

volume 12 number 1

2006

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Journal of
Population
Evolution

JOURNAL OF POPULATION

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Publisher/Editorial Office	<p>Published twice a year by the Demographic Institute, Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, Gedung A, Lantai 2 & 3, Depok 16424, Indonesia. Phone: (62-21) 787 2911 - Hunting, Fax.: (62-21) 787 2909. E-mail: demofeu1@indo.net.id</p>
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Subscription (annual)	US\$65.00 (2 issues) inclusive mail postage.
Payment	Cheque made payable to Demographic Institute FEUI, Gedung A, Kampus UI, Depok 16424, Indonesia, or, transfer to: BNI UI Branch Depok US\$ Account Number 0006695881. Lembaga

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Sri Harijati **Hatmadji** 1

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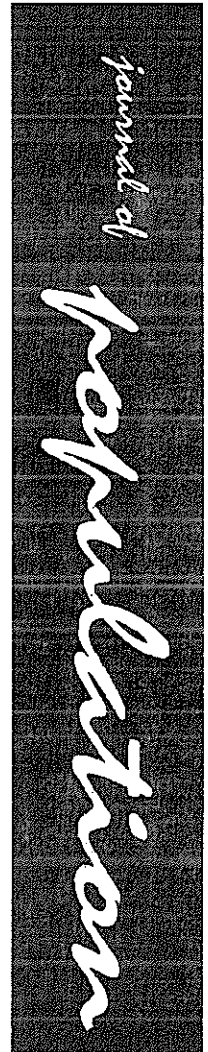
Timothy **Adair** 27

Precarious Safety Net: Neighborly Support for Widows in Urban Kampongs of East Java

Ruly **Marianti** 53

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Ekawati S. **Wahyuni** 83



volume 12
number 1
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THE APPLICATION OF HOUSEHOLD AND NETWORK APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNAL MIGRATION: Case Study in Java, Indonesia¹

Ekawati S. Wahyuni

Abstract. The study of the impact of migration on family life has to be carried out, in both destination and origin areas, and by applying multiple research methods and data collection strategies. Household survey and qualitative research were taken as the main data collection methods in the origin area, while direct observation and qualitative interviews were mostly used to collect data in the destination area. A 'tracing' method was used and some adjustment in household and migrant definitions has been applied. To study the networking process among non-permanent migrants in the city, a qualitative method in data collection and analysis as well as in reporting was applied.

Keywords: internal migration, mobility, household, network approach, qualitative, quantitative method.

1. INTRODUCTION: MIGRATION AND FAMILY

Population movement across Indonesia archipelago is not anymore an unusual phenomenon in the last 20 to 30 years. Migration volume has significantly increased, especially between less-industrial to more-industrial areas in the country. In addition to the economic development policies implemented by the government, which is concentrated industrial development in Jakarta and West Java provinces, the development of mass-transportation and communication system has been accelerating population movement between regions within the country (Hugo *et al.*, 1987).

While the migration volume increases, the characteristic of migrants also changes. Currently, migration does not only involve people from certain ethnic group, it also involves people from a particular gender, or from lower socio-economic, or from different education status. Productive age population move freely to any places in Indonesia to pursue their dreams, either for work or to get better job, for school, or just to settle-down and raise family. Most family in Indonesia is having some experience with migration activities. People in the country become familiar with increasing number of women who migrate to urban and industrial areas on their own. Even, since the 1990s the ever increasing mobility of Indonesian has expanded its destination areas to other countries, such as other Asian countries, Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and many more. The majority of international migrants are women who work abroad as household maid. According to Hugo (2002:17), between 1994 and 1999 the number of Indonesia's female OCWs (Overseas Contract Workers) was twice of the number of their male counterparts. The number of international migrant workers from Indonesia, male and female, is increasing with the prolonged economic crisis in the country. This has made Indonesia noted as one of the world's largest sending nation of "unskilled" migrant worker (ESCAP, 2003:3).

Within the country, increasing population mobility from less-developed or rural areas to more developed urban areas has created a considerable impact, both in urban and rural areas. In the city, urbanization has created problems, such as population crowding, housing, sanitation, and environmental degradation, while in the origin areas there has been agricultural labor shortage, 'brain-drain' effects and negative impacts on development activities. These impacts usually take place in relatively short-time and people will recognize these problems easily. Beside mentioned problems, migration also influences the social condition of the community in both urban and rural area. However, as social changes are not easily to perceive and take more time for people to realize the changing, the social impacts of migration has been overlooked in research for sometimes. One of social impacts that raise attention lately is migration impact on family life, and the increasing number of individual female migrants. It justifies the needs for further study on this subject.

Traditionally, migration decision-making is understood to be made by the migrant solely, and therefore the personal quality of migrant is the most important factor to determine migration behavior. Migration is treated as the accumulation of individual choices (Lee, 1966). Moreover, migration was defined as permanent move from place of origin to place of destination, and no more commitment of the migrant toward their family left behind. However, the majority of migration in developing countries takes place in non-permanent basis and involving the family in decision-making process (Hugo, 1978; Harbison 1981, Wood, 1981).

Although migration mostly involves members of a family individually, but the decisions about which individual will be allowed to migrate-out are made by family. This understanding has led to the implementation of alternative approach to study migration behavior using family as the basis of migration analysis (Hugo, 1978, Harbison 1981, Wood, 1981).

Migration, internal or international, is generally viewed as a strategy for family - household to sustain their economic welfare. When the family still own enough resources or when other economic opportunities are still available in the village, the family is able to produce goods and services to meet the family needs. However, when families are experiencing lesser resource in the village, they will seek economic opportunities elsewhere by sending their members to migrate. Families in the villages send their family members to seek waged jobs in the city to maximize the utilization of the labor power owned by the family (Deere and de Janvry, 1979; Wood, 1981). The decision as who is to be sent to job market depends on two considerations, namely (1) the composition of members of the family by age and sex, as well as the stage of the individual family life cycle, and (2) the job opportunities available elsewhere. Combining the two considerations, the families will send either the father, the mother, the son(s) or the daughter(s) or combinations of those to migrate elsewhere to seek waged jobs. Therefore, when job opportunities outside the village are more favored for female workers, the families will send their female members to migrate too, including married women with children.

Broad framework above has brought up questions for research on how migration decision process does take place in the family. How does migration influence the family structure? How do families cope with the instability due to the migration of particular members of the family? What do they do to maintain the family's function in the larger society? How do they change the distribution of roles among the family members left behind?

The main objective of this article is to present the research methods and data collection strategy to get the answer of the research questions mentioned above. The research process will be explained in detail including the strengths and weaknesses of each research method and strategy applied.

2. RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 Multiple Methods and Strategies

This study applied quantitative and qualitative research methods, and made use of survey, in-depth interviews, and participant observation methods to collect data and information. The quantitative approach was utilized to gather baseline data on the number of in and out-migrant in the village, the origin areas of in-migrants and the destination areas of out-migrants, the migrant's characteristics, the social-economic status of migrant's family-household in the village, and type of migration by using survey technique. Based on the survey data, a comprehensive information on migration behavior, the family structure, as well as the socio-economic status of family-household in the village were obtained. A structured-questionnaire was utilized in the survey. The survey was only done in the rural-based research.

The qualitative research in term of case study was carried-out by applying in-depth interviews and participant observation to get information on migration decision-making process, individual's migration history, childcare arrangement, and sexual-division of labor within migrant family-household. The qualitative approach was executed in both rural and urban areas. The purpose of collecting qualitative data was to explain the decision-making process of migration, the family functioning, and the gender-related behavior within the family-household.

2.2 Where to Conduct the Research: Rural-based or Urban-based study?

Study on social impacts of migration on the family can be carried out, either, in the destination or origin area alone or in both areas. In Indonesia, migration for survival strategy commonly takes in non-permanent migration type. Majority of migrant people prefer to circulate or commute between home and place of work rather than permanently move to the city. Migrants who live separately in the city still maintain a close contact with their rural area of origin, and they still continually involve in almost all family decision-making processes in their village home. According to Hugo (1988), to study the impact of migration on migrant's family well-being is better to be carried out in the area of origin since most of decision-making regarding migration takes place in the origin area or village. Moreover, by undertaking rural-based research, one can assess all types of migration, which are commonly occurring in the village, particularly the non-permanent types (Hugo, 1978).

Non-permanent migrants usually never have a permanent resident in the destination area and they prefer to be considered as village residents. As their travel to urban areas is usually undertaken as a strategy of household economic survival they usually do not intend to move out permanently to the city. Accordingly, their existence would be missed in studies located in the destination areas. Since the decision making process of migration occurs in the village, the context of that decision-making can only be studied in origin-based approach.

In the case of non-permanent migrants, the biggest share of their earnings is spent in the village and the permanent migrants also send some of their income back to support their family in the village. Therefore, by conducting rural-based research, there were more opportunities to study economic and social impacts of migration upon family life.

Although the advantages of a rural-based study on the impact of migration are obvious, it is not without its weaknesses. The main weakness of origin-based research is the chance of loosing of information about out-migrants since they live in the city or other places and they probably are not in the village at the time of the survey (Hugo, 1988). This lack of direct information about out-migrants could possibly be compensated for by "proxy" information from their families or relatives left behind, although the information obtained may not be totally reliable (Bilsborrow, 1984). Direct interview with out-migrants can be carried-out when they, by chance, are visiting their family in the village (Saefullah, 1992). However, as there is no certainty of when migrants will return home, therefore it is difficult to compromise the availability of respondents and the research schedule. Another weakness of rural-based research is the impossibility for the researcher to observe the living conditions of out-migrants in the city and to assess the degree of their adjustment to urban life. Therefore, to get information about the out-migrants in the city, an urban-based research also applied in this study.

The urban-based research was conducted by applying 'tracing' method in destination area (Bilsborrow, 1984; Hugo, 1988). However, tracing migrants in the city is not without problems. The main problem is to locate the migrants in the city, as most of their address in the cities are unknown by their family in village, and therefore substantial resources are needed to locate their whereabouts. However, we know that in Indonesia, in-migrants who come from the same village usually live and work in a similar place in the destination areas and create spatial segregated communities according to their village of origin (Hugo, 1978; Abustam, 1989), and therefore a family and community network approach was applied to trace the location of migrants in the city. To be able to do so, we had to have at least one definite out-migrant's address in the destination area. Fortunately, one of respondents in the village gave her

husband's address in the city. The tracing of migrants in the city was started from this address. The migrant community of the similar village helped to locate other migrant's addresses in the city.

2.3 Selection of Research Sites

The impact of migration depends upon the local socio-economic conditions and the types of migration (Hugo, 1988). A key issue is the selection of the location in which the study would undertake. Two provinces in Java were chosen to represent the origin and destination areas of migration. Based on the macro-analysis of migration using population census data, Central Java was chosen as the province of origin, because it has sent out the largest number of out-migrants of all provinces in Indonesia and a village was chosen as the area for micro study. The area of destination was decided following the survey result when all destination areas of migration were identified. Based on availability of migrant's addresses in the destination areas and the degree of difficulties to trace the addresses, Bandung, the Capital of West Java province, was selected as the research location in the destination area.

The village selection process in Central Java was carried out in several stages passing through all government administration levels, from the province until village level. One village in Central Java was chosen as the research location, that is Hutankita² village in Kebumen regency. A small river divides Hutankita village into two settlement area, one in the northern side of the river or *Utara* and the other one in the southern side of the river or *Selatan*. One could easily catch the difference between the two sub-villages. *Selatan* is far better off economically than *Utara*. Administratively, Hutankita village consists of five hamlets, two in *Utara* and three in *Selatan*.

2.4 Pre-survey and Sampling

Following the decision to select Hutankita as the research location, the pre-survey was carried out to obtain more insights into the village. The main objective of the pre-survey was to develop a questionnaire suitable for the village condition. Among other things, the most important information collected during pre-survey was to get village people understanding about the migration terms. This was done by interviewing formal and informal village leaders and several villagers, male and female, young and old, about their definition of migration. For them migration was understood as *merantau* for non-permanent migration, whereas *pindah* was their terminology for permanent migration. On

migration topic, the informants were also asked about the incidence of inflow and outflow of migration, the destination areas of migration and types of migrant's jobs in the city, and about remittances. Other qualitative information collected during the pre-survey was associated with the socio-economic life of the villager and family life, such as the sexual-division of labor in the household, the agricultural activities and production, the land inheritance system, agricultural labor cost, the availability of agricultural labor, the family-household structure, marriage and divorce system, and childcare. Based on these qualitative information a structured-questionnaire for survey was developed.

The other objective of pre-survey activity was to get a sampling frame. The unit analysis of this study was a family-household, therefore the sampling frame included a list of family-household with one or more member migrated in non-permanent basis elsewhere, from which research sample would be selected. This *merantau* family-household list was produced with the help of village officials who knew quite well which household that had non-permanent migrant members.

When the first draft of the questionnaire was developed and sample households were selected, a questionnaire testing activity was undertaken. Following questionnaire testing activity was reviewing the questionnaire and the sampling frame. Many new information on migration incidence, family relation, and social and economic condition of household had been collected during the questionnaire testing. Based on this information the questionnaire was revised and the sampling frame was adjusted.

The adjustment of sampling frame was a must because there were variations in migration activity. As mentioned before, the household sample was to be drawn from the *merantau* household list, but after several household visits, it was found that permanent out-migrants and return migrants also influenced the family structure and functioning. Therefore, to cover all kinds of migration, the *merantau* household list was extended. The new list included family-household contained permanent out-migrants, return migrants, and married children who left their parents' household to set up their own household. Non-migrant households were also included in the sampling frame as a control group. The new list, turned-out to be covered all family-households in the village, and therefore the census of whole households was undertaken instead. By undertaking a full community sample, there was more opportunity to study the family networking among households and to examine the dynamics of the family in the decision making process. The census, however, was only done in three hamlets out of five hamlets in the village, while all non-permanent migrant family-household in the whole village had been interviewed in survey, but they were excluded from qualitative research.

Following the completion of sample selection and the revision of questionnaire the survey was started. The distribution of the family-household sample is shown in Table I.

Table I
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE IN HUTANKITA VILLAGE,
KEBUMEN REGENCY, CENTRAL JAVA 1995

No	Hamlet	Migrant Household	Non-Migrant Household	Total
1.	Hamlet A (<i>Selatan</i>)	15 (7.2 %)	1 (1.6 %)	16 (5.9 %)
2.	Hamlet B (C, <i>Selatan</i>)	52 (25.0 %)	14 (21.6 %)	66 (24.4 %)
3.	Hamlet C (C, <i>Selatan</i>)	57 (27.4 %)	23 (37.1 %)	80 (29.6 %)
4.	Hamlet D (C, <i>Utara</i>)	61 (29.3 %)	24 (38.7 %)	85 (31.5 %)
5.	Hamlet (<i>Utara</i>)	23 (11.1 %)	-	23 (8.5 %)
	Total	208 (100.0 %)	62 (100.0 %)	270 (100.0 %)

Note: C = community sample.

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996.

Based on the survey data, 12 households out of 270 had been chosen as case studies and to be visited again to obtain qualitative data on migration history, marriage history, family history, and working experience using in-depth interview method. All out-migrants from these twelve family-households became the target of tracing survey in the City of Bandung, West Java. The twelve selected family-households with particular characteristics were as follows:

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

2.5 Some Methodological Considerations

The enumeration of out-migrants as a part of household survey in the origin village had been carried out on the basis of the following considerations:

Firstly, in enumeration of out-migrants, the house was the spatial boundary to define migration. This means that all members of a particular household, who had already moved to a different house, including those who just moved to the main household's backyard, should be included as out-migrants. This method was applied to avoid overlooking some people

who used to be household members, especially the children. However, the use of household as the boundary can cause double enumeration for particular people. An example of this situation is as follows: a man has been recorded as an out-migrant from his parents' home as he moved-out to live in his own home next door, but he does not live in his home for most of the year because he is working in Bandung as a non-permanent migrant, so in his own household he will again be recorded as an out-migrant. To avoid the confusion that may arise, probing questions had been used to identify whether the particular people still live in the same hamlet or village at the time of survey or not. If they are still living in the same hamlet or village of study, they will be coded as 'Moved out to their own house' instead of 'Non-permanent migrant' or 'Permanent Migrant'. The man, in the above example, therefore was coded as 'Moved out to their own house' in his parent's household questionnaire and whereas recorded as a 'Non-permanent migrants' in his household's questionnaire.

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

Thirdly, is a consideration undertaking in defining household. The household in this research is a 'family-household', meaning that the household members were related by blood, marriage or adoption, although it might also include non-family members, such as maid or distant relatives. A family-household had a long history. Following the end of family life cycle, the household head changed. Commonly, elderly widowed men or women gave up their headship to their sons or sons-in-law as they got older and did not want to be troubled with various matters related to household affairs. He or she changed their status in the household from head to become a member of it. On the other hand, a son or son-in-law was promoted to become a household head. This study, therefore, used the current household heads as the basis to define its members' migration status. This means that only members who left the house under the current household head were considered as out-migrants, meaning that other family members left the house with different household heads were not included. This definition was applied to be in accordance with the family-household analysis and as the main reference point of family-household was the household head. Therefore, the number of out-migrants was more related to households than the village, because not everyone who used to live in the village had migrated permanently to other places is counted. The common people who were missing from the enumeration were siblings or in-laws of current household heads who used to live in the same home but left it, permanently, when it was headed by

their parents or parents-in-law. These people might still have a strong influence on the household, especially when the mother or father was still alive. The analysis of out-migration therefore would be based on those who were coded as 'Non-permanent Out-migrants' and 'Permanent Out-migrants' and lived outside the village boundary only.

Another set of definitions were taken to classify a migrant as non-permanent or permanent. Migrants who had been said to be *merantau* by the respondents in the village were classified as non-permanent migrants, while those who were said to be *pindah* were permanent migrants. There were two questions addressed to identify the migration status of out-migrants, the current status and the initial status. Generally, respondents will more accurately answer about current migration type rather than the status on initial movement, because it is difficult to recall the migration status of every out-migrant at the time of their initial movement as it sometimes happened decades ago. Therefore, in classifying migration type in their initial movement a definition was used that is, except for marriage and transmigration, other initial migrations would be classified as non-permanent migrants or *merantau*. This is because marriage and transmigration were considered as permanent actions, which often meant the separation from parents' households to build their own households. On the other hand, migration with other objectives, such as go to school, look for work or for work, was largely considered as *merantau*, because these single migrants generally still regarded their parents' households as their homes. A change of migration status frequently happened when the migrant got married and set up home elsewhere. If the out-migrant bought land or built a house in the village, they were considered as non-permanent migrants. Commonly, these migrants intended to return to the village in their old age to enjoy the fruits of a long time of hard work. Those migrants could have lived and worked in the city for more than six months, but as long as they put their saving in the village, they were considered as non-permanent migrants. Distribution of out-migrants from Hutankita village is presented in Table 2.

Table 2
DISTRIBUTION OF OUT-MIGRANTS FROM HUTANKITA VILLAGE,
KEBUMEN REGENCY, CENTRAL JAVA 1995

Type of Movement	n	per cent
Moving within hamlets	22	3.1
Moving within the village	88	12.2
Moving to outside the village or out-migrants	609	84.7
Total Movers	719	100.0
Distribution of out-migrants: (n=609)		
By Sex:		
- male	346 (56.7 %)	
- female	263 (42.3 %)	
By Migration Status:		
- temporary out-migrants	233 (38.4 %)	
- permanent out-migrants	376 (61.6 %)	
By Location:		
- <i>Selatan</i>	356 (58.4 %)	
- <i>Utara</i>	253 (41.6 %)	
By Household: (N=270)		
- with out-migrants	208 (87.1 %)	
- without out-migrants	62 (22.9 %)	

Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996.

Out of 270 sample households, there were 719 people recorded as having left the households, excluding the 'not village origin' people. Twenty-two people left the households to live elsewhere within the same hamlet and 88 people moved to other hamlets within the village. Therefore, the number of people who had migrated to other places outside the village were 609 consisting of 346 males (56.7 per cent) and 263 females (42.3 per cent). Among them, 38.4 per cent (n=233) were temporary out-migrants and 61.6 per cent (n=376) were permanent out-migrants. Some 58.4 per cent (n=356) used to live on the *Selatan* and 41.6 per cent (n=253) were from *Utara*. The 609 out-migrants were related to 208 households, meaning that 22.9 per cent (n=62) of sample households did not have a member who lived elsewhere and classified as 'non-migrant households'.

2.6 The 'Tracing' Survey in the Destination Area

The destination areas considered for the tracing survey were Jakarta and BOTABEK (Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi), because most out-migrants from Hutankita went to those areas. Unfortunately, at

that time a heavy flood hit Jakarta and it was very difficult to travel within the city, and many migrants had been moved to different addresses as their former residents flooded. Since there was no sign of the flood diminishing in the short term, and there was no other definite address of any out-migrant in Jakarta or Botabek, another destination area had to be chosen to undertake this research. The second option of a destination area was Bandung. If the province is used as a spatial boundary for defining migration, there would be 477 people defined as out-migrants. Among them, 57 per cent (n=274) went to Jakarta and BOTABEK, while 26 per cent (n=124) moved to Bandung and the remainder (17 per cent) were distributed to other provinces in Indonesia or went abroad. However, one should remember that this number consists of both types of migration, permanent and non-permanent. Based on these data, Bandung is the second most popular destination area and therefore, was chosen as an alternative to Jakarta as the location of the tracing survey. Accordingly, West Java province, of which Bandung is the Capital, was chosen as the research area for macro-scale research. The micro research location in Bandung Regency was concentrated in Sawahkita village in Dayeuh Kolot sub-district. Dayeuh Kolot sub-district is the main area of textile and garment industries in West Java and even in Indonesia.

The first step to be carried-out was to go to Bandung and tried to meet a migrant from Hutankita village there. Even though I already had one definite address of a migrant in Bandung, no one could guarantee that it would help. Before going to Bandung a list of all in-migrants from Hutankita was produced. The list contained such information as their names, sex, age, parents' name, hamlet, address and job. This list was taken to Bandung to assist in locating the migrants. An address of male migrant from Hutankita village in Bandung eventually could be located and I was able to meet him and got his approval to contact other migrants from Hutankita. This migrant, lets call him Pak Eddy, or C1³ was a textile factory worker whose wife in the village disclosed his work address in Bandung.

After a brief conversation in the factory he invited me to his boarding house, located in the back yard of the factory, during his day-off for a longer interview. It was rather difficult to find his home, since it was in the very dense urban settlement of Sawahkita village in Southern Bandung. His boarding house was actually a factory *bedeng*⁴ located outside the factory compound. The factory had bought the land and several houses from the villagers to be used as a factory *bedeng*. The factory did not need to build new houses and only provided facilities for the workers, such as clean water and toilets. Although Pak Eddy had lived there for more than twenty years he was still considered as a migrant for the local people, and therefore was unknown to the local people in private.

He gave me the name of a prominent local person who could help the researcher to find his house.

He shared the house with seven other workers. When the researcher (I) showed a list of in-migrants from Hutankita village I wished to visit, he told me that half of them live in this hamlet named Airtepus, but he did not know them very well. However he agreed to introduce me to one in-migrant who knew them well. In the afternoon he accompanied the researcher to her house. Fortunately, she already knew of my activity from her family in the village and she agreed to help me find the other people. Later, the young female worker, Ida or C12, and her family became vital informants in this research.

2.7 Data Collection Methods in Destination Area

With the help of one Ida and one male worker, Ahmad or C7, I visited as many of the names on the list as possible. Among the 124 people who migrated to Bandung from Hutankita, 42.9 per cent (54 people) lived in this kampong and worked as factory workers, in the textile or garment industries. The rest of them lived scattered around Bandung, either in the regency area or in the city. Most in-migrants, who lived in the city, worked as street vendors or had a job in a restaurant. Although I could not visit all of them, I tried to choose the prospective respondents with regard to the following considerations:

1. It is preferable to choose in-migrants who came from the 12 case-study households in the village.
2. In-migrants who came from the same family (brothers or sisters) should be visited.
3. The respondents should represent the variation, which exists in terms of sex, marital status, migration status, and work types among the total group of migrants.

In the process of sample selection I found that job variations were a reflection of the hamlet's location in the village of origin. Most in-migrants from the northern hamlets worked as street vendors, while the majority of those who came from southern hamlets work as factory workers. This phenomenon called the occupational clustering of migrants from a particular origin (Hugo 1978, p.230).

It was easy to meet the factory workers because they lived in the same kampong and most of them knew each other very well. From Ida I obtained information about who would be available to interview that day and when would be the best time to visit. She always accompanied me during the visits, because without her it would take longer to find each

house. She was not formally interviewed, although she was an important respondent. The information about her was collected informally in many occasions when I was alone with her. To find in-migrants who lived in the city of Bandung was a rather different experience. Ida knew some of them, but she did not know where they lived. Therefore she introduced me to her friend, a male factory worker who came from the northern hamlet. C7 knew many of his hamlet fellows, where they lived and what they did. Moreover, he agreed to accompany me to visit them and became an important informant.

A great deal of effort was needed to meet in-migrants from Hutankita village who lived in the city of Bandung. Based on the considerations on selecting prospective respondents, I tried to locate several migrants taken from the migrant list, and members of the 12 case study households, and fortunately, Ahmad knew two of them. He assured me that they would help us to locate the other in-migrants in the city. The first person visited was Pak Joko or C6 who lived in a rented house with his family in a kampong in the City of Bandung. Later Bu Joko or Pak Joko's wife told us how to get to the other prospective respondents. The other prospective in-migrants that knew my informant quite well were Pak Didik or C2 and his brother Pak Budi or C3. Pak Didik has a *martabak* stall, while Pak Budi helped him to serve the customers and the cleaning job. One evening, we visited them at his stall. After some conversation, I told Pak Didik of my intention to visit his house to interview him about his migration experience. He agreed with the idea and gave me a map of how to get to his house. I only visited him once at his house, but visited him more frequently at his stall. The difference between the in-migrants who lived in Sawahkita village and those in the city was that the in-migrants in the city did not know much about the whereabouts of their fellow villagers. The main reason for this was that they lived in different places, which were quite distant from one another. Another reason was that they worked in the informal sector as own-account workers or laborers, which was not located in the same areas. This meant out-migrants in the city of Bandung seldom made social visit to each other.

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

childcare, the adjustment process, and domestic arrangements. A total of 16 migrant were interviewed.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

3.1 Research Findings

The decision to migrate is generally made by the individual migrant while the family facilitated the migration process. Remittances are sent by migrants to their family of orientation occasionally but it is essential to the survival of their family of procreation. Remittances are important to the welfare of the family left-behind and are sent by both male and female migrants. Migration commonly starts as temporary migration before migrants established themselves in the city as more permanent migrants. Many migrants prefer to circulate between city and origin village than to bring their family to the city. The individual life cycle is very important in determining their migration status.

Migration to the city has been adopted as a strategy by village families to solve economic problems. The adult children support their parents while young husbands leave their wives and children in the village to make ends meet. In many cases mothers and fathers even leave their children in the village under the care of extended families in order to reduce the burden of socialization and physical maintenance of the children in the city. Economic cooperation between husband and wife is carried out in two different places, the city and the village. In the village, wives work on their agricultural land or in non-agricultural works to produce food for family consumption left-behind, while the husband works in the city to get cash to pay for other goods and services.

The migration of mothers has consequences for child-care arrangements. The migrant women have to involve the extended family to help with child-care in the village, and the mothers have to endure a life separated from their children, often for a long time. As for the children, they have to experience a various childcare arrangement by various minders, from their grandparents and maternal relatives in the village, and their mothers in the city.

Non-permanent migration, in term of circulation, has establishing a divided or split home phenomenon. A home divided is a family-household type which members live in different places, in the village and in the city, in order to meet its end need. As a consequence of splitting households, there is also a substantial percentage of temporary female-headed households in the village of origin. The development of

communication and transportation system in Indonesian has made contact between migrants in the city and their family in the village is readily managed. Villagers prefer to migrate on a non-permanent basis by commuting or circulating before deciding to migrate permanently or to return to the village permanently. In many cases, migrants decide that circulation between the city as a place of work and the village as the family home is the most acceptable option for family well-being. This is also the case with meatball soup (*bakso*) or *jamu* sellers from Wonogiri (Hetler 1986) or circular migrants from Gunung Kidul in Yogyakarta (Mantra 1988).

3.2 Further Research

To study the impact of migration on family life is at best when conducted in, both, origin and destination area. The advantages of doing migration study in origin area are: (a) we can assess all types of migration, which are commonly occurring in the village, particularly the non-permanent types; (b) we can study the role of the family in migration decision making process; and (c) we can study the economic and social impacts of migration on the family left behind. The main weakness of origin-based migration research is the difficulties to get information about the migrants living condition directly as they may be not at the village during research period. By using origin-based in migration study we could not assess the living condition of the migrants in destination areas. The lack of data on migrant living condition and migrant opinion about anything can be compensated by combining origin-based migration research with destination-based research known as the 'tracing' method. The understanding of individual and family networking in the village as well as in the city is very important to be able to conduct a tracing survey in the city.

The main objective of this study was to analyze the impact of migration upon family structure and functioning, and therefore the analysis was based on the household unit. It is very important to decide from which household a migrant has to be related to, as they have been living in several households throughout their lives. In order not to overlook some of them in the analysis, some methodological adjustment has been applied, such as the definition of migration and family. Since the process to create a network among migrants is a very complex activity, the investigation is conducted by applying multiple research methods and data collection strategies.

Some studies had been conducted to investigate the role of women left behind in Indonesian migration (Rodenburg, 1993). The results indicate that women took over the agricultural production when their

husbands were away. However, many women left behind did not have any agricultural land and were unemployed in the village. To run the household these women depended on remittances. A further study needs to be conducted to investigate how these women manage to survive economically with limited remittances and without agricultural land or jobs in the village.

The home divided phenomenon has resulted in a situation where children are growing up without their fathers or mothers or both parents for most of the year. How this situation affects the children's development, physically and mentally? Comprehensive and in-depth research on the impact of migration on the children left behind would be a new challenge of future research on migration and family. Besides children, another vulnerable group of people left behind in the village due to migration is the elderly. The elderly have little chance to migrate elsewhere because they would not be able to compete to get a job in the city or they are too old to change their life-style. These people often need help physically as they are growing older. It is not uncommon that older people have been left by themselves in the villages as the children live elsewhere. The problems with elderly care in the village will become more intense as the women, the primary elderly caregivers, also migrated. Observation in the study village indicated that the village community provided assistance to these elderly people as long as it did not involve money. Close neighbors will voluntarily visit them, send food, give them massages when they feel unwell but the neighbors call the children once an illness becomes serious and needs to be examined by a doctor. A thorough study of this issue is needed to improve the welfare of the elderly in the village. As the overall living conditions are better and life expectancy has increased it is possible that the number of solitary elderly in the village will increase in the future.

The study findings shows that educated people in the village mostly left to look for work elsewhere as there was a lack of appropriate employment opportunities in the village. The study revealed that the lack of employment opportunity had pushed the young people to migrate. In the present study, remittances had improved the welfare of individual families in the village mostly in terms of physical indicators, such as better housing conditions or greater ability to educate younger family members. Is it possible to use the remittances so that there are wider beneficiaries, such as for general village development? It may be useful to undertake action research in migrant sender villages to find ways for villagers to make use the remittances to improve the village economy.

As has been mentioned in the introductory section of this article, migration destination area has been expanded across national border with the increasing phenomenon of international migration. International

migration is also involved male and female migrants, single and married migrants, and creates impacts on family life, both economically and socially. The similar study methods and data collection strategies can be applied to study the phenomenon of transnational family as a consequence of international migration in Indonesia.

NOTES

1. This article is based on Author's doctoral thesis entitle "The Impact of Migration Upon Family Structure and Functioning in Java", Department of Geographical and Environmental Studies, The University of Adelaide, Australia, 2000.
2. This is a pseudo name.
3. Cn is a code number given to traced-out-migrants in Bandung, which will be used throughout the report. Cl is the code for this particular male out-migrants.
4. The literary meaning of *bedeng* is 'shed' or 'hut' (Echols and Shadily 1994). A building made of very simple materials, such as bamboo or plywood to be temporary accommodation for temporary workers that could be easily dismantled and moved to other location. The *bedeng* is a non-permanent resident built by employers to provide free accommodation for their workers.

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Erratum

In the *Journal of Population* Volume 11, number 2, 2005, for the header of the odd pages "Journal of Population Vol. 12, no. 2, 2005" read "Journal of Population Vol. 11, no. 2, 2005"