. 126, 129).

The largest and best plots in a village are those controlled by the village officials, who receive sawah as part of their salary (land so assigned is called tanah bengkok), as well as village land (tanah kas desa), the income from which goes into the village treasury. In a study of land ownership in the Central Javanese kabupaten of Klaten, it was found that village officials own an average of 1.39 hectares of sawah, while the average holding for all owners of sawah was 0.48 hectares. The same study and companion studies showed that an average of 67% of the people in each village own no sawah at all (Booth, p. 135; see also Utami, p. 47). In Klaten, "even if all sawah land were to be equally distributed, average sawah area per household would still be so small -- that there would not be enough to provide sufficient food for [the household's] own needs" (Booth, p. 137).

When a family is landless, or has less land than it needs to be able to subsist on, the family members must try to seek out sharecropping or wage-labor arrangements with landowners in order to gain access to the income they need. The power of the larger landowners increases as landless-ness and near-landlessness increase. A landowner may decide to lessen the share given to sharecroppers and harvesters on his land when he knows that he is in the strong position of control over the agricultural means of production. In many cases, the power of landowners extends even further than their own holdings, since numerous small farmers must turn to them for credit, relinquishing control over their land in return. When he knows that he is in the strong position of control over the agricultural means of production, a landowner may decide to lessen the share given to sharecroppers and harvesters on his land, and he cannot be contradicted unless village

workers are willing not to work, or to move out.

The data from the Survey of Migrants (Table B.30) indicates that most migrants do not own any land, or own very small amounts of land, fitting the picture portrayed above. Furthermore, of those who have access to land, most of the land is owned by their parents, and must support many people besides just the migrant and his family. There are three sample groups who do show some access to land. The Household and Petty Trader samples, as we have noted, are also better off in other respects, so a relatively high degree of landholding is not unexpected among them. Trishaw drivers are the one group who seem to have the greatest degree of personal ownership of land. We have already seen that ties to the rural origin cause this group to migrate only seasonally in many cases.

What are other determinants of employment when a migrant comes to Jakarta? Table B.31 shows that the vast majority of migrants did not have a job promised to them before they came. For those who did, however, employers were almost always consistent with their promises. Finding a job without connections was reportedly   difficult (see Table B.32). A large proportion of people relied upon the help of a friend from the same origin in finding a job. The help of a sibling, uncle or other close relative was also quite common. On the other hand, a large proportion of migrants in each sample, particularly in the cluster samples, had no outside help whatsoever in finding their first job in Jakarta.

Most migrants went to work in a week or less upon arrival to Jakarta (see Table B.33). This was especially true for migrants in the cluster samples. It would be interesting to look further at this to see how personal connections are related to the speed with which migrants were able to find a job.

Once employed in their first job in Jakarta, most migrants stay in

that job (see Tables B.34 and B.35). Table B.35 compares present occupation

to first occupation for males and females in all of our samples combined.

For both males and females, those who were daily workers at first were

those who most commonly changed to other traditional sector jobs. For

females, marriage is evidently a major factor -- quite a few who started

out in traditional sector activities became housewives. Scavengers,

trishaw drivers, peddlers, settled services-trade, students, lower clerical,

and manager-administrator were all occupations in which less than 15 percent

of workers had moved into other occupations. Mobility towards a higher

occupational status (e.g. from scavenger to settled service-trade) was

relatively uncommon, even among those who did change jobs, although occupa-

tional status alone does not mean that incomes were not improved with

transitions to another similar-status job.

Does the above evidence show conclusively that occupational mobility

is very low for Jakarta migrants? We need to look closer at this apparent

phenomenon before we can say what is going on: many Jakarta migrants are

only recently arrived, and have not had time to move out of their first

job. If this is so, it would bias the above patterns towards the occupa-

tional rigidity noted above. To get a truer picture of occupational

mobility, we would need to look at migrants according to how long they have

been in the city. We suspect that among those who have been here a long

time -- 4 or 5 years -- mobility between occupations would be much more

common than our all-inclusive figures shown above.

Does previous occupation predict what a migrant's urban occupation

will be? Table B.36 shows that urban jobs do to some extent draw upon

workers from particular backgrounds. For unskilled and semi-skilled urban

jobs, agriculture, services and trades seem to be the "feeder" occupations. Schooling becomes increasingly important as a previous activity as job status increases -- domestic service, motor transport, settled services and production-manual all drew 20% to 25% of their workers from school. The highest skill occupations -- student, clerical and managerial, drew almost exclusively from those who had either been in school, or had already been employed in clerical or managerial jobs. What is interesting to note in comparing previous and present occupation is that relatively few people remained in the same job before and after migration. If we separated those of rural backgrounds from those of urban backgrounds, and repeated this tabulation, it would be interesting to see to what extent urban-to-urban migrants show occupational mobility, particularly upwards mobility. We would not expect rural and urban occupations to match, since the whole set of occupations is different between the two. To detect rural-to-urban upward mobility, we need to look more closely at incomes.

What then may we conclude about the determinants of entry into the various Indonesian occupations? Our findings concerning entry into the various urban occupations lead us to conclude that education and sex are perhaps the two most important determinants of urban occupational status, and that personal connections may be a major additional determinant of the particular occupation a migrant enters within the structure of the several distinct occupational levels. In connection with the hypothetical model proposed in chapter 2, therefore, we would suggest that for the purposes of predicting urban occupational distributions of migrants, migrant types should be defined both by sex and by occupation, in addition to the independent/household distinction already mentioned. As a first approximation, we would use the proportional distributions shown in Table 4.12 as the

probabilities that migrants of various skills would end up in each of the existing occupations (uneducated males, for example, would be predicted to have a 27 percent chance of becoming a hawker/peddler, a 15 percent chance of becoming a daily laborer, and so on). In doing this, we assume that the observed distribution of current migrants reflects the chances of any new arrivals of similar backgrounds. The existence of personal connections as a means of entry into various jobs will only serve to strengthen the pattern of new migrants entering the occupations that already-resident migrants have already found. Of course, as time goes on, the labor market will grow and shift. We would expect the patterns of supply and demand to alter the patterns of occupational entry somewhat; nevertheless, until we can measure these dynamics, we feel that our "snapshot" is useful both for a general understanding of job status and for the purposes of our hypothetical model of migrant opportunities.

To model migrants' jobs before migration, we would need to first break migrants into two categories, according to whether they came from a rural or an urban context. For those from urban areas, the classification according to sex and education suggested above for Jakarta appears to be the most reasonable. For those in rural areas, however, other factors may be more important. We do not yet have any conclusive evidence of our own about employment in rural areas, but other studies of rural conditions in Indonesia indicate strongly that access to agricultural land is the most major determinant of agricultural employment opportunities and incomes. Thus, we would suggest that any further studies of migrants in their place of origin should consider not only sex and educational attainment but whether they came from rural or urban areas, and if from rural areas, whether or not they had access to land.

WAGES AND WAGE DIFFERENTIALS

There is no one reliable accounting of occupations and wages for the rural and urban areas of Indonesia. Information about occupations and wages does exist, but it is in bits and pieces, documented by a number of different researchers and writers for various purposes. The more one studies these various accounts, the more one is struck by the variety, complexity, and the ingenuity of ways in which Indonesian people earn their livelihood, particularly in the traditional sectors of both village and city. In this section we shall try to bring together information about occupations and wages from four major sources, in order to construct the picture of the range of incomes available to migrants both in their place of origin and in Jakarta that we have called for above as our last point of focus.

Data Sources

The four major data sources upon which we shall rely are as follows:

1. the Jakarta Survey of Migrants, 1972/73;

2. the results of a pre-test study of workers in low-income occupations in Jakarta, 1972;

3. the Urban Development Study done in Jakarta in 1972, as used in the proposal for the Kampong Improvement Program by the Directorate General of Housing, Building, Planning and Urban Development, Jakarta, 1973; and

4. wages paid to workers in the INPRES national public works development program, as reported by BAPPENAS.

These four data sources are introduced briefly below.

The reader is already familiar with the methodology and scope of the Jakarta Survey of Migrants. In working with the distribution of wages reported by migrants in the various sample groups, occupations, and loca-

tions in Indonesia, by sex, education (skill) level, and relationship to
employer, we have encountered some major difficulties with ambiguous wage
and pay period data and with very disperse wages reported within pay periods
and occupations. The existence of wage outliers has hindered us up to this
point from being able to perform statistically significant tests of the
effects of any of the qualifying factors on wages that were intended. In
the ongoing research we are still struggling with the wage distributions,
trying to "clean" them in various ways, including changing the pay periods
in some cases to be more consistent with prevailing wages for other migrants
of the same sex and occupation, attempting to convert daily and weekly
wages to monthly equivalents, and converting wage data into more outlier-
resistant forms such as the logarithmic scale, for purposes of analysis.
Yet, in the process of cleaning and of comparing our wage data to other
sources, we have gained a good intuitive knowledge of what are reasonable
figures by sex, occupation and pay period, and have noted that although the
figures have very large variance, their average measures -- mean and
median -- seem reasonable and do reveal interesting patterns that have not
been analyzed anywhere else in current research on Indonesia. For this
reason, we shall use some of the most reliable preliminary income figures
in our discussion below, although aware of the consternation this may bring
to our statistician friends.

During the preparation for the 1972/73 Survey of Migrants, a pre-test
survey of 256 people in six low-income occupations was taken in Jakarta,
plus a survey of 44 trishaw drivers. The six occupations chosen were:
cigarette butt collectors, paper collectors, shoeshine boys, kerosene
(minjak) sellers, construction workers, and Shouters (tjalo bus --
vendors in small stalls who cry their wares). The survey gives valuable

information about daily wages and levels of consumption in these seven traditional sector activities, and is especially valuable in that respondents reported minimum and maximum levels of wages and consumption, giving us more of a flavor of the day-to-day uncertainties of these occupations.

We shall not dwell long upon the Jakarta Urban Development Study, since it only gives a general idea of income levels by residential locations within Jakarta (see discussion in chapter 1 and Table 1.1). Nevertheless, the study does identify various occupations and helps to enhance our general understanding of the broader picture of jobs and living places in Jakarta.

The INPRES program in Indonesia, part of the country's Second Five-Year Plan (REPELITA II), gives development assistance to regencies (kabupatens) and municipalities (kotamadyas) based on the size of their population. The program is meant to widen employment opportunities in both rural and urban areas by creating jobs in vital public works projects of building new infrastructure -- roads, bridges, irrigation works, markets, and so on -- which in turn should enhance productivity and living conditions. Wages in the INPRES program are set by the national government, and designed to match closely with prevailing daily wage figures in each place. Tables of the wages for workers of various skills and locations for 1971/72 and 1974/75 have been made available to us from BAPPENAS. We shall use the average regional wage figures for 1971/72 as indicators to detect wage differentials between Jakarta and other parts of Indonesia at the time of the Survey of Migrants.

The available information on income levels in Jakarta shows evidence of economic class differentiation which corresponds quite closely with the educational class structure discovered above. Tables B.37 to B.40 and Table 1.1 show daily, weekly, and monthly income estimates from our other

four sources. Daily and daily equivalent wages, gleaned from our sources, are shown graphically in Figure 4.8. Lest the seeming congestion between Rp. 200 (US$0.50) and Rp. 400 (US$1.00) delude the reader into thinking that for this reason wages are nearly equal among the various occupations, the monthly equivalent scale in Figure 4.8 shows how important even small daily differences are when multiplied to a longer time period. The difference in standard of living and ability to save towards improvements in a dwelling or remittances to family are quite striking between an Indonesian making Rp. 200 per day and one making Rp. 350 per day, so much so that in real life we observe a veritable class barrier of skill and barriers to mobility between peddling and settled traders, who differ in income by about that much.

The ranking shown in Figure 4.8 holds few surprises. For males, the relationship between skills and incomes is made even clearer by the delineation of wages for unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers from the INPRES program. The occupational income structure for females is again lower than that of the males, in general, and slightly more ambiguous, but consistent with the skill class structure we saw for females. The one surprising exception to the education/income rule occurs among females in prostitution, in which average incomes are the highest of all occupations, with the possible exception of managerial/professional jobs, and yet the average education levels are almost the lowest. Why is this so? We are inclined to assert that the incomes reported are not overrated. Relatively little variance was found among them that might lead us to suspect that some respondents were being untruthful. Instead we would suggest that the most critical reason for high prostitute incomes is probably the age-old fact that there exists an active market of men desiring to purchase

```
          Rp.                            Rp.
         ┌─600 ──                      ┌── 15,000

Manager-Supervisor*─┤  ──    ──

                     ──    ──

                     ──    ──           ── 12,500
                            ┌Manager-supervisor*,
         ┌─500 ──┼─┤┤─┤Prostitute*

                     ──    ──

                     ──    ──           ── 10,000

Settled services-trade*──┤ ──
       ┌INPRES skilled, ──┼─400 ──
       │Lower clerical*
Petty Trader sample*──┤  ──

INPRES semi-skilled ──┤   ──┤──Petty Trader sample*
                              ──Settled service-trade*

                              ──Lower Clerical*
     Production-manual*──┤    ──Household sample*
     Household sample*──┼─300 ──        ── 7500
┌Peddling service-trade*──┤
│Daily worker*, Motor
│transport*, Constuction,**──┤
│                            ──Peddling service-trade
└Shouter**

┌Traditional transport*──┤
│Kerosene seller**

INPRES unskilled ──┼─200 ──┼──Production-manual*   ── 5000

Domestic servant*──┤  ──

┌Paper collector*,**──┤──
│Shoe shine**
                        ──┼──Domestic servant

┌Scavenger*, Cigarette──┤
│butt collector**,    ┼─100 ──┤               ── 2500
│Squatter sample*          ─┼─{Scavenger*, Squatter
                              │sample*
                 MALE      FEMALE
```

PRESENT DAILY OR DAILY EQUIVALENT WAGE,
BY SEX

FIGURE 4.8

MONTHLY
EQUIVALENT
(@ 25 days/month)

the "services" of prostitutes and willing to pay highly for them. We would

not expect prostitutes to have correspondingly high levels of education,

since this is one occupation that requires few formally-taught skills, and

one which many women who have other alternatives avoid, despite the high

wages.

The previous wages reported by Jakarta migrants are far more unruly

than the present wage figures we have shown, due partly to regional wage

variations, but also to a fairly large number of mis-classified pay periods

which resulted in high outlying values in the distributions. Some general

observations can be drawn from the median income levels, however, shown in

Tables B.41 to B.43.

In Table B.42 we can see the daily, monthly, and seasonal wages that

migrants were getting before they moved. It is clear from the table that

non-agricultural labor is consistently more remunerative than agricultural

labor, and that males receive consistently more than females. It is very

interesting to note that the vast majority of agricultural workers, both

male and female, were receiving Rp. 100 per day or less, a wage equal to

that of scavengers in Jakarta, even though the reported non-income benefits

of subsistence farming (income in kind) are included in these figures.

Median monthly incomes appear roughly equivalent to daily wages. Seasonal

wages, too, seem consonant with daily wages when we take the typical

season length of 3 months as a measure. With seasonal wages, of course,

the vital question is whether the migrant was employed throughout the year,

six months or three months. We cannot give a definite answer to this --

it depends upon whether the worker has access to year-round employment, and

whether the land he/she works on is well enough irrigated to allow for

double- or triple-cropping.

Table B.43 shows previous incomes sliced a different way -- this time according to the worker's employer. Again we see that females earn consistently less than males. Furthermore, we see that the workers relationship to the employer does seem to make a difference. In all jobs taken together, including non-farm jobs, "own account workers" have the highest median daily wage, followed by those working for their family. In agriculture alone, these two are very close, with some indication that working for a relative may be the most profitable. Across the board, those who were employed by a stranger outside the family were paid the least. In agriculture, the difference was striking. Seasonal wages for those employed by a stranger were anywhere from 40 percent to 65 percent lower than for those either self- or family-employed. What we may be seeing here is the effect of landless laborers having to seek employment from people to whom they are not related socially, and the depression of wages that results when subsistence farmers are transformed into hired employees.

What evidence do we have of regional wage differentials, and of differentials in wages between Jakarta and the rest of the country? Tables B.40 and B.41 show average daily wages for various types of labor in different parts of Indonesia, from the Survey of Migrants and from the INPRES program. Again, we may note wage differentials between the sexes and between workers of different skill and status. Most importantly, we see that Jakarta does indeed seem to offer the highest wages available, particularly when compared to the major population centers of Java and Sumatra.

Of course, daily wages alone are not the whole story. The cost of living may vary between locations also. In addition to being the highest-wage place to live, Jakarta may also be the highest-cost place to live.

Let us look briefly at this factor.

Table B.44 shows some preliminary evidence concerning daily consumption costs in Jakarta and in migrant's places of origin. From this table, we can see that there are indeed significant differences in consumption costs between migrants' origins and Jakarta. Similarly, there is a consistent differential between daily costs of scavengers and others, both in the place of origin and in Jakarta. Surprisingly, however, there does not appear to be much difference in daily expenditures among non-scavenger workers in the traditional sector -- the median daily expenditures reported by low- and middle-status workers alike fell mainly between Rp. 140 and Rp. 160 per day for Jakarta, and at about Rp. 75 per day for the place of origin.

In order to understand and to model the differences in the costs of a given standard of living (or market bundle, as economists would say), there are three components of differences in consumption costs that must be taken into account:

1. Differences in the prices of goods in different locations;

2. Differences in required costs for living and working in a place -- housing, transportation to and from work, clothing and/or supplies necessary for the job; and

3. Differences in the worker's standard of living, particularly nutrition.

How can we disentangle the combined effects of these three factors in light of the observed differentials in migrants consumption costs between the origin and Jakarta? This will require further study. Price indices for various locations in Indonesia are available, particularly for the major cities, but also for non-urban regions. Price indices are probably not the major cause of differences in migrants' consumption costs, however. Even

more important is the fact that the nature of what people must buy to live

varies considerably within Indonesia. In rural areas, housing may often

be free; transportation to work is on foot; and daily meals are drawn from

a store of rice laid up at the last harvest, with some additional vegetables

grown in the house garden. In urban areas, on the other hand, most of

these necessities are monetized -- the worker must pay rent, must purchase

food from a market or vendor, and may have to pay for transportation,

clothing and supplies necessary for his/her job (e.g., rent for a vendor's

stall or trishaw, money to purchase food or other items for resale, clothing

and cosmetics for prostitutes). One possible explanation for the difference

between scavengers and others, for example, may be that they scrounge for

the necessities of life that others pay for in the market -- particularly

food and shelter, and household necessities. The degree to which the

necessities of life must be paid for in different parts of Indonesia and

from occupation to occupation should be studies in more detail.

The reported increase in migrants' daily expenses may also be due to

an increase in the actual amounts they consume each day, due to an

increased income. To what extent does the Jakarta migrant's standard of

living improve upon coming to Jakarta? A supplemental study comparing the

nutrition and quality of housing of people in rural sending areas and of

workers in Indonesian cities would be very desirable to investigate this

question. Our findings from the Survey of Migrants and from the experiences

of observers in Jakarta indicate that the majority of migrants are as well

or better off in Jakarta -- spiritually, materially, and in terms of

general quality of life -- and that given the same income opportunities,

they would prefer to be in Jakarta than where they came from (see Table B.24).

This may in turn indicate an increase in daily consumption, particularly of

quantities of rice consumed and of protein- and vitamin-rich food. There

is some indication from visits with and observations of urban dwellers that

they are reasonably well nourished. Even scavengers may report that they

are eating better and feeling healthier than they were in their place of

origin.* Such income effects should be isolated and deducted from the

consumption cost differential in our model, in order to maintain a con-

sistent bundle of consumed goods for comparison.

A PRELIMINARY TEST OF THE MODEL

Now that we have explained the framework of our hypothetical model of

migration, and have presented the available evidence from the Indonesian

case concerning each of its components, what can we say about whether the

model works or not? Since many of our findings about wages, occupations,

worker differentiation and consumption costs are still in the preliminary

stages, we cannot attempt here to show either the completed contents of

the model or a rigorous test of what it shows for Indonesia. We can,

however, look at several key mechanisms in the model, using our preliminary

data, to see whether these mechanisms behave as we would expect. We shall

focus especially on the mechanism of the expected income calculation when

it is constructed from a variety of worker types, occupations, and wages,

looking at the effect of wage differentials between locations, the effect

of the distribution of workers in different occupations according to skill

level, and the combined effect of these two factors upon expected wage

differentials between places. We shall then examine the effect of the

locational costs of consumption cost differences and travel costs.

Finally, we shall discuss the equilibrium conditions for our model, and

possible reasons why the Indonesian case may or may not represent a near-

equilibrium situation.

According to the steps outlined in Figure 2.1, the initial step in building the model is to specify a number of occupations, locations, and worker types. Because we wish to look as much as possible at the economic factors in migration to test our model, we have chosen to look only at male migrants, and have excluded students and house-husbands from our set of thirteen occupations. We have, however, included those who reported that they were unemployed, since unemployment is one of the major components of employment probabilities and of the Harris-Todaro framework. For worker types, we break male migrants into five skill categories according to the highest diplomas they hold -- no schooling and/or no primary diploma, primary diploma, junior high diploma, senior high diploma, and academy or higher. Only two locations are used in this simple test -- Jakarta, the destination city, and all places of origin combined.

For wages, daily consumption costs and travel costs, we have used the figures that were found earlier in this chapter, as summarized in Figure 4.8, Tables B.40 to B.44, and Table 4.7. For the probabilities of employment in the thirteen occupations, we used the proportions of male migrants of the five educational categories as reported in Tables 4.11 and 4.12, recalculated to exclude students and house-husbands. The results are discussed below.

As we have already discussed, there are two major components in the calculation of migrants' expected incomes -- wages, and the probability of employment (or unemployment). In order to demonstrate the effect of each of these two factors, we have calculated four sets of expected income figures, using all possible combinations of the two sets of wages and two occupational mixes from our two locations, Jakarta and places of origin.

The numerical results are shown below in Figure 4.9. The effects of each

of the components of the model on expected incomes are discussed below

in turn.

FIGURE 4.9 : EXPECTED DAILY WAGES FOR JAKARTA AND MIGRANTS' PLACES OF ORIGIN,

USING TWO SETS OF WAGES AND OCCUPATIONAL MIXES

Expected daily wages,
Using wage figures for occupations in:

		ORIGIN	JAKARTA
Using occupational mix that is in:	ORIGIN	No diploma = Rp. 89 Primary dipl. = 90 Jr High dipl. = 106 Sr High dipl. = 120 Academy + = 160	No diploma = Rp.132 Primary dipl. = 154 Jr High dipl. = 201 Sr High dipl. = 294 Academy + = 315
	JAKARTA	No diploma = Rp.123 Primary dipl. = 142 Jr High dipl. = 135 Sr High dipl. = 166 Academy + = 271	No diploma = Rp.257 Primary dipl. = 302 Jr High dipl. = 326 Sr High dipl. = 326 Academy + = 384

The Effect of Skill-Specificity of Occupations

Upon Expected Wages

The fact that workers of different skills enter different occupations has already been established above, as has the fact that higher-skilled occupations are also higher-paid. When we look at Figure 4.9 above, we see that the effect of this skill-specificity is reflected in an increase in expected wages with increased worker skills, within each of the four cells. Where expected wages do not increase between two successive skill levels, as for those below a junior high diploma in the places of origin (cell A) or for those who finished junior high but did not go on to higher education than high school in Jakarta (cell D), it is possible that the range of wages and occupations are similar -- i.e., one must pass both skill steps before the returns to acquiring more skills increases. Compared to what we know about employment in rural Indonesia and in Jakarta, this makes sense. Even with a little schooling in rural areas, agriculture is still the predominant job for those who are not highly skilled, and wages in agriculture depend more on the land access of the worker than upon his education level, as we have seen above. Similarly, in Jakarta, the middle occupations that fall in the top of the traditional sector yield quite similar returns, and are most often filled by those with secondary school experience. In contrast to rural areas, the expected wage difference between no school at all and primary school is quite large in Jakarta.

The Effect of Different Employment Opportunities

Upon Expected Wages

One of the central insights of the expected wage framework that we are using is that the existence and availability of different sets of job opportunities in different locations may affect a worker's decision to move just as much as observed income differentials. The effect of job mix and availability upon expected incomes is clearly visible from Table 4.9. We can see by comparing cells A and C that even if wages in Jakarta were at the same level as in the places of origin, job opportunities would be greater, and expected wages would be higher. Similarly, cells B and D show that even at Jakarta wages, the job mix of rural areas is so concentrated in the lower-income occupations that rural expected wages are lower. Thus, even if wages in each occupation were the same between Jakarta and the migrant's place of origin, the availability of these jobs to workers of different types differs so much between Jakarta and migrants' places of origin that the expected wage differentials would still appear.

What is the effect of unemployment upon expected wages? We saw above that many migrants reported that they were unemployed before migration. What would expected wages look like if all of these migrants were employed in the same patterns as the migrants who were in paid jobs? Figure 4.10 below shows the numerical results. The depressing effect of rural unemployment is especially striking, as is the similar effect of unemployment among secondary school graduates in Jakarta.

FIGURE 4.10 : EFFECT OF UNEMPLOYMENT UPON EXPECTED DAILY WAGES

Expected daily wages

	With unemployment:	Without unemployment:
ORIGIN:	No diploma = Rp. 89 Primary dipl. = 90 Jr High dipl. = 106 Sr High dipl. = 120 Academy + = 160	No diploma = Rp.100 Primary dipl. = 134 Jr High dipl. = 163 Sr High dipl. = 171 Academy + = 195
JAKARTA:	No diploma = Rp.257 Primary dipl. = 302 Jr High dipl. = 326 Sr High dipl. = 326 Academy + = 384	No diploma = Rp.265 Primary dipl. = 328 Jr High dipl. = 362 Sr High dipl. = 388 Academy + = 400

The Effect of Wage Differentials Between Jakarta

and Places of Origin

Even if migrants continued to be in the same occupations between origin and destination, the expected wages for the two locations would still vary. Cell B shows what migrants' expected wages would be in Jakarta even if the job mix of Jakarta matched that from which they came. Cell C shows that the expected wages of workers in the places of origin would still be only 40% to 70% of Jakarta expected wages, even if the job variety of Jakarta were available to them in the rural areas, at prevailing rural wages for these jobs. In the absence of wage adjustments, therefore, we see that developing new types of occupations in rural locations would still not serve to overcome expected wage differentials completely.

Expected Wage Differentials, Consumption Cost
Differentials, and Travel Costs

Cells A and D in Figure 4.9 show the expected wages that migrants face in Jakarta and in the places of origins, given the wages and job mixes in these two locations. Expected wages, as calculated in this framework, are almost three times as high in Jakarta as they are in migrant's places of origin. To what extent do differentials in living costs and travel costs mitigate these differentials? If we assume that the market basket of consumption remains the same between the origin and Jakarta, we may approximate the consumption cost differential of about Rp. 75 per day found previously to be due entirely to increased basic living costs. Even when this difference is deducted, however, the expected income differential remains high, almost equal to the previous expected wages themselves.

In order to look at how travel costs may be integrated into the expected income framework, more research is needed in several areas. First of all, we would need to include more locational detail in our model, since travel costs vary with distance, and are also significantly varied in Indonesia, where long-distance migration is also inter-island. Return migration and periodic home visits are extremely important to how much the migrant will spend travelling compared to how much he/she can earn in the destination city. In further tests of the model, we suggest that travel costs should be spread over some reasonable time period, either the average time between home visits, or over an average agricultural season, to give an idea of the level of savings necessary to finance migration. As a first approximation, however, we note that our findings above show that migrants' travel costs are typically on the order of one to five days' urban wages,

varying in absolute amount among migrants of different skills. When spread over a three-month season, the typical Javanese migrant may pay the equivalent of Rp. 1 per day, while a Sumatran merchant, who visits home once a year, pays the equivalent of Rp. 6 per day. Using this treatment of travel costs, net expected income differentials remain essentially the same.

Expected Incomes in Equilibrium

Neoclassical economic theory and the Harris-Todaro model of migration, upon which our model of migration is based, are both centrally concerned with markets in equilibrium. Neoclassical theory postulates a market mechanism by which wages and prices shift in response to changes in supply and demand for labor and goods. In terms of regional development and migration, this analysis predicts that given a structure of employment opportunities, workers will move from low-wage (rural) to high-wage (urban) jobs and locations until the market, sensitive to these shifts in labor supply, causes wages to become equalized, with full employment of labor. In their analysis, Todaro and Harris qualified this framework by postulating that wages and rates of employment/unemployment work together to determine migratory flows, and that the system will come to equilibrium where urban unemployment counterbalances high fixed urban wages, to equilibrate the expected urban wage with the prevailing rural wage. In our model, we have taken into account the fact that the structure of existing jobs and wages varies from location to location and that in each location, the accessibility of each of these jobs varies for workers of different backgrounds. Furthermore, we have put the probabilistic structure of expected incomes into a spatial setting, by introducing consumption cost differentials and travel costs. In our model at equilibrium, net expected income benefits

should be equalized for each type of worker, in the following form:

$$(\sum_i P_{ik} W_i)_o + T_{oj} + C_{ojk} = (\sum_i P_{ik} W_i)_j \; ;$$

where P_{ik} = probability of employment of worker type k in occupation i

W_i = prevailing wage in occupation i

T_{oj} = travel cost between origin o and destination j

C_{oj} = consumption cost differential between origin o and destination j.

Our model predicts that if wages are responsive to market labor supply and demand and if workers move freely to locations offering the highest net expected income returns, net expected income differentials should tend towards zero across the various locations, for each worker type. Over time, as both the population and the country's employment opportunities grow at different rates in different locations, equilibrating flows of migrants to places of higher opportunity should maintain this near-equality of net expected income benefits.

Is the labor situation in Indonesia one which is close to equilibrium? Widespread landlessness, low wages, and high unemployment continue to exist in rural Indonesia, particularly on Java, despite high rates of rural-to-urban migration, while in Jakarta, wages rise and unemployment remains low relative to the rural sector. When viewed in terms of expected incomes, our preliminary findings show striking evidence that very substantial rural-urban expected wage differentials exist, even taking into account cost-of-living differences and travel costs. And yet measurements of Jakarta's

population show that annual migratory flows to the city have been quite steady over more than a decade, and that urban growth in Indonesia has not been of drastic proportions when compared to cities in other developing countries. How can we explain the persistence of differentials over time, and the seeming failure or rural-to-urban migration to equilibrate incomes?

Clearly, income differentials, probabilistic or otherwise, are not the only factor that makes people move or stay where they are. For incomes to come to equilibrium in the way we described above, the ideal conditions of the competitive market would have to hold true -- i.e., that individuals act completely independently of other people in search of higher economic benefits for themselves; that they have perfect information about wages and employment; that they are freely mobile to respond to economic incentives. Furthermore, our model assumes that all workers of similar skills have equal chances of obtaining various jobs upon migration; and that migrants are willing to move even in the face of the chance of unemployment.

Are these assumptions true? We have seen that there are enough contradictions to these assumptions, even among migrants, that the ideal conditions for market equilibrium are not met. All potential migrants are not isolated atoms. The fact that those who do migrate are often young and single, or come as whole families if they are married, indicates that there may also be those who are not so independent, who have stayed back even in the face of economic incentives to move.

Family ties and ties to the land and society of the village are still strong in the traditional Indonesian culture. If people do migrate, personal ties still play a critical role in how far away they go, how easily they can find housing, food, and employment, whether or not they remain permanently in the city, and how often they visit back and forth. Nor do

workers have perfect information about the opportunities that are available
to them, particularly in distant cities. Again, information is partial and
highly dependent on social contacts. Hardly anyone would seriously argue
that workers are perfectly mobile -- free to travel and to change jobs.
Inertia, uncertainty of what one would find, the costs of moving and of
re-establishing oneself into new surroundings, the possibility of unemploy-
ment all hinder people's ability and willingness to move. Finally, how
many migrants actually move with only a probabilistic notion of what they
can do in Jakarta? We suspect that the migrants who do move are fairly
sure about what they can get into, either through information they pick up
or through family and friends. In reality, uncertainty may be a far more
important hindrance than we have given it credit for -- only a look at
reasons not to migrate could tell us that.

In summary, then, we may indeed be looking at a sort of equilibrium
in Indonesia. If so, it is one in which both economic and non-economic
motivations are acting to cause or hinder migration. The way labor markets,
employment opportunities, and wages are now in Indonesia, there are
differences in incomes and expected incomes that migration in its present
form is not likely to cancel. If these differences between rural and urban,
landowning and landless, skilled and unskilled, urban traditional sector
and formal sector, are to be brought to more equal levels, the dynamics
of the economic system alone is not likely to make them so.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

In this thesis, we have attempted to come to a better understanding
of labor markets and migration in the context of Indonesian economic
development, through a study of migrants themselves. To begin with, we
discussed a range of theories about migration, and proposed a model of the
economic costs and benefits to migrants that is an extension of the Harris-
Todaro expected incomes approach. The model proposed incorporates a
variety of locations, occupations, and types of workers (by skill and
personal background) within a country, in order to take into account the
effects of segmented labor markets and spatial location.

The Indonesian data that we have analyzed within the above hypotheti-
cal framework comes from the extensive survey of 24,100 migrants to 25
Indonesian cities done in 1972-1973 by the Indonesian National Institute
for Economic and Social Research (LEKNAS) and the Ministry of Development
Planning (BAPPENAS). The data from the whole survey is currently being
analyzed in the migration research project headed by Professor John Harris
at Boston University and the Center for International Studies at MIT. The
Survey of Migrants, as we have called it, provides a wealth of valuable
information about many aspects of labor markets, urban living conditions,
motivations and barriers to migration, and the personal and family character-
istics of migrants in Indonesia. In this thesis, we have focussed solely
on migrants to Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, presenting and
discussing the preliminary data from that city that relates to the hypothe-
tical framework outlined in Chapter 2. The major findings and conclusions

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of the study are summarized below.

When they come to Jakarta, most migrants are young adults, between 18 and 30 years old. Most often they are single or divorced. A large number, however, are married, and most married migrants have their families with them in Jakarta. In contrast to the case of some other developing countries, equal numbers of men and women migrate to Jakarta. Among married women, coming to be with their husbands in Jakarta is a common reason for moving. Among men, single or divorced women, and even some married women, economic motivations rank highest by far of all reasons for migration and for choosing to come to Jakarta.

Once arrived, many migrants remain in Jakarta permanently, as is seen from the high number of Jakarta residents who came from other parts of Indonesia as early as one or two decades ago. Some pay visits and send money to people at their place of origin if they have family remaining there, but many never go back. When asked to compare their life in Jakarta with their place of origin and with their expectations before migration, most migrants report that life in Jakarta is equal or better. If they had the choice, and could obtain the same income in their place of origin, the majority of most migrants would still prefer Jakarta, although a large proportion would prefer their place of origin, particularly among those who have retained family and land ties.

Most migrants to Jakarta come directly from rural areas in West and Central Java, the nearest provinces. Migrants who come from urban areas and from more distant origins also tend to be those with the highest level of education, who in turn enter the highest-status and highest-paying jobs in Jakarta. Distance and travel costs do seem to cause lower status and income migrants to remain closer to their place of origin, while higher skilled

migrants find it possible and worthwhile to choose Jakarta, regardless of
the distance.

The kinds of jobs engaged in by workers in Indonesia are extremely
varied, as are the incomes available to different types of workers. When
viewed by education level and by sex, three distinct classes of jobs emerge
-- unskilled, usually agriculture in the place of origin, and the lowest and
most informal of all the jobs in the city; semi-skilled, including some
middle-status jobs in trades and services as well as jobs in manufacturing,
transportation, domestic service and the like; and skilled, including work
as clerical workers, supervisors, managers, professionals, and so on.
Wages in Jakarta appear higher than wages in any other of the main migrant
sending areas. When treated in an expected income framework, including
probabilities of employment and unemployment in the range of jobs, income
differences between Jakarta and other places for workers of every skill
level appear even greater.

One thing that our study of Jakarta migrants offers is some further
insight into the structure of employment in Indonesia, particularly in
Jakarta itself. The existence of an urban dual labor market is quite appa-
rent. Almost one-half of Jakarta's workers are outside of registered or
public enterprises, in jobs providing a wide range of goods and services
including food, water, transportation, clothing, household and personal
necessities, and mechanical repairs, as well as low-paid daily-hired labor
for construction projects and cargo handling at docks and train stations.
The work attributes of these jobs and workers are typical of what is commonly
called the traditional or informal sector. New entrants find work quickly,
often through the help of friends. They typically are so poor that they
must take any paying job to avoid unemployment. Wages are low and the number

of hours worked per day are high. Both wages and hours often vary from day
to day, depending on the worker's success at finding customers or paid
activities. Most often workers who enter the traditional sector also remain
in it, earning low incomes as compared to formal sector jobs, but substan-
tially higher incomes than most of them could earn in their rural place of
origin. Over time, in fact, many even save money, and may remit money back
to their families in the village or use it to make incremental improvements in
a small dwelling, in their ecterprise, and/or in their material standard of
living.

The urban traditional sector is not simply a passing product of
temporary mis-balances of modern sector employment, not simply the employer
of last resort for newcomers, as Sethuraman, Todaro, and others have suggested.
Nor is it an anomaly to the modern, formal sector. All of our evidence
indicates that the traditional sector is indeed a structural part of the
so-called 'free' urban labor market in Jakarta, offering low-cost goods,
services, and labor to the modern sector. Despite optimistic economic talk
about substituting ordinary labor for capital and high-skilled labor, we know
from looking at the way workers of different skills are embedded in the
occupational system that there is little hope that jobs in the formal
employment sector will become accessible to workers in the traditional sector.

But even in the absence of formal sector opportunities, we have seen
that it is still very much in the economic best interest of migrants to come
to Jakarta. Contrary to the claims of some urban policy makers that new
urban dwellers are in even worse poverty than they left, all of our evidence
shows that the differences in quality of life, income, and expected income
all favor Jakarta over the situations from which migrants came. Furthermore,
even the very large shifts of workers leaving rural areas to come to the
city have not evened out these differences, indicating that there would be

the potential for far greater movements were there not many forces besides purely economic forces operating to reduce peoples' willingness to move, including family and social ties, lack of knowledge or uncertainty about opportunities, and aversion to change.

In light of the seemingly necessary and even constructive part that migrants and workers in the traditional sector play in the urban and national economy, why are they so often persecuted by government? In Jakarta, the city government has tried a number of measures to halt the growth of the informal sectors of housing and employment. In 1971, the city was closed to migrants who did not hold an identification card certifying that they held a job in Jakarta. Squatter settlements are periodically levelled and burned, and their residents 'relocated' to areas 20 kilometers from the city center. Most have no choice but to walk back in and resettle where they had been before. In an effort to halt street congestion, Jakarta has banned the introduction of new trishaws and has banned street vendors from some major streets. But none of these measures seem to have much effectiveness, except for the hardship they cause where the policies are enforced. In ingenious ways, the traditional sector continues to grow, and to be the only viable source of employment, goods,and services for many urban residents. Similarly, the range of urban job opportunities, including the traditional sector, offer a significant improvement over conditions in many areas from which migrants came. The needs of the urban poor for employment, urban infrastructure, and the services of housing, water, waste disposal, transportation, health,and educational development will not wait for the city to catch up, but will continue to grow as more migrants come in.

Urban growth in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta, is bound to continue at least at present rates, since rural land pressures are always increasing

and wide differences in economic opportunity exist. Policies and programs to
re-direct migration to the other islands or to alternative locations must
not only offer higher economic incentives than present migrant destinations,
but must overcome substantial non-economic reasons for present patterns of
migration (aversion to moving far from the place of origin, personal
connections, uncertainty, and ignorance of alternatives). If it is simply
slower growth of major cities that is desired, no doubt a shift in development
policy and funds towards developing smaller urban centers and rural infra-
structure could heop to improve the year-round employment opportunities in
other parts of the country from the presently largest cities. Such programs
will require much time and investment in infrastructural development. In
order to see where opportunities are most lacking, a national expected income
framework for workers of different skills such as the one outlined in this
thesis could be very useful. As urban policy makers attempt to deal with the
problems and challeges that migration presents today, they should recognize
and make use of the overall economic benefits of migration for development,
while seeking to find more creative and humane ways of accomodating and
serving the large population of urban and rural poor, rather than simply'
trying to eliminate them or put them out of sight, as is most often
attempted now.

APPENDIX A

THE MIGRATION QUESTIONNAIRE

The following copy of the Survey of Migrants questionnaire is drawn from
the doctoral thesis of Dr. Gordon Temple, who developed the survey questionnaire
in Indonesia. (Temple, pp. 196-233). He includes the questions as they were
asked in Indonesian, followed by a translation of the intent of the question
in English. The ordering on the right side of the page represents the variable
names that we are currently using for the computer analysis -- the first
letter referring to the general section of the questionnaire in which
the question comes, the second number to the number of the question within the
section, the third letter to a sub-question, and so on.

City of interview:_____

Survey type:_____

Person number:_____

SURVID
(city and type combined)

I. KEPINDAHAN KEKOTA INI.

YOUR MOVE TO THIS CITY.

CITY
SURVTYPE
PERSON

1. A. Kapankah anda pindah kekota ini?   Tahun
        (untuk pertama kali)   Bulan

        When did you move to this city?   Year _____   A1A1
        (for the first time)   ·Month _____ . A1A2

    B. Setelah anda menetap dikota ini, pernahkah   Ya
        anda menetap ditempat lain diluar kota ini?   Tidak

        After you had moved to this city, did you   Yes 1(..)
        ever then live in another place outside   No 2(..)
        of this city?

    C. Kalau "Ya," kapankah anda pindah kesini lagi   Tahun
        (untuk terakhir kali)   Bulan

        If "Yes," when did you move here again?   Year _____   A1B1
        (for the last time)   Month _____   A1B2

2. Untuk pertama kali anda pindah kekota ini:

    The first time you moved to this city: A2A
                                                                       (three replies
                                                                       combined --
    A. Adakah orang yang menjanjikan pekerjaan   Ya   see codebook)
        kepada anda sebelumnya?   Tidak

        Was there someone who had promised you a   Yes 1(..)
        job before you moved?   No 2(..)

    B. Kalau "Ya," apakah kenyataannya pekerjaan ter- Ya
        sebut masih ada ketika anda tiba?   Tidak

        If "Yes," did the job in reality exist   Yes 1(..)
        when you arrived?   No 2(..)

    C. Apakah anda diberi janji untuk peroleh gaji   Ya
        yang lebih besar?   Tidak

        Were you promised a higher wage than you   Yes 1(..)
        actually received?   No 2(..)

    D. Berapa lama anda bermaksud tinggal dikota ini:

        How long did you plan to live in this city:

a. Pada saat baru tiba kekota ini?

When you first arrived in this city? _____ A2B1

b. Pada saat sekarang?

At this very moment? _____ A2B2

E. Dengan siapa anda datang kemari?   Sendiri

Kakak

Oom/pakde

Teman sedaerah yang pernah tinggal dikota ini

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

With whom did you come here?   Alone 1(..) A2C

Older Sibling 2(..)

Uncle 3(..)

A friend from home who lives in this city 4(..)

If different, please indicate _____

F. Dengan jenis kendaraan apakah anda sampai   K.A.

kemari?   Bis

Kapal laut

Truk

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

With what type of transportation did you   Train 1(..) A2D

arrive here?   Bus 2(..)

Ship 3(..)

Truck 4(..)

If different, please indicate _____

G. Berapa jumlah kendaraan yang anda pakai?   Buah

How many vehicles did you use?   Number _____ A2E

H. Kira-kira berapa rupiahkah biaya   Rupiah

perjalanan yang anda keluarkan?

Approximately what were your transportation   Rupiah _____ A2F

expenses?

I. Siapa yang membiayai kepindahan anda? Sendiri
Orang tua dikampung
Nenek/kakek dikampung
Kakak dikota ini
Oom/pakde dikota ini

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

Who paid for your trip? Myself 1(..) A2G
My parents in the village 2(..)
My grandparents in the village 3(..)
My uncle in this city 4(..)
If different, please indicate_____

J. Kira-kira berapa bekal yang Uang tunai Rupiah
anda bawa pada waktu itu? Barang Rupiah
(Kalau dalam bentuk barang,
harap dinilai dalam rupiah
dengan harga setempat - tidak
termasuk pakaian)

How much wealth did you bring In cash Rupiah _____ A2H1
with you at that time? In kind Rupiah _____ A2H2
(If in kind, please value it
at current local prices -
excluding clothing.)

K. Mengapa anda memilih kota ini untuk tempat menetap? _____

Why did you choose this city as a place to live? _____ A2I

L. Berapa lamakah anda memikirkannya sebelum Minggu
anda meninggalkan kampung?

How long did you give thought to leaving Weeks _____ A2J
before you left your village?

II. UMUM (saat ini): GENERAL (at this moment):

1. a. Berapa umur anda? Tahun

How old are you? Years _____ B1

b. Kakak anda berapa orang?   Orang

     How many older siblings have you?   People _____   B2A

c. Adik anda berapa orang?   Orang

     How many younger siblings have you?   People _____   B2B

2. Apakah orang tua anda masih hidup?

	a. **Ibu anda**	b. **Ayah anda**
Hidup ditempat asal	1(..)	1(..)
Hidup dikota ini	2(..)	2(..)
Hidup dilain tempat, tetapi bukan ditempat asal	3(..)	3(..)
Sudah meninggal	4(..)	4(..)

Are your parents still living?

	a. **Your mother**	b. **Your father**	
Living at place of origin	1(..)	1(..)	B3A
Living in this city	2(..)	2(..)	B3B
Living elsewhere, but not at place of origin	3(..)	3(..)	
Deceased	4(..)	4(..)	

3. a. Jenis kelamin responden: Laki-laki

                                           Perempuan

     Sex of the respondent: Male 1(..)   B4

                                       Female 2(..)

b. Apakah anda sudah?   Belum nikah

                                        Nikah

                                        Duda

                                        Janda

                                        Cerai

     What is your marital status?   Single 1(..)   B5A

                                   Married 2(..)

                                   Widower 3(..)

                                   Widow 4(..)

                                   Divorced 5(..)

c. Apakah perkawinan ini yang pertama kali?   Ya
   (Untuk suami dan isteri kedua-duanya)   Tidak

   Is this your first marriage?   Yes 1(..)   B5B
   (For both husband and wife)   No 2(..)

d. Kapan anda menikah dengan isteri/suami   Tahun
   yang sekarang?   Bulan

   When did you marry you current wife/husband? Year _____   B5C1
                                    Month _____ B5C2

e. Berapa umur isteri/suami yang sekarang?   Tahun

   How old is you current wife/husband?   Years _____   B5D

f. Isteri/suami anda tinggal dimana?   Tinggal bersama
                       Tinggal terpisah dikota ini
                 Tinggal terpisah diluar kota ini
                       Sudah meninggal

   Where does your wife/husband live?   Lives with me 1(..) B5E
        Lives separated from me in this city 2(..)
      Lives separated from me outside this city 3(..)
                         Deceased 4(..)

4. a. Sebutkan jenis sekolah dan tingkat   Jenis/tingkat
     pendidikan tertinggi yang anda capai: Kelas

    State the highest level of   Type of school _____   B6A
    education you have completed: Year in that school _____ B6B

  b. Ijasah/diploma tertinggi apakah yang anda miliki?_____

    State the highest certificate/diploma you hold:_____ B6C

  c. Mengapa anda meninggalkan sekolah?   Soal ekonomi
                          Tammat sekolah
                         Tidak lulus
                       Masih sekolah

    Why did you leave school?   Economic difficulties 1(..) B6D
                          Graduated 2(..)
                     Did not pass 3(..)
                  Still in school 4(..)
   If different, please indicate_____

5. a. Berapa jumlah anak anda?   Orang

      (Perkawinan No. 3-d)

      How many children do you have?   Persons _____   B7

  b. Sebutkan anak-anak anda menurut urutan dibawah ini:

     List your children according to the instructions below:

(exact info about children not kept on our file — only a variab for "children present this city?" and date of birth of 1st child)

	TANGGAL LAHIR DATE OF BIRTH		KELAMIN SEX		HIDUP BERSAMA ANDA DIKOTA INI LIVES WITH YOU IN THIS CITY		ANAK YANG MENINGGAL MENURUT UMUR CHILDREN WHO HAVE DIED BY AGE	
	Tahun Year	Bulan Month	Laki2 Male	Perempuan Female	Ya Yes	Tidak No		
1.	38	39		40		41		42
2.		43		44		45		46
3.		47		48		49		50
4.		51		52		53		54
5.		55		56		57		58
6.		59		60		61		62
7.		63		64		65		66
8.		67		68		69		70
9.		71		72		73		74
10.		75		76		77		78

First child?
Year: B8A
Month: B8B

Children here?

B9

6. a. Dimana anda, Ibu anda dan Ayah anda dilahirkan:

    Where were you, your mother and your father born:

	Pulau Island	Propinsi State	Kodya/Kabupaten* County	Kecamatan Township	Combined province and kabup
Anda You		B10A	B10B		B10
Ibu Mom		B11A	B11B		B11
Ayah Dad		B12A	B12B		B12

    * Kodya = K; Kabupaten = B   City = K; County = B

b. Anda merasa berasal dari mana? _____

What do you feel your background
is? (Ethnic group) _____ B13

c. Bahasa daerah apakah yang anda
pergunakan sehari-hari dirumah? _____

What regional language do you use
(daily) in the home? _____ B14

7. Sebelum menetap dikota ini, sebutkan dimana dan kapan anda
pernah menetap. (Tuliskan menurut urutan tempat tinggal yang
terakhir)

List the places of residence where you have lived before
you resided here. (Start with the most recent and list
backwards.)

	Pulau Island	Propinsi State	Kodya/Kabupaten County	Kecamatan Township			Tahun Year	Bulan Month	Combined Province and kabupat
1.		B15A1		B15A2				B15A4	B15A5	B15A
2.		B15B1		B15B2				B15B4	B15B5	B15B
3.		B15C1		B15C2				B15C4	B15C5	B15C
4.		B15D1		B15D2				B15D4	B15D5	B15D

8. Sudah berapa kali anda pindah rumah (melewati batas Kelurahan):

How many times have you changed place of residence (going
across the border of a ward):

a. Dikota ini? Kali
   (Menetap untuk terakhir kali)

   In this city? Times _____ B16A
   (Since the last time you moved in)

b. Sebelum menetap dikota ini? Kali
   (Untuk terakhir kali)

   Before you moved to this city? Times _____ B16B
   (For the last time)

III. KEADAAN KOTA/DAERAH TEMPAT TINGGAL TERAKHIR SEBELUM DIKOTA INI (untuk pertama kali)

ENVIRONMENT OF THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE BEFORE COMING TO THIS CITY (for the first time)

1. Pada waktu kepindahan kekota ini (untuk pertama kali):

   At the time when you moved to this city (for the first time):

   a. Ditempat anda berasal sedang musim apa?

   Masa kosong
   Masa tanam
   Masa menyiang
   Masa panen

   What was the season at your place of origin?

Off season 1(..)	C1
Planting season 2(..)	
Growing season 3(..)	
Harvest 4(..)	

   b. Berapa lama masa kosong ditempat anda berasal?

   Minggu

   How long is the off season at your place of origin?

   Weeks _____   C2

   c. Tempat dimana anda berasal dapat digolongkan desa atau kota?

   Desa
   Kota

   Can your place of origin be classified as rural or urban?

   Rural 1(..)   C3
   Urban 2(..)

   d. Menurut pendapat anda, apakah tempat anda berasal termasuk subur?

   Subur sekali
   Subur
   Sedang
   Tidak subur

   According to your opinion, how fertile is your place of origin?

Very fertile 1(..)	C4
Fertile 2(..)	
Average 3(..)	
Infertile 4(..)	
Very infertile 5(..)	

2. <u>Tiga/empat bulan sebelum anda meninggalkan kampung,</u>
   <u>apakah ditempat anda terjadi</u>:

          a. <u>Banjir</u>   b. <u>Hama</u>   c. <u>Bahaya kelaparan</u>

    Tidak ada
  Seperti biasa
    Luar biasa

          d. <u>Gangguan keamanan</u>

        Ya
      Tidak

<u>Three/four months before you left your village, was</u>
<u>there</u>:

	Flood	Pestilence	Famine	
No	1(..)	1(..)	1(..)	C5A
Like always	2(..)	2(..)	2(..)	C5B
Worse than usual	3(..)	3(..)	3(..)	C5C

C5A
C5B
C5C
C5D

Also combined
as:
C5 --
"disturbance
in origin?"

          <u>Social unrest</u>

      Yes 1(..)
      No 2(..)

3. Mengapa anda meninggalkan tempat asal anda?   _____

_____

Why did you leave your place of origin?   _____   C6

_____

IV.   <u>SEBELUM KEPINDAHAN KEKOTA INI (untuk pertama kali, lihat</u>
     <u>I-1-a)</u>:

<u>BEFORE MOVING TO THIS CITY (for the first time, see I-1-a)</u>:

1. <u>Sebelum kepindahan anda kemari (untuk pertama kali)</u>:

   a. Apakah anda pernah mendengar kabar   Ya
      mengenai kota ini?

<u>Before you moved here (for the first time)</u>:

     Had you ever heard news   Yes 1(..)   D1A
     about this city?   No 2(..)

b. Melalui perantaraan apa?

        Dari teman yang tinggal dikota ini
      Dari saudara yang tinggal dikota ini
Kalau lain, harap ditulis _____

Through what channels?

      Through a friends who lives in this city 1(..)   **D1A**
     Through a relative who lives in this city 2(..)
If different, please indicate _____

c. Kabar mengenai apa dan bagaimana? _____

News about the condition of what? _____   D1B

d. Apakah kabar yang anda terima   Tepat sekali
tentang kota ini sesuai dengan   Tepat
kenyataannya?   Sedang/kurang tepat
               tidak tepat
         Sangat tidak tepat

How did the news that you   Very exact 1(..)   D1C
heard accord with the reality   Exact 2(..)
that you found here?   Acceptably 3(..)
            Not exact 4(..)
        Very Inexact 5(..)

e. Apakah anda membaca surat-kabar?   Tidak
                 Jarang
         Kadang-kadang
               Sering

Do you read a newspaper?   No 1(..)   D1D
          Seldom 2(..)
         Often 3(..)
        Always 4(..)

f. Kalau "Ya," terbitan mana? _____

If "Yes," where is the paper published? _____   D1E

2. Sebelum anda menetap dikota ini (untuk pertama kali):

   Before you lived in this city (for the first time):

   a. Berapa kali anda mengunjunginya?   Kali

      How many times had you visited it?   Times _____ D2A

   b. Kapankah anda mengunjungi kota ini   Tahun
      untuk pertama kali?   Bulan

      When did you visit this city   Year _____ D2B1
      for the first time?   Month _____ D2B2

   c. Kapankah anda mengunjungi kota ini   Tahun
      untuk terakhir kali?   Bulan

      When did you visit this city   Year _____ D2C1
      for the last time?   Month _____ D2C2

V. KONTAK DENGAN KAMPUNG

   1. a. Berapa kalikah anda pulang kampung   Kali
         dalam 12 bulan terakhir ini?

         How many times did you visit your   Times _____ E1
         village in the last 12 months?

      b. Berapa rupiahkah biaya perjalanan   Rupiah
         pulang kampung sekarang? (satu orang)

         How much does it cost to go back to   Rupiah _____ E2
         your village now? (one person)

   2. Apakah anda biasa pulang kampung:

      Do you usually go back to your village:

      a. Pada musim pengolahan tanah?   Ya
                                                 Tidak

         During planting season?   Yes 1(..) E3
                                                 No 2(..) (this and the
                                                            next question
                                                            combined into
                                                            "returns in
                                                            season?"

b. Pada musim panen? Ya
Tidak

During harvest? Yes 1(..)
No 2(..)

3. Dalam 12 bulan terakhir, berapa kali anda Kali
mendapat kunjungan dari orang2 sekampung?

In the last 12 months, how many times Times _____ E4
were you visited by people from your village?

4. Berapa banyakkah tetangga anda yang berasal:

a. Sekampung b. Sedaerah
Tidak ada
Sedikit
Banyak
Banyak sekali

How many of your neighbors originate from your:

	Village	Area	
None	1(..)	1(..)	E5A
A Few	2(..)	2(..)	E5B
Many	3(..)	3(..)	
Very many	4(..)	4(..)	

VI. STATUS KEGIATAN EKONOMI

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

1. Bagaimana status kegiatan Sekolah
ekonomi anda dalam Bekerja diluar rumah tangga
waktu 6 Bekerja dalam r mah tangga (pembantu)
bulan Bekerja dalam rumah tangga tanpa bayar
sebelum dikota Tak sekolah dan tak kerja
ini? (untuk pertama kali) Pensiun
Kalau lain, harap ditulis _____

What was your employment status 6 School 1(..) F1
months prior to your Non-household worker 2(..)
arriving in this city? Paid household worker 3(..)
(for the first time) Unpaid household worker 4(..)
Unemployed and not in school 5(..)
Retired 6(..)

If different, please indicate _____

2. Apakah dalam waktu 6 bulan sebelum   Berapa minggu
   kekota ini (untuk pertama kali), anda
   bekerja penuh?

   In the last 6 months before   How many weeks _____ /   F2
   you arrived in this city (for the
   first time), were you fully employed?

3. <u>Pekerjaan ditempat sebelum dikota ini</u> (untuk pertama
   <u>kali, lihat I-1-a</u>):

   <u>Employment prior to arriving in this city</u> (for the
   <u>first time, see I-1-a</u>):

   a. Bekerja dibidang apa?   1._____
      (Status dan bidang)   2._____

      Occupation   1._____   F3A1
      (Position and activity)   2._____   F3A2

   b. Untuk siapa anda bekerja?   _____
      (Nama perusahaan/kantor dari
      pekerjaan utama, lihat IV-3-a-1)

      Employer   _____   F3B
      (Name of industry from main
      occupation, see IV-3-a-1)

   c. Bagaimana sistim penggajian/   Harian
      penghasilan anda?   Mingguan
      (Dari pekerjaan utama,   2 mingguan
      lihat 3-a-1)   Bulanan
              Musiman

      What was your pay period?   Daily 1(..)   F3C
      (From your main occupation,   Weekly 2(..)
      see 3-a-1)   Bi-weekly 3(..)
              Monthly 4(..)
              Seasonly 5(..)

   d. Berapa penghasilan anda?   Uang tunai Rupiah _____
      (Kalau penghasilan dalam
      bentuk barang, harap dinilai   Barang Rupiah _____
      dalam rupiah dengan memakai harga setempat.

How much did you make?   In cash Rupiah _____   F3D1
(If you receive income in kind,
please appraise using local prices) In kind Rupiah _____ F3D2

e. Berapa hari rata2 anda bekerja dalam   Hari
   seminggu?

   How many days did you work in a week?   Days _____ F3E

f. Kalau pekerjaan anda tidak terpengaruh oleh
   musim (pertanian):

   If your employment is not influenced by the
   agricultural seasons:

   i. Berapa hari rata2 anda bekerja   Hari
      dalam sebulan?

      On the average, how many days   Days _____ F3F1A
      do you work a month?

   ii. Berapa jam rata2 anda bekerja seharinya? Jam

      On the average how many hours do   Hours _____ F3F2A
      you work a day?

g. Kalau pekerjaan anda terpengaruh oleh musim (pertanian):

   If your employment is influenced by agricultural
   seasons:

   i. Berapa hari rata2   Pengolahan tanah
      anda bekerja dalam   Tanam
      sebulan pada musim: Menyiang
                           ● Panen
                           Kosong

      On the average, how many   Plowing _____
      days do you work a month   Planting _____
      during each of the following   Crowing _____
      seasons?   Harvest _____
                           Off _____

(note: this
info was
missing on
our original
tape — see
F3F1A amd
F3F2A

ii. Berapa jam rata2
anda bekerja scharinya
dalam musim:

Pengolahan tanah
Tanam
Menyiang
Panen
Kosong

On the average, how many
hours do you work a day
during each of the following
seasons?

Plowing _____
Planting _____
Growing _____
Harvest _____
Off _____

4. <u>Pekerjaan dikota ini sekarang:</u>

<u>Employment in this city now:</u>

A. Jenis pekerjaan apa?
(Status dan biding)

1._____
2._____
3._____

Occupation
(Position and activity)

1._____ F4A1
2._____ F4A2
3._____

B. Untuk siapa anda bekerja?

1._____
2._____
3._____

Employer

1._____ F4B1
2._____ F4B2
3._____

C. Bagaimana sistim penggajian
penghasilan anda?
(Dari pekerjaan utama,
lihat 4-A-1)

Harian
Mingguan
2 mingguan
Bulanan

What is your pay period?
(From your main occupation,
see 4-A-1)

Daily 1(..) F4C
Weekly 2(..)
Bi-weekly 3(..)
Monthly 4(..)

D. Berapa penghasilan anda rata2? Uang tunai Rupiah
(Dari pekerjaan utama,
lihat 4-A-1)

How much do you make?   In cash Rupiah _____   F4D1
(From you main occupation,
see 4-A-1)

(Kalau penghasilan   b. Barang dalam bentuk:
dalam bentuk barang, harap   Tempat tinggal
dinilai dalam rupiah dengan   Makanan masak
memakai harga setempat) Beras dari kantor/tempat kerja
           Barang lain dari kantor/tempat kerja

           c. Jumlah harga barang Rupiah

(If you receive income in   In the form of:
kind, please appraise using   Housing (..)   F4D2A
local prices)   Meals (..)   F4D2B
       Uncooked rice from place of work (..)   F4D2C
      Other commodities from place of work (..)   F4D2D

       Total value of income in kind Rupiah _____   F4D2E

E.   Berapa penghasilan diluar   a. Uang tunai Rupiah
     pekerjaan utama?
     (lihat 4-A-2/3; untuk   b. Barang Rupiah
     kesatuan waktu sama dengan 4-C)

     How much do you make from your   In cash Rupiah _____   F4D2F
     other occupations?
     (see 4-A-2/3; for the same time   Income in kind Rupiah _____   F4D2G
     period as 4-C)

F.   Berapa penggajian/penghasialan   a. Uang tunai Rupiah
     yang anda terima dalam pembayaran
     terkhir? (Dari pekerjaan utama,   b. Barang Rupiah
     lihat 4-A-1; untuk kesatuan waktu
     sama dengan 4-A)

     How much did you make during   In cash Rupiah _____   F4D2H
     your last pay period? (From your
     main occupation, see 4-A-1;   Income in kind Rupiah _____   F4D2I
     for the same time period as
     4-C)

G. Dari pekerjaan utama (lihat 4-A-1):

For your main occupation (see 4-A-1):

a. Berapa hari rata2 anda bekerja   Hari
dalam sebulan?

   On the average how many days do you   Days _____   F4E1
work a month?

b. Berapa jam rata2 anda bekarja seharinya?   Jam

   On the average how many hours do   Hours _____   F4E2
you work a day?

c. Dari jam kerja anda, berapa jamkah yang   Jam
benar-benar depakai untuk bekerja dalam
satu hari?

   Of the hours you are at work, how many   Hours _____   F4E3
are spent actually working?

H. Sudah berapa lama anda memegang pekerjaan   Bulan
sekarang?

   How long have you been at your present   Months _____   F4F
occupation?

I. Sulitkah memperoleh pekerjaan tanpa   Ya
koneksi sekarang?   Tidak

   Is it difficult do get a job now   Yes 1(..)   F4G
without connections?   No 2(..)

5. Pekerjaan pertama dikota ini (datang untuk pertama kali):

Your first employment in this city (when you came for the
first time):

A. Apakah perkerjaan yang anda pegang sekarang sama   Ya
dengan pekerjaan pertama dikota ini?   Tidak

   Is your present employment the same as   Yes 1(..)   F5A0
your first job in this city?   No 2(..)

(KALAU JAWABAN 5-A ADALAII "Ya," LANJUTKAN KE PERTANYAAN
NOMOR 5-G; KALAU JAWABAN 5-A ADALAH "Tidak," LANJUTKAN
KE PERTANYAAN NOMOR 5-B)

(IF THE ANSWER TO QUESTION 5-A IS "Yes," GO TO QUESTION
NUMBER 5-G; IF THE ANSWER TO QUESTION 5-A IS "No," CONTINUE
ON WITH QUESTION 5-B)

B. Jenis pekerjaan apa?   1._____
(Status dan bidang)   2._____

Occupation   1._____   F5A1
(Position and activity)   2._____   F5A2

C. Untuk siapa anda bekerja?   1._____
(Nama perusahaan/kantor)   2._____

Employer   1._____   F5B1
(Name of industry)   2._____   F5B2

D. Bagaimana sistim penggajian   Harian
penghasilan anda?   Mingguan
(Dari pekerjaan utama,   2 mingguan
lihat 5-B-1)   Bulanan

What was your pay period?   Daily 1(..)   F5C
(From your main occupation,   Weekly 2(..)
see 5-B-1)   Bi-weekly 3(..)
     Monthly 4(..)

E. Berapa penghasilan anda   a. Uang tunai Rupiah
rata-rata?
(Dari pekerjaan utama, lihat 5-D-1)

How much did you make, approximately?   In cash Rupiah _____   F5D1

(Kalau penghasilan   b. <u>Barang dalam bentuk</u>:
dalam bentuk barang, harap   Tempat tinggal
dinilai dalam rupiah dengan   Makanan masak
memakai harga   Beras dari kantor/tempat kerja
setempat)   Barang lain dari kantor/tempat kerja

     c. Jumlah harga barang Rupiah

	In the form of:	
(If you received income in kind, please appraise using local prices)	Housing	(..) F5D2A
	Meals	(..) F5D2B
	Uncooked rice from place of work	(..) F5D2C
	Other commodities from place of work	(..) F5D2D
	Total value of income in kind Rupiah _____	F5D2E

F. Berapa hari rata-rata anda bekerja dalam sebulan? Hari

On the average, how many days did   Days _____   **F5E**
you work a month?

G. Berapa jam rata-rata anda bekerja seharinya?   Jam

On the average, how many hours did   Hours _____   F5F
you work a day?

H. Berapa lama anda mencari pekerjaan   Minggu
pertama dikota ini?

How long did you look for work before   Weeks _____   F5G
you found your first job in this city?

I. Siapa yang membantu anda mencarinya?   Sendiri
                              Kakak dikota ini
                           Oom/pakde dikota ini
                        Teman sedaerah dikota ini
Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

Who helped you find your first job?   No one 1(..)   F5H
                  An older sibling in this city 2(..)
                        An uncle in this city 3(..)
        A friend from my area who lives in this city 4(..)
If different, please indicate_____

J. Siapa yang membantu hidup anda   Sendiri
sebelum anda memperolehnya?   Kakak dikota ini
                           Oom/pakde dikota ini
                        Teman sedaerah dikota ini
Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

Who helped support you before you found   No one 1(..) F5I
your job?   An older sibling in this city 2(..)
                                    An uncle in this city 3(..)
              A friend from my area who lives in this city 4(..)
If different, please indicate_____

K.   Sulitkah memperoleh pekerjaan tanpa   Ya
      koneksi pada waktu itu?   Tidak

      Was it difficult to get a job   Yes 1(..)   F5J
      without connections then?   No 2(..)

6. Pengangguran dikota ini sekarang: (NOTE: these questions did not seem to
                                          have any meaningful answers on our original
    Unemployment in this city: tape. The variables were therefore deleted
                                          in our later files).
                                                                  Ya
    A.   Apakah baru pertama kali ini
          anda mencari pekerjaan?   Tidak

          Is this the first time you   Yes 1(..)
          have looked for a job?   No 2(..)

    B.   Berapa minggukah anda bekerja   Kurang dari 8 minggu
          dalam waktu 6 bulan terakhir?   8 minggu atau lebih

          How many weeks have you   Less than 8 weeks 1(..)
          worked in the last 6 months?   8 weeks or more 2(..)

    C.   Berapa harikah anda bekerja   Kurang dari 2 hari
          dalam satu minggu yang lalu?   2 hari atau lebih

          How many days did you work   Less than 2 days 1(..)
          last week?   2 days or more 2(..)

    D.   Sudah berapa lama anda tidak bekerja?   Minggu

          How long have you not worked?   Weeks _____

    E.   Bagaimana anda mempertahankan hidup anda? _____

          How do you manage to keep alive? _____

F. Berapa kalikah anda pernah menganggur
dikota ini?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Kali

How many times have you been　　　　　Times _____
unemployed in this city?

G. Mengapa anda meninggalkan pekerjaan terakhir? _____

Why did you leave your last job? _____

VII. KEADAAN TEMPAT TINGGAL

HOUSING CONDITIONS

1. Tempat tinggal anda pada waktu sekarang:

   With regards to your present housing:

   A. Jenis tempat tinggal apa?　　　　　Rumah biasa
   　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Hotel/losmen
   　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Gubuk
   　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Becak
   　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Gerbong K.A.

   Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

In what kind of housing do you currently live?	An ordinary house 1(..)	G1A
	Hotel/hostel 2(..)	
	Shack 3(..)	
	Pedicab 4(..)	
	Boxcar 5(..)	

   If different, please indicate _____

   B. Bagaimana status　　　　Milik kepala rumah tengga
   tempat tinggal?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Sewa
   　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Kontrak
   　　　　　　　　Rumah pemerintah/instansi

   Kalau lain, harap ditulis _____

What is the status of your housing?	Owned by the head of the household 1(..)	G1B
	Rented 2(..)	
	Yearly contract 3(..)	
	Official residence 4(..)	

   If different, please indicate _____

C. Berapa jumlah kamar tidur?   Buah

    How many bedrooms are there in your house?   Rooms _____   G1C

D. Siapa yang menjadi kepala rumah tangga?   Sendiri
                                         Kakak
                                Oom/pakde

    Kalau lain, harap ditulis _____

    What is the relationship   Myself 1(..)   G1D
    of the head of the household to you?   Older sibling 2(..)
                                  Uncle 3(..)

    If different, please indicate _____

E. Siapa pemilik tanah?   Kepala rumah tangga
                                Pemilik rumah
                                Kantor
                                Kotapraja
               Instansi pemerintah lain

    Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

    Who owns the land under   The head of the household i(..)   G1E
    the house in which you   The owner of the house 2(..)
    live?   My employer 3(..)
                      The city government 4(..)
                         The government 5(..)

    If different, please indicate_____

F. Berapa orang yang tinggal serumah   Orang
    dengan anda?

    How many people live with you?   People _____   G1F

G.   a.   Kalau menumpang, berapa anda   Rupiah
           membayar per bulannya?

           If you are just staying with   Rupiah _____   G1G1
           friends, how much do you pay
           a month?

       b.   Kalau tidak menumpang,   i. Makan Rupiah
           berapa anda membayar per
           bulan untuk: ii. Perumahan Rupiah

If you do not stay with anyone,   i. Food Rupiah _____   G1G2
how much do you spend per
month for: ii. Housing Rupiah _____   G1G3

H. Berapa luas bangunan?   Meter persegi

   How big is the building in which   Square meters _____   **G1H**
   you live?

I. Berapa watt penerangan listrik?   Watt

   How much electricity do you have?   Watts _____   G1I

J. Jenis bahan bangunan untuk:

a. Dinding luar	b. Lantai	c. Atap
Bambu	Tanah	Genting
Kayu	Ubin	Seng
Batu-bata	Semen merah	Plastik
Beton	Kayu	Daun2an
		Kayu

Kalau lain, harap ditulis _____ _____ _____

What kind of construction materials are used for your:

Outside walls	Floor	Roof	G1J1
Bamboo 1(..)	Dirt 1(..)	Tile 1(..)	G1J2
Wood 2(..)	Tile 2(..)	Tin 2(..)	G1J3
Bricks 3(..)	Red cement 3(..)	Plastic 3(..)	
Plaster 4(..)	Wood 4(..)	Palm leaves 4(..)	
		Wood 5(..)	

If different, please indicate _____ _____ _____

K. a. Jenis sumber air untuk keperluan:

                 i. Minum   ii. Lain
            Sumur timba
         Sumur pompa biasa
        Sumur pompa listrik
            Air leding
             Dari kali
      Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____   _____

What is your source of water for the following purposes:

	Drinking	Other	
A draw well	1(..)	1(..)	G1K1
A hand pump well	2(..)	2(..)	G1K2
An electric pump well	3(..)	3(..)	
City water supply	4(..)	4(..)	
From a canal	5(..)	5(..)	

If different, please indicate _____   _____

b. Diperoleh dari:

	i. Minum	ii. Lain
Rumah sendiri		
Keluarga lain		
Umum		
Beli pikulan		

Kalau lain, harap titulis _____   _____

Where is your source of water for the following purposes:

	Drinking	Other	
My home	1(..)	1(..)	G1K3
From another family	2(..)	2(..)	G1K4
A public water supply	3(..)	3(..)	
I buy from a water carrier	4(..)	4(..)	

If different, please indicate_____   _____

L. Dimanakah anda membuang   D.P.U.
sampah seharinya?   Dibakar dalam pekarangan sendiri
               Dibakar dalam tempat diluar pekarangan
                              Dibuang dikali
                              Asal buang saja

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

How do you dispose of your daily trash?	The city garbage collector	1(..)	G1L
	Burn it in the yard	2(..)	
	Burn it outside the yard	3(..)	
	Throw it in the canal	4(..)	
	Just throw it away	5(..)	

If different, please indicate _____

M. Jenis W.C./Kakus apakah yang   Dikali
    anda pakai seharinya?   Kakus dipinggir kali
                         Kakus jongkok tak disiram/sumur
                              Kakus jongkok disiram
                             Closet poorselin disiram
                              Kakus dikolam ikan

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

What kind of toilet facilities   The canal 1(..)   G1M
do you have?   Outhouse over the canal 2(..)
                              Outhouse 3(..)
                    Water-seal outhouse 4(..)
                    Indoor flush toilet 5(..)
              Outhouse over a fishpond 6(..)

If different, please indicate_____

N. Berapa meter lebar jalan dimuka rumah anda?   Meter

How wide is the road in front of your house?   Meters _____   G1N

O. Apakah anda merasa betah tinggal ditempat   Ya
    tinggal anda sekarang?   Tidak

Do you feel that your present housing   Yes 1(..)   G1P
situation is minimally acceptable?   No 2(..)

2. Tempat tinggal pertama dikota ini (datang untuk pertama kali):

Housing after the first arrival in this city:

A. Apakah tempat tinggal anda sekarang sama dengan   Ya
    tempat tinggal pertama dikota ini?   Tidak

Is your present housing the same as your   Yes 1(..)   G2A
first housing in this city?   No 2(..)

(KALAU JAWABAN 2-A ADALAH "Ya," LANJUTKAN KE PERTANYAAN NOMOR
2-F; KALAU JAWABAN 2-A ADALAH "Tidak," LANJUTKAN KE PERTANYAAN
NOMOR 2-B)
(IF THE ANSWER TO 2-A IS "Yes," PROCEED TO QUESTION NUMBER
2-F; IF THE ANSWER TO 2-A IS "No," PROCEED TO QUESTION
NUMBER 2-B)

B. Jenis tempat tinggal apa?

            Rumah biasa
            Hotel/losmen
            Gubuk
            Becak
            Gerbong K.A.

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

In what kind of housing did you live then?

An ordinary house 1(..) G2B
Hotel/hostel 2(..)
Shack 3(..)
Pedicab 4(..)
Boxcar 5(..)

If different, please indicate_____

C. Bagaimana status tempat tinggal?

Milik kepala rumah tengga
Sewa
Kontrak
Rumah pemerintah/instansi

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

What was the status of your housing then?

Owned by the head
of the household 1(..) G2C
Rented 2(..)
Yearly contract 3(..)
Official residence 4(..)

If different, please indicate_____

D. Berapa jumlah kamar tidur?   Buah

How many bedrooms did you have in your house?   Rooms _____ G2D

E. Berapa luas bangunan?   Meter persegi

How big was the building in which you lived?   Square meters _____ G2E

F. Siapa yang menjadi kepala rumah tangga dari tempat tinggal pertama anda dikota ini?

Sendiri
Kakak
Oom/pakde

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

What was the relationship of the head of the household to you?

Myself 1(..) G2F
Older sibling 2(..)
Uncle 3(..)

If different, please indicate_____

G. Berapa orang yang tinggal serumah engan anda?   Orang

How many people shared the house with you?   People _____   G2G

H. a. Kalau menumpang, berapa anda   Rupiah
        membayar per bulan?

        If you just stayed with friends,   Rupiah _____   G2H1
        how much did you pay a month?

    b. Kalau tidak menumpang,   i. Makan Rupiah
        berapa anda membayar per
        bulan untuk: ii. Perumahan Rupiah

        If you did not stay with   Food Rupiah _____   G2H2
        anyone, how much did you
        spend per month for: Housing Rupiah _____   G2H3

I. Mengapa anda tidak pindah ke Ibukota
    Propinsi wilayah anda?_____

    Why did you not move to the capital of your province?_____   G3

VIII. KEMAMPUAN EKONOMI

ECONOMIC STATUS

1. Selama 12 bulan terakhir ini:

    In the last 12 months:

    a. Berapa kali anda mengirimkan uang kekampung?   Kali

        How many times have you sent money back to   Times _____   H1A
        your village?

    b. Berapa rupiah rata-rata yang anda kirim   Rupiah
        tiap kali?

        On the average, how much money did you   Rupiah _____   H1B
        send each time?

c. Kepada siapa uang dikirim?
                                               Orang tua
   Isteri
   Anak
Isteri dan anak
   Adik

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

To whom did you send the money?
            Parents 1(..) |H1C
           Wife 2(..)
        Children 3(..)
Wife and children 4(..)
  Younger sibling 5(..)

If different, please indicate_____

2. **Siapa yang membantu anda dalam hal keuangan:**

Who gives you financial help:

a. Dari kampung?
                    Tidak ada
   Orang tua

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

From your village?
             No one 1(..) |H2A
         Parents 2(..)

If different, please indicate_____

b. Dikota ini?
                    Tidak ada
   Orang tua
   Kakak
Oom/pakde

Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

In this city?
             No one 1(..)   H2B
        Parents 2(..)
   Older sibling 3(..)
    Uncle 4(..)

If different, please indicate_____

3. **Simpanan:**

Savings:

a. Apakah anda mempunyai simpanan uang?   Ya
                                                      Tidak

Do you have money savings?   Yes 1(..)   H3A
                                                 No 2(..)

b. Kalau "Ya," disimpan dimana?   Dirumah
                                                   Dibank

  Kalau lain, harap ditulis_____

If "Yes," where do you keep your money?   At home 1(..)   H3B
                                          In the bank 2(..)

  If different, please indicate_____

c. Boleh kita mengetahui berapa jumlahnya?   Rupiah

May we know the total?   Rupiah _____   H3C

d. Dalam 12 bulan terakhir, pernahkah anda   Ya
       menolong orang lain (meminjami) dalam   Tidak
       hal keuangan?   Malah pinjam

In the last 12 months, have you ever   Yes 1(..)   H3D
assisted someone else (loaned) in   No 2(..)
financial matters?   On the contrary, I have borrowed 3(..)

e. Boleh kita mengetahui   . Uang dipinjamkan Rupiah
       berapa jumlahnya?
                                     Uang dipinjam Rupiah

May we know the totals?   Loans Rupiah _____   H3E

                                     Debts Rupiah _____   H3F

4. Barang-barang kepunyaan anda:
   (Kalau punya, sebutkan berapa jumlahnya)

   Your possessions:
   (If you have any of the items listed, please state the
   total number that you have)

a.

Bemo	Buah	Sapi	Ekor
Oplet	Buah	Kerbau	Ekor
Gerobak Sapi	Buah	Kambing	Ekor
Gerobak kuda	Buah	Babi	Ekor
Kereta kuda	Buah	Kuda	Ekor
Gerobak dorong jualan	Buah	Unggas	Ekor
Gerobak dorong darang	Buah	Radio	Buah
Becak	Buah	Mesin jahit	Buah
Speda	Buah	Kipas angin listrik	Buah
Speda-motor	Buah	T.V.	Buah
Mobil/taksi	Buah	Kasset/tape	Buah
Jam tangan	Buah	Phonograph	Buah
Jam dinding	Buah	Almari Es	Buah
Kodak	Buah	Emas	Gram

Motorized pedicab	H4A1	Cattle	H4A15
Carry-all	H4A2	Water buffalo	H4A16
Ox cart	H4A3	Goats	H4A17
Horse cart	H4A4	Swine	H4A18
Buggy	H4A5	Horses	H4A19
Peddler's cart	H4A6	Poultry	H4A20
A trash cart		Radio	H4A21
Pedicab	H4A7	Sewing machine	H4A22
Bicycle	H4A8	Electric Fan	H4A23
Motorcycle	H4A9	Television	H4A24
Car	H4A10	Tape recorder	H4A25
Wrist watch	H4A11	Record player	H4A26
Alarm clock	H4A12	Refrigerator	H4A27
Wall clock	H4A13	Air conditioner	H4A28
Camera	H4A14	Grams of gold	H4A29

b. (Dalam harga kalau dijual saat ini):

(List at current market value):

Almari	Rupiah	
Wardrobes	Rupiah	H4B1
Tempat tidur	Rupiah	
Beds	Rupiah	H4B2

Meja/kursi/meubel   Rupiah

Tables/chairs/furniture   Rupiah _____   H4B3

Piring/cangkir/alat dapur   Rupiah

Plates/cups/kitchen utensiles   Rupiah _____   H4B4

5. Kekayaan benda tak bergerak (kalau dijual saat ini):

Fixed assets (current market value):

a. Tanah kapling (tanah buat perumahan)   Rupiah

   Residential land   Rupiah _____   H5A

b. Rumah (seluruhnya)   Rumah

   Houses (all)   Houses _____   H5B

6. Luasnya pemilikan tanah pertanian sekarang:

Area of holdings in agricultural land:

a. Berapa luasnya pemilikan tanah orang tua
   atau anda? (Dalam meter persegi; 1 ha. = 10.000 m2)

   What is the area of the agricultural land held by you
   or your parents? (In square meters; 1 hectare = 10,000
   square meters)

Sawah irigasi	Meter persegi	
Sawah tadah hujan	Meter persegi	
Pekarangan	Meter persegi	
Kebun	Meter persegi	
Ladang tegal	Meter persegi	
Tambak	Meter persegi	
Irrigated rice land	Square meters	_____	H6A1
Unirrigated rice land	Square meters	_____	H6A2
Truck garden land	Square meters	_____	H6A3
Rubber tree land	Square meters	_____	H6A4
Upland rice land	Square meters	_____	H6A5
Fish ponds	Square meters	_____	H6A6

b. Siapa pemilik tanah tersebut?   Anda

Orang tua

Orang tua dan anda

Who owns the land described above?   You 1(..)   H6B

Your parents 2(..)

Your parents and you 3(..)

c. Berapa orang yang berhak memperoleh   Orang
warisan atas tanah tersebut?

How many people have the right of   People _____   H6C
inheritance to the land described above?

7. **Hiburan/rekreasi:**

Recreation and spare time:

a. **Dalam bulan terakhir ini, berapa kali anda pergi:**

Nonton bola

Lihta T.V.

Nonton bioskop

Main looto dan sebangsanya

Tempat2 rekreasi

Nonton wayang/kesenian

Main dirumah saudara

In the last month, how many times have you gone to:

Watch a football game _____   H7A

Watch television _____   H7B

See a movie _____   H7C

Bought a lottery ticket or gambled _____   H7D

An amusement park _____   H7E

See a shadow play or traditional art performance _____   H7F

Visit your relatives in this city _____   H7G

8. Berapa rupiahkah yang anda butuhkan untuk dapat
mempertahankan hidup dengan tingkat cukupan?
(1 orang per hari):

What is the cost of subsistence living per day?
(1 person per day)

a. Ditempat anda sebelum anda pindah   Rupiah
    kesini (untuk pertama kali)?

    At your place of origin at the time   Rupiah _____   H8A
    you left (for the first time)?

b. Dikota ini pada saat ini?   Rupiah

    In this city now?   Rupiah _____   H8B

IX. PENDAPAT TENTANG KOTA INI

ATTITUDES ABOUT THIS CITY

1. Apakah kehidupan anda dikota ini   Jauh lebih baik
   seperti yang anda harapkan   Lebih baik
   sebelumnya?   Seperti yang diharapkan
                Kurang baik
            Sangat tidak baik

   Is life in this city as   Much better 1(..)   I1
   you expected it to be before   Better 2(..)
   you arrived here?   About as I expected 3(..)
               Not as good 4(..)
           Not nearly as good 5(..)

2. Kalau dibandingkan dengan kehidupan anda dikampung
   dahulu, apakah kehidupan dikota ini lebih baik dalam:

            a. Materi   b. Rohani
      Jauh lebih baik
        Lebih baik
        Sama saja
       Kurang baik
     Sangat tidak baik

   Compared with the quality of life in your village before
   you left, is life in this city better in a:

	Material sense	Spiritual Sense	
Much better	1(..)	1(..)	I2A
Better	2(..)	2(..)	I2B
It's all the same	3(..)	3(..)	
Not as good	4(..)	4(..)	
Not nearly as good	5(..)	5(..)	

3. a. Sebelum anda pindah kekota ini,   **Ya**
        pernahkah anda mempertimbangkan   **Tidak**
        untuk menetap dikota lain?

        Before you moved to this city, did you   Yes 1(..)
        ever consider moving to some other city?   No 2(..)

    b. Kalau "Ya," kota mana yang dipertimbangkan?_____

        If "Yes," which cities did you consider?_____   I3

4. Andaikata anda memperoleh penghasilan   Dikota ini
    dan menghadapi kesulitan yang sama,   Tempat asal
    baik dikota ini maupun ditempat asal
    anda, tinggal dimanakah yang lebih
    anda sukai?

    Suppose you were to receive an income   In this city 1(..)   I4
    and to face difficulties that   In my place of origin 2(..)
    were the same in this city as
    your place of origin, where would
    you prefer to live?

5. Andaikata anda memperoleh kesulitan dalam   Orang
    keuangan, berapa banyak orang yang diharapkan
    dapat dan mau menolong anda dikota ini?

    Suppose you were to be faced with financial   People _____   I5
    difficulty, how many people in this city
    would and could help you?

PERHATIAN:

- Periksalah sekali lagi apakah semua pertanyaan sudah
  ditanyakan dan mendapatkan jawaban yang cukup!!

- Apakah cara menulis jawaban sudah benar?

- Tanyakan lagi pertanyaan2 yang tertinggal dan tanyakan
  kembali jawaban yang belum cukup atau yang Saudara
  ragukan.

- Jangan lupa mengucapkan terima kasih sebelum pergi/
  meninggalkan tempat.

WARNING:

- Check again so that all questions have been asked and answered completely.

- Is your writing legible?

- Ask any questions that were omitted and ask again any questions to which the answers are incomplete or about which you have doubts.

- Do not forget to thank the respondent before you leave.

LAPORAN DAN KESAN PETUGAS

REPORT OF THE INTERVIEWER

ISILAH SESUDAH SELESAI DILUAR PENGETAHUAN RESPONDENT

COMPLETE AFTER YOU HAVE COMPLETED YOUR INTERVIEW AND
THE RESPONDENT IS <u>NOT</u> PRESENT

1. Respondent:

<div style="text-align:right">Sehat
Cacat
Sakit</div>

The health of the respondent:

<div style="text-align:right">Healthy 1(..)   J1
Crippled 2(..)
Sick 3(..)</div>

2. <u>Situasi interview</u>:

<u>The enviornment of the interview</u>:

a. Suasana respondent:

<div style="text-align:right">Tenang
Kacau/gugup</div>

State of mind of the
respondent:

<div style="text-align:right">Calm 1(..)   J2
Agitated 2(..) (note:
responses
to parts a)
and b) are
combined)</div>

b. Sikap respondent:

<div style="text-align:right">Membantu
Mempersulit
Acuh tak acuh</div>

Attitude of respondent:

<div style="text-align:right">Helpful 1(..)
Uncooperative 2(..)
Indifferent 3(..)</div>

c. Keadaan saat
interview:

<div style="text-align:right">Ada banyak orang lain turut bicara
Ada sedikit orang lain turut bicara
Ada banyak orang lain tetapi diam
Ada sedikit orang lain tetapi diam
Tidak ada orang lain</div>

```
People present at        Many present who helped answer 1(..)    J3
the interview:         A few present who helped answer 2(..)
                               Many present, but quiet 3(..)
                              A few present, but quiet 4(..)
                                  No one else present 5(..)
```

d. **Kwalitas jawaban pada umumnya:** Diberikan sujujurnya
Diberikan asal saja
Menjawab dibuat-buat

```
General quality of       The answers were given honestly 1(..)    J4
the answers:            The answers had a forced quality 2(..)
                              The answers were made up 3(..)
```

3. a. **Menerut pendapat interview, respondent**
adalah orang mana?_____

In the opinion of the interviewer, the respondent is
of what ethnic group?_____   J5

b. **Mengapa?**_____

On what do you base your opinion?_____

4. **Daerah:**

District of Interview:

Walikota
Kecamatan
Keluralian
Rukun tetangga
Rukun warga

```
               Borough _____    J6A
                  Ward _____    J6B
              Precinct _____    J6C
        Household group _____    J6D
    Neighborhood group _____    J6E
```

APPENDIX B

TABLES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

. The tables in this appendix are numbered as they were referred to in

the text, with a 'B' followed by a number. For a list of the titles of the

Tables, see page vi. The three most important data sources used are:

1) Temple tabulations. The computer tabulations of the answers

to the survey questions by sample that were done   by

GØrdon Temple for his doctoral dissertation, which he

made available to Professor John Harris for the migration

project.

2) Lund tabulations. Computer tabulations done by the author in

conjunction with the Indonesian migration project at MIT.

3) Sensus Penduduk, 1971. The Indonesian population census

from 1971, for Jakarta and for Indonesia as a whole.

Other data sources are as indicated.

TABLE B.1 : OWNERSHIP OF IDENTITY CARD, FOR WORKERS IN SIX LOW INCOME
OCCUPATIONS, JAKARTA

Occupation	Number of Cases	YES	NO	'NO' as % of Total
Cigarette Butt Collector	50	8	42	84%
Paper Collector	31	11	20	64
Shoe Shine	46	13	33	72
Kerosene Seller	44	29	15	34
Construction	52	42	10	19
Shouter (tjalo-bus)	32	23	9	28

Source: University of Indonesia, Dept. of Economics, "Results of Pretest
1972 -- Low Income People, Djakarta," (handwritten).

TABLE B.2: PAY PERIODS OF MAJOR PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF MIGRANTS
(as % of occupation totals, male and female combined)

Occupation	N	Daily	Weekly or Biweekly	Monthly	Seasonal	Not Paid	Total (%)*
Student	831	--	--	--	--	100%	100
Housewife	431	--	--	--	--	100	100
Agriculture	960	69	--	4	10	17	100
Domestic servant	227	28	--	5	--	67	100
Peddling service-trade	95	99	--	--	--	1	100
Settled service-trade	334	95	1	2	--	2	100
Daily worker	69	97	1	--	--	1	99
Production-manual	113	91	3	5	--	1	100
Lower clerical	80	53	--	46	1	--	100
Manager-administrator	97	67	--	25	2	6	100

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.3: PREVIOUS PAY PERIODS OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS BY EDUCATION LEVEL
(as % of each education level; both sexes combined)

	Pay System						N as % of
	Daily	Weekly or Biweekly	Monthly	Seasonal	Total(%)*	N	Total
None at all	93%	0%	3%	4%	100	457	26%
Primary, no diploma	86	1	4	9	100	628	36
Primary diploma	87	0	7	5	99	342	20
Junior high diploma	78	0	20	1	99	144	8
Senior high diploma	72	2	25	2	101	114	7
Academy+	71	0	28	1	100	65	4
TOTAL	1503	10	139	98	---	1750	(100)
(as % of total)	(86%)	(1)	(8)	(6)	---	(100)	

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.4:   PAY PERIODS OF MAJOR PRESENT OCCUPATIONS OF MIGRANTS
             (as % of occupation totals)

Occupation	N	Daily	Weekly or Biweekly	Monthly	Not Paid	Total(%)*
Student	259	--	--	--	100	100
Housewife	691	--	--	--	100	100
Trishaw driver	291	99	--	--	1	100
Motor transport	37	39	--	61	--	100
Domestic servant	237	3	1	61	35	99
Peddling service-trade	391	95	--	3	2	100
Settled service-trade	700	68	13	17	2	100
Daily worker	216	60	34	5	1	100
Production-manual	213	23	43	43	1	100
Manager-administrator	131	4	7	85	4	100
Prostitute	366	88	3	8	1	100
Scavenger	156	97	1	2	--	100

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.5: PRESENT PAY PERIODS OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS BY EDUCATION LEVEL
            AND SEX (as % of each education level)

Highest Diploma	Daily	Weekly or Biweekly	Monthly	N	N as % of total
Male:					
None at all	89%	7%	4%	272	13%
Primary, no diploma	79	13	8	690	33
Primary diploma	71	12	17	522	25
Junior high diploma	46	15	39	243	12
Senior high diploma	30	7	63	262	12
Academy+	16	3	81	99	5
Male Total	1367	228	493	2088	100
(as % of Total)	(66%)	(11)	(24)	(100)	
Female:*					
None at all	71%	10%	19%	306	38%
Primary, no diploma	61	10	29	280	35
Primary diploma	58	8	34	119	15
Junior high diploma	25	8	67	36	5
Senior high diploma	15	0	85	41	5
Academy+	0	0	100	13	2
Female Total	474	72	249	795	100
(as % of Total)	(60%)	(9)	(31)	(100)	

*Note: The majority of females are unpaid. Those who appear here are only
the ones who have a pay system.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.6: MIGRANT'S YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN JAKARTA (as % of sample totals)

N=	Household Sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
1968*	24	16	22	20	5
1969	20	19	19	23	9
1970	18	25	20	22	12
1971	14	15	16	13	17
1972	23	23	21	20	52
1973	1	1	1	2	4
	100	100	100	100	100

*Note: The definition of "migrant" for the survey as someone who arrived in or after 1968. Longer-resident migrants were not interviewed.

Source: Temple tabulations

TABLE B.7 : AGE OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS, AS COMPARED TO TOTAL JAKARTA POPULATION

| Age Group | Indonesia, 1971 Census | Jakarta, 1971 Census | Jakarta Migrants, 1971 Census | Household Sample | Cluster Samples | | | |
					Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
0-14 yrs.	44%	43%	14%	--	--	--	--	--
15-19	10	11	12	20	15	18	18	26
20-24	7	10	15	34	23	33	26	52
25-29	8	9	15	20	17	21	24	16
30-34	7	7	12	11	19	15	12	5
35-39	7	6	10	6	12	5	12	1
40-44	5	5	8	4	6	4	5	0
45-49	4	3	5	2	4	3	2	0
50-55	3	2	4	2	3	1	0	0
55+	6	4	5	2	2	1	0	0
TOTAL(%)*	101	100	100	100	101	101	99	100
N =	118.5 million	4.54 million	1.86 million	3182	233	351	249	369
MEDIAN AGE:	17yrs	17yrs	28yrs	23yrs	27yrs	24yrs	25yrs	20yrs

*may not add to 100 due to rounding
Sources : Sensus Penduduk, 1971, (advance tables), table 2; and Sensus Penduduk, 1971,Penduduk Jakarta Raya, tables 2 and 24.

TABLE B.8:   EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TOTAL POPULATION ABOVE 10 YEARS OF AGE,

URBAN INDONESIA AND ALL INDONESIA, 1961-1971, BY SEX

Highest Level of Education	Urban Indonesia				All Indonesia			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971
None	29%	12%	55%	31%	54%	30%	76%	52%
Primary, no diploma	23	30	18	29	25	37	14	29
Primary	32	31	20	24	17	24	8	15
Junior High	11	17	6	11	3	6	2	3
Senior High	4	7	2	4	1	3	--	1
Academy+	1	2	--	1	--	1	--	--
TOTAL (%)*	100	99	101	100	100	101	100	99
Mean (in years of education)	3.53	4.62	2.02	3.19	1.73	2.76	0.85	1.73

*May not add to 100 due to rounding error.

Source: Sethuraman, 1975a, table 4.5.

TABLE B.9:   MIGRANT'S HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY RURAL vs. URBAN ORIGIN

AND SEX -- ALL SAMPLES COMBINED (as % of sample total)

Highest Level of Education	Urban Origin		Rural Origin	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
None at all	4%	11%	15%	34%
Primary, no diploma	14	21	35	35
Primary	18	21	27	18
Junior High	21	22	11	9
Senior High	28	17	10	3
Academy	12	7	1	1
University	4	2	1	--
TOTAL (%)*	101	101	100	100
N =	710	594	1721	1132

*May not add to 100 due to rounding error. Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.10:   MIGRANT'S HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION, BY SAMPLE AND SEX
             (as % of sample totals)

Highest Level of Education	Household Sample		Squatter Sample		Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
	Cluster Samples						
	Male	Female	Male	Female			
None	7%	17%	41%	75%	11%	31%	48%
Primary, no diploma	26	28	38	22	28	46	48
Primary	24	21	15	3	30	21	4
Junior High	15	17	5	--	17	2	--
Senior High	19	11	1	--	12	--	--
Academy	6	4	--	--	2	--	--
University	2	1	--	--	--	--	--
TOTAL (%)*	99	99	100	100	100	100	100
N =	1764	1287	145	68	322	238	354

*May not add to 100 due to rounding error.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.11: WHEREABOUTS OF MIGRANT'S SPOUSE, BY PLACE OF ORIGIN, SAMPLE AND SEX (as % of total married migrants)

	Household Sample		Squatter Sample		Petty Trader Sample		Trishaw Driver Sample (M)	Prostitute Sample (F)
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	(M)	(F)
WEST JAVA								
This city	65%	98	79	100	53	87	25	43
At village	35%	2	21	0	47	13	75	57
N =	360	266	24	22	43	8	72	16
JOGJAKARTA								
This city	68%	95	--	--	--	--	--	--
At village	32%	5	--	--	--	--	--	--
N =	34	37	0	0	0	0	0	1
CENTRAL JAVA								
This city	72%	96	72	94	68	100	31	--
At village	28%	4	28	6	32	0	69	--
N =	208	238	18	17	38	6	42	1
EAST JAVA								
This city	86%	100	83	--	--	--	--	--
At village	14%	0	17	--	--	--	--	--
N =	51	57	6	2	1	1	3	0
SUMATRA								
This city	94%	97	--	--	67	75	--	--
At village	6%	3	--	--	33	25	--	--
N =	108	146	1	0	3	0	1	0
OTHER ISLANDS								
This city	98%	95	--	--	67	--	--	--
At village	2%	5	--	--	33	--	--	--
N =	48	42	1	0	3	0	1	0
TOTAL								
This city	74%	96	76	98	62	90	29	44
At village	26%	4	24	2	38	10	71	56
N =	811	786	50	41	106	19	118	18

TOTAL BY SEX: MALE: This city 68%   FEMALE: This city   95%

                                   At village 32%   At village: 5%

                                          N =   1085   N =   864

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.12: NUMBER OF TIMES MIGRANT RETURNED HOME DURING LAST 12 MONTHS
(as % of sample totals)

| | | Cluster Samples | | | |
	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
Never	45%	70%	45%	24%	37%
1 time	27	15	24	15	26
2 times	13	8	8	14	14
3-5 times	10	4	11	22	16
6-9 times	3	1	5	11	4
10-14 times	2	--	3	10	3
Over 14 times	1	1	4	4	1
TOTAL (%)*	101	99	100	100	101
N =	3195	234	351	250	371

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.13: DOES MIGRANT RETURN HOME FOR AGRICULTURAL SEASONS?
(as % of sample totals)

| | | Cluster Samples | | | |
	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
Plowing Season:					
Yes	9%	7%	9%	30%	12%
No	91	93	91	70	88
Harvest Season:					
Yes	10%	9%	11%	35%	12%
No	90	91	89	65	88
N =	3169	229	344	248	367

Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.14: TIMES SENT MONEY HOME IN LAST 12 MONTHS (as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
None	71%	92%	58%	42%	56%
Once	8	3	10	9	15
Twice	7	2	10	10	13
3 times	4	1	6	6	5
4 times	3	--	4	6	5
5-6 times	2	--	5	10	3
7-11 times	2	1	3	5	2
12 times	3	--	3	8	2
13+ times	1	1	1	3	1
TOTAL(%)*	101	100	100	99	103
N =	3181	233	348	249	371
Median	none	none	none	1	none
90% level	4	none	5	12	4

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Temple tabulations

TABLE B.15: RECIPIENTS OF MONEY SENT HOME (*) (as % of those who sent money home)

	Household Sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
Parents	63%	59%	61%	41%	69%
Wife	12	12	14	25	--
Wife and children	6	18	10	27	--
Children alone	6	--	7	3	22
Siblings	9	12	4	1	7
Other family	4	--	4	3	3
TOTAL(%)*	100	101	100	100	101
N =	916	17	149	148	163

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.   Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.16:   AMOUNT OF MONEY SENT HOME LAST 12 MONTHS (as % of sample totals)

| | Household Sample | Cluster Samples | | | |
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
None	71%	93%	58%	42%	55%
Rp 10-490	3	1	3	5	2
Rp 500-990	5	1.	8	9	7
Rp 1000-1490	6	1	8	17	11
Rp 1500-1990	2	1	3	8	5
Rp 2000-2990	5	1	8	10	6
Rp 3000-4990	4	0	5	7	6
Rp 5000+	5	1	8	2	9
TOTAL (%)*	101	99	101	100	101
N =	3050	221	323	244	359

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.17:   WHOM MIGRANT CAME WITH TO JAKARTA (as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample		Squatter Sample		Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
	Male	Female	Male	Female	(M & F)	(Male)	(Female)
Alone	49%	13%	53%	21%	50%	56%	65%
Immediate family (spouse, sibling, parents)	31	70	24	76	29	12	5
Other relative	6	6	7	--	6	3	3
Friend (from village or Jakarta)	14	8	16	3	14	30	27
Employer	1	3	--	--	--	--	1
TOTAL(%)*	101	100	100	100	99	101	101
N =	1769	1275	291	29	349	250	371

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.
Sources: Lund tabulations (1st 4 cols.)
          Temple tabulations (last 3 cols.)

TABLE B.18:   WHO PAID THE MIGRANT'S TRAVEL COSTS? (as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample		Squatter Sample		Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
	Male	Female	Male	Female	(M & F)	(Male)	(Female)
Self	50%	16%	52%	35%	50%	76%	79%
Husband	--	41	--	41	4	--	13
Immediate family	39	26	44	21	34	19	11
Other relative	5	8	4	3	8	2	2
Employer or Official	6	9	--	--	4	2	4
TOTAL(%)*	100	100	100	100	100	99	
N =	1779	1290	293	29	350	249	369

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Sources: Lund tabulations (1st 4 cols.)
          Temple tabulations (last 3 cols.)

TABLE B.19 : WHEREABOUTS OF MIGRANT'S MOTHER AND FATHER
(as % of sample totals)

| | Household Sample | | Cluster Samples | | | | | | | |
| | | | Squatter Sample | | Petty Trader Sample | | Trishaw Driver Sample | | Prostitute Sample | |
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
At origin or elsewhere	70%	59%	42%	35%	78%	62%	78%	54%	81%	62%
Here in Jakarta	9	6	3	3	5	1	2	1	1	1
Deceased	21	35	55	62	17	37	20	44	18	38
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Both parents deceased	15%		46%		13%		12%		12%	
N =	3076		213		322		233		354	

Source : Lund tabulations

TABLE B.20:   PRESENT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
Migrant himself	29%	75%	41%	49%	41%
Husband	21	14	4	1	1
Older sibling	15	1	20	7	1
Parents	5	3	2	--	--
Uncle	8	--	8	4	7
Other relative	6	1	5	1	1
Friend	5	3	13	10	14
Owner of House	1	1	1	1	13
Employer	10	1	5	25	4
Madam	--	--	--	--	19
TOTAL (%)*	100	99	99	98	101
N =	3189	224	348	249	371

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.21: REASON WHY MIGRANT LEFT ORIGIN, BY SAMPLE AND SEX
(as % of totals)

| | Household Sample | | Squatter Sample | | Petty Trader Sample | | Trishaw Driver Sample | Prostitute Sample |
| | | | Cluster Samples | | | | | |
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	(M)	(F)
Employment-economic	57%	21%	67%	49%	61%	49%	83%	58%
Education	11	5	1	--	7	--	--	--
City amenities, way of life	13	5	21	12	17	12	10	12
Transfer	6	4	1	2	1	3	--	1
Accompany relative	9	61	--	23	7	23	2	5
Personal problem	3	3	10	11	6	11	3	21
Other	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	3
Total (%)*	100	100	102	99	100	101	99	100
N =	1771	1284	136	66	285	29	235	346

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.22: MIGRANT'S REASON FOR CHOOSING JAKARTA (as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
Looked for work	22%	32%	27%	46%	31%
Looked for luck	4	17	14	15	7
Easier to sell/earn money	4	16	14	13	19
Find a better position	3	3	6	4	1
Job promise	9	4	5	3	8
Transferred by employer	2	--	--	--	--
Continue school	8	--	5	--	--
Accompany spouse	20	8	5	--	3
Accompany parent/ sibling/child	11	3	8	2	1
Accompany extended family	5	1	3	1	1
Life easier there	3	4	2	2	5
Jakarta swings	2	3	1	3	11
Looking for adventure	5	5	6	4	7
Just came along/ Jakarta's close	3	5	4	5	5
TOTAL(%)*	99	101	100	98	99
N =	3134	225	341	246	356

*May not add to 100 due to rounding error.

Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.22, continued

SUMMARY OF MIGRANT'S REASONS FOR CHOOSING JAKARTA, BY SAMPLE AND SEX
(as % of totals)

	Household Sample		Squatter Sample		Petty Trader Sample		Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	(Male)	(Female)
Employment-economic	57%	21%	83%	48%	69%	24%	83%	66%
Education	10	5	--	--	6	--	--	--
Experience-amenities	11	6	11	13	9	3	8	23
Accompany spouse	1	45	--	25	--	55	--	3
Accompany relative or friend	17	22	5	13	15	17	8	8
Transfer	4	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Close to origin	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	--
TOTAL (%)*	100	100	100	99	100	99	99	100
N =	1764	1278	139	67	286	29	234	342

*May not add to 100 due to rounding errors.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.23: REASON FOR CHOOSING JAKARTA RATHER THAN MIGRANT'S OWN PROVINCE CAPITAL (as % of sample totals)

| | Household Sample | | Cluster Samples | | | | | |
| | | | Squatter Sample | | Petty Trader Sample | | Trishaw Driver Sample | Prostitute Sample |
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	(M)	(F)
Pessimistic about jobs in other place	51%	20%	57%	33%	54%	23%	62%	55%
No relatives-- friends in other place	16	10	12	9	13	4	15	21
Jakarta's closer	7	2	10	8	10	4	8	10
Unfamiliar with other place	6	3	15	14	5	--	9	8
Followed relative	17	65	6	36	18	69	6	6
Moved by employer	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total (%)*	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	1637	1207	123	63	269	26	222	295

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.24 : QUALITY OF MIGRANT'S LIFE IN JAKARTA

| | Household Sample | Cluster Samples | | | |
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
A. COMPARED TO EXPECTATIONS:					
Better than expected	48%	15%	46%	41%	51%
As expected	35	19	32	36	24
Worse than expected	19	66	22	22	25
TOTAL (%)*	102	100	100	99	100
N =	3161	232	351	247	368
B. MATERIAL COMPARISON WITH PLACE OF ORIGIN:					
Better than expected	63%	24%	72%	71%	70%
As expected	30	35	24	23	23
Worse than expected	7	41	4	6	7
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N =	3173	233	352	249	369
C. SPIRITUAL COMPARISON WITH ORIGIN:					
Better than expected	37%	12%	43%	33%	24%
As expected	52	44	49	52	48
Worse than expected	10	44	8	15	28
TOTAL (%)*	99	100	100	100	100
N =	3173	232	352	249	369

* may not add to 100 due to rounding

TABLE B.24, cont'd

		Cluster Samples		
	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
D. ALL ELSE EQUAL (INCOME), WHERE WOULD MIGRANT PREFER TO BE?					
Jakarta	67%	51%	67%	48%	59%
Place of origin	33	49	33	50	41
No preference	0	0	0	1	0
Depends on spouse	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N =	3152	231	349	249	368

Source : Temple tabulations

TABLE B.25 : ARE PRESENT LIVING CONDITIONS TOLERABLE? (as % of Sample totals)

		Cluster Samples		
	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
YES	93%	67%	92%	84%	77%
NO	7	33	8	16	23
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (%) N =	3172	232	346	249	369

Source : Temple tabulations

TABLE
B.26:   MIGRANT'S PLANNED STAY IN JAKARTA, AT PRESENT (as % of sample totals)

| | Household Sample | Cluster Samples | | | |
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
No plan	7%	13%	9%	16%	11%
For good	56	34	54	37	31
Temporary	8	19	11	19	25
Depends on employment	16	30	19	25	22
Depends on family	10	2	5	--	3
Up to 3 years	2	2	2	4	8
TOTAL (%)*	99	100	100	101	100
N =	2613	159	265	195	276

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE
B.27: WAS PROVINCE/ISLAND OF LAST RESIDENCE THE SAME AS THAT OF THE
MIGRANT'S BIRTHPLACE?

PROVINCE/ISLAND of last residence	Total	Yes	% of total	No	% of total
West Java	1688	1594	94%	94	6%
Jogjakarta	165	135	82%	30	18%
Central Java	1295	1239	96%	56	4%
East Java	268	232	87%	36	13%
Sumatra	618	568	92%	50	8%
Kalimantan	76	60	79%	16	21%
Sulawesi	64	59	92%	5	8%
Outer Islands	39	32	82%	7	18%
	4193	3949	94%	244	6%

Source: LEKNAS tabulations of Survey of Migrants data for all Jakarta
samples combined.

TABLE
B.28: ETHNIC GROUP MIGRANT FEELS HE/SHE BELONGS TO (as % of sample totals)

	Household	Squatter	Petty Trader	Trishaw	Prostitute
N =	3184	234	350	250	370
Javanese	47%	59%	32%	64%	47%
Sudanese (West Java)	31	36	32	36	53
Minangkabau (West Sumatra)	7	2	24	--	--
Batak (North Sumatra)	4	--	9	--	--
Palembang (South Sumatra)	1	1	1	--	--
Others	10	1	2	--	--
TOTAL(%)*	100	99	101	100	100
N =	3184	234	350	250	370

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE
B.29: AMOUNT OF MONEY MIGRANT BROUGHT ALONG TO JAKARTA (as % of sample totals)

		Cluster Samples			
	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
0	22%	30%	13%	10%	19%
10-190	4	21	4	14	4
200-490	8	17	9	27	18
500-990	12	11	11	24	24
1000-1990	15	10	16	17	16
2000-4990	15	7	16	6	14
5000-9990	11	2	18	2	6
10,000+	13	3	15	--	--
TOTAL (%)*	100	101	102	100	101
N =	3032	226	341	250	367
(Approx.) Median:	Rp 1000	Rp 170	Rp 1750	Rp 400	Rp 900

*May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.30 : MIGRANT'S OWNERSHIP OF LAND
         (as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
			Cluster Samples		

A. AREA OF WET RICE LAND (SAWAH) OWNED:

	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
None	79%	92%	72%	78%	84%
Under 0.5 hectares	11	5	15	12	9
0.5 hectares or more	10	3	13	10	7
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N =	3055	232	338	248	359

B. MEDIAN AMOUNT OWNED, OF THOSE WHO HAVE LAND: (approximate, from intervals)

	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
(In square meters)	$2450m^2$	$1990m^2$	$4990m^2$	$2990m^2$	$2990m^2$
N =	639	19	96	55	55

C. PERSON WHO OWNS THE LAND IN MIGRANT'S FAMILY:

	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
Parents	91%	92%	93%	84%	97%
The Migrant	7	7	6	13	2
Migrant + Parents	2	1	1	3	1
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100

Source : Temple tabulations

TABLE B.31: JOB PROMISES BEFORE MIGRATION

	Household Sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
A. WAS A JOB PROMISED BEFORE ARRIVAL?					
Yes	18%	7%	15%	8%	17%
No	82	93	85	92	83
N =	3186	234	350	250	371
B. IF PROMISED A JOB, DID IT STILL EXIST UPON ARRIVAL?					
Yes	90%	35%	73%	90%	82%
No	10	65	27	10	18
N =	570	17	52	21	62
C. IF PROMISED A JOB, HAD A HIGHER WAGE BEEN OFFERED BEFORE ARRIVAL?					
Yes	17%	41%	19%	14%	31%
No	83	59	81	86	69
N =	570	17	52	21	62

Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.32 : PERSONAL CONNECTIONS IN EMPLOYMENT

		Cluster Samples			
	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample

A. IS IT DIFFICULT TO GET JOBS NOW WITHOUT CONNECTIONS?

	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
YES	88%	87%	82%	89%	81%
NO	12	13	18	11	9
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N =	2479	182	318	221	327

B. PERSON WHO HELPED MIGRANT FIND FIRST JOB:

	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
No one	37%	79%	48%	48%	61%
Friend from Home	31	14	24	42	33
Older Sibling	14	1	17	5	1
Uncle	7	2	7	4	3
Close Family	7	4	3	1	1
Extended Family	1	0	0	0	0
Employer	3	0	1	0	1
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N =	1870	194	316	242	356

TABLE B.33 : NUMBER OF WEEKS IT TOOK TO FIND FIRST JOB IN JAKARTA
(as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
Straight to work	42%	52%	40%	36%	55%
1 week	21	19	28	37	28
2-3 weeks	8	10	11	14	8
4 weeks	9	9	.8	6	4
5-7 weeks	5	3	3	4	2
8-11 weeks	5	4	4	1	2
12-19 weeks	5	3	2	1	0
over 20 weeks	5	1	4	1	0
TOTAL (%)*	100	101	100	100	99
Mean (in weeks)	4 wks	2 wks	3.4 wks	1.8 wks	1.7 wks
Median (in weeks)	1	0	1	1	0
N =	1879	187	306	236	341

* may not add to 100 due to rounding
Source: Temple tabulations

TABLE B.34 : WAS THE FIRST JOB THE MIGRANT FOUND IN JAKARTA THE SAME AS THE
MIGRANT'S PRESENT JOB? (as % of sample totals)

	Household Sample	Cluster Samples			
		Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
YES	84%	72%	73%	84%	88%
NO	16	28	27	16	12
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N =	3050	230	343	238	351

* may not add to 100 due to rounding.   Source: Temple tabulations.

TABLE B.35 : FIRST JOB VERSUS PRESENT JOB OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS -- MALE
(as % of first job totals, all samples combined)

FIRST JOB / PRESENT JOB	Student	Housewife	Agriculture	Traditional Transport	Motor Transport	Domestic Servant	Peddling Service-Trade	Settled Service-Trade	Daily Worker	Production-Manual	Lower Clerical	Manager-Administrator	Scavenger	Unemployed	Not shown(%)	TOTAL (%)*	Number of Cases
Student	85				2			5	2	3	3				0	100	190
Housewife		83													17	100	12
Agriculture			82												18	100	17
Traditional Transport				91		2		3	1	1	1		1	1	0	101	260
Motor Transport				3	82			3	6	3	3		3		0	103	35
Domestic Servant				4		57	3	16	7	4	6		3		0	97	70
Peddling Service-Trade				4			88	4	2		1		1		0	100	365
Settled Service-Trade				2			1	90	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	102	523
Daily Worker				4			4	7	70	6	3	2	5		0	101	243
Production-Manual						1	2	7	2	83	4			3	0	102	178
Lower Clerical								3			93	2			2	100	139
Manager-Administrator										3	4	89			4	100	75
Scavenger				3				2					93		2	100	89
Unemployed						1	6	16	6	5	6	2	4	45	1	95	206
Number of Cases	157	10	15	278	37	47	358	586	209	193	182	86	115	125			2398

* may not add to 100 due to rounding.   Source: Lund tabulations

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TABLE B.35, cont'd : FIRST JOB VERSUS PRESENT JOB OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS -- FEMALE
(as % of first job totals -- all samples combined)

PRESENT JOB →

FIRST JOB	Student	Housewife	Domestic Servant	Peddling Service-trade	Settled Service-trade	Daily Worker	Production-Manual	Lower Clerical	Manager-Administrator	Prostitute	Scavenger	Unemployed	Not shown(%)	TOTAL	Number of Cases
Student	94	1						3	1				0	99	90
Housewife	96	96			1				1				2	98	618
Domestic Servant		10	75				2	1	3	2			1	94	226
Peddling Service-trade		7		80									13	100	30
Settled Service-Trade		9	2		77	4		2	5				1	99	114
Daily Worker		40					60						0	100	10
Production-Manual		5			5		79	5					5	99	39
Lower Clerical		11						81					11	103	27
Manager-Administrator								5	92				3	100	39
Prostitute										100			0	100	306
Scavenger											93		7	100	31
Unemployed	2	20	6	4	6		2	1		12	2	43	2	100	196
Number of Cases	90	679	189	33	114	7	40	32	45	366	41	88	--	--	1726

* may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.36 : PREVIOUS JOB VERSUS PRESENT JOB OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS -- MALE
(as % of present job totals -- all samples combined)

PREVIOUS JOB \ PRESENT JOB	Student	Housewife	Agriculture	Traditional Transport	Motor Transport	Domestic Servant	Peddling Service-trade	Settled Service-trade	Daily Worker	Production-Manual	Lower Clerical	Manager-Administrator	Scavenger	Other	Unemployed	Number of Cases
Student	92	27	7	4	22	28	5	20	13	23	38	34	2	16	41	552
Housewife		36				6			1	2						13
Agriculture			87	60	8	26	50	24	36	18	4	2	34	8	6	682
Traditional Transport				5					1				3	3		20
Motor Transport					24										1	12
Domestic Servant				2		13	5	3	2	3		2	3			60
Peddling Service-trade	1	9		3		2	8	2	2	1	1	1	3		2	68
Settled Service-trade				5	19		3	24	6	7	4	7	9	5	9	237
Daily Worker				3	3	2	3	1	11	2	1		4		1	61
Production-Manual				1	8		3		4	17	3	1	3	5	4	87
Lower Clerical	1				3			2		1	25	8			4	68
Manager-Administrator	1	7					1	1	1	1	6	35	1	3	2	56
Scavenger													4			5
Other	1							1		1	4	2		47	1	38
Unemployed	6	27	0	16	14	23	23	20	25	26	14	7	36	13	30	492
TOTAL (%)*	101	99	101	99	101	100	101	98	101	102	100	99	102	100	100	--
Number of Cases	169	11	15	283	37	47	357	585	208	193	182	86	115	38	125	2451

* may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source : Lund tabulations

TABLE B.36, cont'd : PREVIOUS JOB VERSUS PRESENT JOB OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS -- FEMALE
(as % of present job totals -- all samples combined)

PREVIOUS JOB \ PRESENT JOB	Student	Housewife	Traditional Transport	Domestic Servant	Peddling Service-Trade	Settled Service-trade	Daily Worker	Production-Manual	Lower Clerical	Manager-Administrator	Prostitute	Scavenger	Other	Unemployed	Number of Cases
Student	93	15		11		5		18	42	38		2	28	25	278
Housewife	2	40		7	27	17		5	9		20	15	33	13	418
Agriculture		10		13	24	14		13		4	37	24		6	277
Domestic Servant		9		27	12	4			3	4	9	17	11	2	167
Peddling Service-trade		1		3	18			3			2	5			27
Settled Service-trade		3		5		36	29	7			4	5	6	5	97
Daily Worker				1		2					1				8
Production-Manual		1		3				28		2				1	26
Lower Clerical		1						3	18					1	12
Manager-Administrator		3				1			6	40				1	41
Prostitute											4				16
Other		1					14	3	3				6		10
Unemployed	4	17		31	18	21	57	23	15	11	23	32	17	47	372
TOTAL (%)*	99	101	--	101	99	100	100	103	96	99	100	101	101	101	--
Number of Cases	90	679	7	190	33	114	7	40	33	45	365	41	18	88	1748

* may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: Lund tabulations

TABLE B.37 : PRESENT DAILY WAGES OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS, BY SAMPLE AND SEX

	% reporting Rp.0	% reporting over Rp.2000	excl'g Rp.0 and over Rp.2000			
			% ≤ Rp.100	Median	Mean	No.of Cases
HOUSEHOLD						
Male	0%	2%	14%	Rp.250	Rp.310	704
Female	2%	1%	28%	200	310	88
SQUATTER						
Male	1%	0%	64%	100	125	135
Female	5%	0%	81%	75	85	37
PETTY TRADER						
Male	0%	0%	5%	300	380	276
Female	0%	0%	13%	300	350	23
TRISHAW DRIVER (Male)	0%	0% *	8%	250	250	224
PROSTITUTE (Female)	0%	2%	1%	500	580	311

* one outlier of Rp.950 was excluded.

Source : Lund tabulations

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TABLE B.38: APPROXIMATE PRESENT WAGES OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS, BY OCCUPATION,
PAY PERIOD AND SEX (all samples combined)

| | Mean Daily Income* | | Mean Weekly Income** | | Mean Monthly Income** | |
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Traditional transport	Rp 240	--	Rp 1000	--	--	--
N =	(278)	(1)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Motor transport	630	--	--	--	7500	--
N =	(16)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(19)	(0)
Peddling trader	295	270	--	--	4000	--
N =	(342)	(26)	(2)	(0)	(10)	(2)
Settled trader	410	335	1500	1000	7500	6000
N =	(404)	(62)	(61)	(28)	(103)	(13)
Domestic servant	550	--	--	--	4000	3000
N =	(3)	(5)	(1)	(1)	(23)	(117)
Daily worker	295	260	1500	--	10,000	--
N =	(124)	(5)	(64)	(1)	(10)	(1)
Prostitute	--	580	--	--	--	6000
N =	(0)	(311)	(0)	(4)	(0)	(29)
Scavenger	110	90	--	--	--	--
N =	(111)	(37)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)
Production/manual	310	110	1500	1000	7500	--
N =	(41)	(9)	(64)	(23)	(84)	(6)
Lower clerical	330	--	--	--	10,000	8000
N =	(7)	(1)	(4)	(0)	(159)	(28)
Manager/supervisor	580	--	2500	--	10,000	6000
N =	(5)	(0)	(9)	(0)	(68)	(39)

*Mean may be a high estimate, due to high outliers. Values over Rp 5000 or equal to zero were excluded. Standard deviations for these figures are approximately as high as the means themselves.

**Median figures are rough, interpolated from wage intervals, not actual frequencies of values.

Source: Lund tabulations.

TABLE B.39:   DAILY INCOME OF WORKERS IN SEVEN LOW-INCOME OCCUPATIONS, JAKARTA 1972

Occupation	Average daily wage	MAXIMUM REPORTED Average	Range of Maximum	N	MINIMUM REPORTED Average	Range of Minimum	N
Cigarette butt collector	Rp 120	Rp 150	Rp 50-600	53	Rp 90	Rp 25-450	48
Paper collector	150	195	50-700	30	95	15-500	28
Shoe shine	150	210	75-500	46	85	25-100	44
Kerosene (minjak) seller	235	300	120-550	42	165	50-350	40
Construction	295	340	50-600	40	245	50-400	40
Shouter (tjalo-bus)	280	350	150-1000	30	190	50-550	24
Trishaw (betjak) driver	315	155	----	44	240	----	44

Source: University of Indonesia, Department of Economics, "Results of Pre-test 1972 -- Low-Income People, Djakarta," handwritten.

TABLE B.40 : AVERAGE DAILY WAGES FOR SEVERAL TYPES OF LABOR, BY PROVINCE, 1971/72 (Mean, in rupiah)

PROVINCE/ISLAND	Unskilled Laborer	Semi-Skilled (eg.,mason)	Skilled	Low Foreman-Manager	High Foreman-Manager	Mechanic	Night Watchmen
Jakarta	Rp.200	Rp.350	Rp.400	Rp.400	--	--	Rp.400
West Java	155	220	280	220	275	250	155
Central Java	95	110	130	145	175	200	90
Jogjakarta	85	130	155	130	150	155	115
East Java	120	215	275	220	305	230	145
Aceh	170	300	370	220	--	290	170
North Sumatra	245	--	--	--	--	600	--
West Sumatra	185	275	390	245	295	250	195
Riau + Jambi	320	400	535	410	505	400	315
South Sumatra, Lampung, and Bengkulu	230	335	385	230	360	365	260
Kalimantan	300	375	500	425	490	530	290
Sulawesi	185	285	330	245	285	285	165
Other Islands	115	220	265	135	185	180	110

Source: BAPPENAS,"Daftar Upah Harian"(Daily wage for several types of Labor), mimeo, 1971.

TABLE B.41 : PREVIOUS DAILY WAGES OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS IN THREE MAJOR PREVIOUS
OCCUPATIONS, BY PROVINCE AND SEX
(all Jakarta samples combined)

	MALE (excl'g 0 and over 2000)				FEMALE (excl'g 0 and over 2000)			
	No.over Rp.2000	% under Rp.100	Median*	N	No.over Rp.2000	% under Rp.100	Median*	N
WEST JAVA:								
Agriculture	26	52%	Rp.100	210	14	61%	Rp. 80	103
Peddling Service-Trade	0	13	100	30	1	22	200	9
Settled Service-trade	5	15	150	57	0	5	250	19
JOGJAKARTA:								
Agriculture	1	50	150	6	--	--	--	1
Peddling Service-trade	--	--	--	0	--	--	--	1
Settled Service-trade	1	0	150	6	--	--	--	5
CENTRAL JAVA:								
Agriculture	9	55	100	130	2	64	80	39
Peddling Service-trade	2	31	200	16	0	50	100	12
Settled Service	9	11	150	44	2	49	100	45
EAST JAVA:								
Agriculture	0	38	100	8	0	100	50	4
Peddling Service-trade	1	40	150	5	--	--	--	0
Settled Service-trade	2	--	200	13	1	20	100	5
SUMATRA:								
Agriculture	3	40	150	5	4	100	--	2
Peddling S Service-trade	0	0	200	7	2	--	--	0
Settled Service	15	0	300	48	1	--	--	6
OTHER ISLANDS:								
Agriculture	4	33	150	6	--	--	--	0
Peddling Service-trade	--	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
Settled Service-trade	3	0	500	7	--	--	--	2

TABLE B.42 : PREVIOUS WAGES OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS, BY PAY PERIOD AND SEX

PREVIOUS DAILY WAGES

	% reporting zero income	% reporting over Rp.5000	excl'g Rp.0 and over Rp.5000			
			% under Rp.100	Median	Mean	No.of Cases
MALE						
Agricultural	9%	5%	76%	Rp.100	Rp.310	381
Non-agricultural	2	13	32%	200	750	454
FEMALE						
Agricultural	10	7	86%	50	305	157
Non-agricultural	11	2	46%	150	665	213

PREVIOUS MONTHLY SALARIES

	Minimum	Maximum	(all cases)			
			% under Rp.3000*	Median	Mean	No.of Cases
MALE						
Agricultural	Rp.750	Rp.11,000	83%	Rp.2050	Rp.2670	24
Non-agricultural	750	46,000	17%	6000	8250	72
FEMALE						
Agricultural	1700	6000	91%	1180	2680	11
Non-agricultural	750	16,000	55%	2600	4940	22

PREVIOUS SEASONAL SALARIES

	Minimum	Maximum	(all cases)			
			% under Rp.9000**	Median	Mean	No.of Cases
MALE (agriculture)	500	60,000	38%	10,000	14,450	68
FEMALE (agriculture)	500	25,000	50%	7,550	9,410	22

* roughly one month's wages at Rp.100 per day

** roughly 3 months' wages at Rp.100 per day

Source : Lund tabulations

TABLE B.43 : PREVIOUS DAILY AND SEASONAL WAGES, BY SEX AND RELATIONSHIP
TO EMPLOYER

PREVIOUS DAILY WAGES

	% reporting zero income	excluding zeros			
		% ≤ Rp.100	Median	Mean	No.of Cases
MALE					
Own account worker	17%	36%	Rp.170	Rp.280	1374
Family-employed	63%	27%	150	310	201
Stranger-employed	48%	42%	100	150	1791
FEMALE					
Own account worker	16%	40%	160	290	343
Family-employed	56%	22%	85	200	69
Stranger-employed	49%	47%	50	95	482

PREVIOUS SEASONAL WAGES

	% reporting zero income	excluding zeros			
		% ≤ Rp.9000*	Median	Mean	No.of Cases
MALE					
Own account worker	11%	44%	9,260	15,200	580
Family-employed	25%	41%	9,340	14,225	280
Stranger-employed	8%	66%	5,470	9,280	372
FEMALE					
Own account worker	20%	46%	8,480	14,550	80
Family-employed	30%	39%	8,890	12,650	70
Stranger-employed	9%	75%	2,330	7,610	67

* roughly equivalent to 3 months' wages at Rp.100 per day.

NOTE: Tabulation is taken from the whole Survey of Migrants, not just the
Jakarta migrants. The daily wage is a combination of all previous jobs,
agriculture and otherwise. Wage is total wage -- income in cash + in kind

Source : Lund tabulations

TABLE B.44: COST OF ONE DAY'S SUBSISTENCE -- AT ORIGIN AND IN JAKARTA

A. DAILY CONSUMPTION OF JAKARTA MIGRANTS

		Cluster Samples			
	Household Sample	Squatter Sample	Petty Trader Sample	Trishaw Driver Sample	Prostitute Sample
AT ORIGIN:					
Median:	Rp 75	Rp 50	Rp 75	Rp 75	Rp 75
90% level:	150	85	150	100	150
N =	2956	205	328	234	349
IN JAKARTA:					
Median:	150	80	150	140	150
90% level:	275	150	275	200	300
N =	3074	225	348	247	367

Source: Temple tabulations

B. DAILY CONSUMPTION IN FOOD/CIGARETTES FOR SIX LOW-INCOME OCCUPATIONS

	Average daily consumption	Maximum	Minimum	N
Cigarette butt collector	Rp. 70	Rp. 170	Rp. 25	48
Paper collector	120	300	20	27
Shoe shine	85	175	20	47
Kerosene (minjak) seller	170	300	35	43
Construction	170	420	35	48
Shouter (tjalo-bus)	140	320	30	26

Source: University of Indonesia, Dept. of Economics, "Results of Pre-test 1972 -- Low-Income People, Djakarta", handwritten.

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