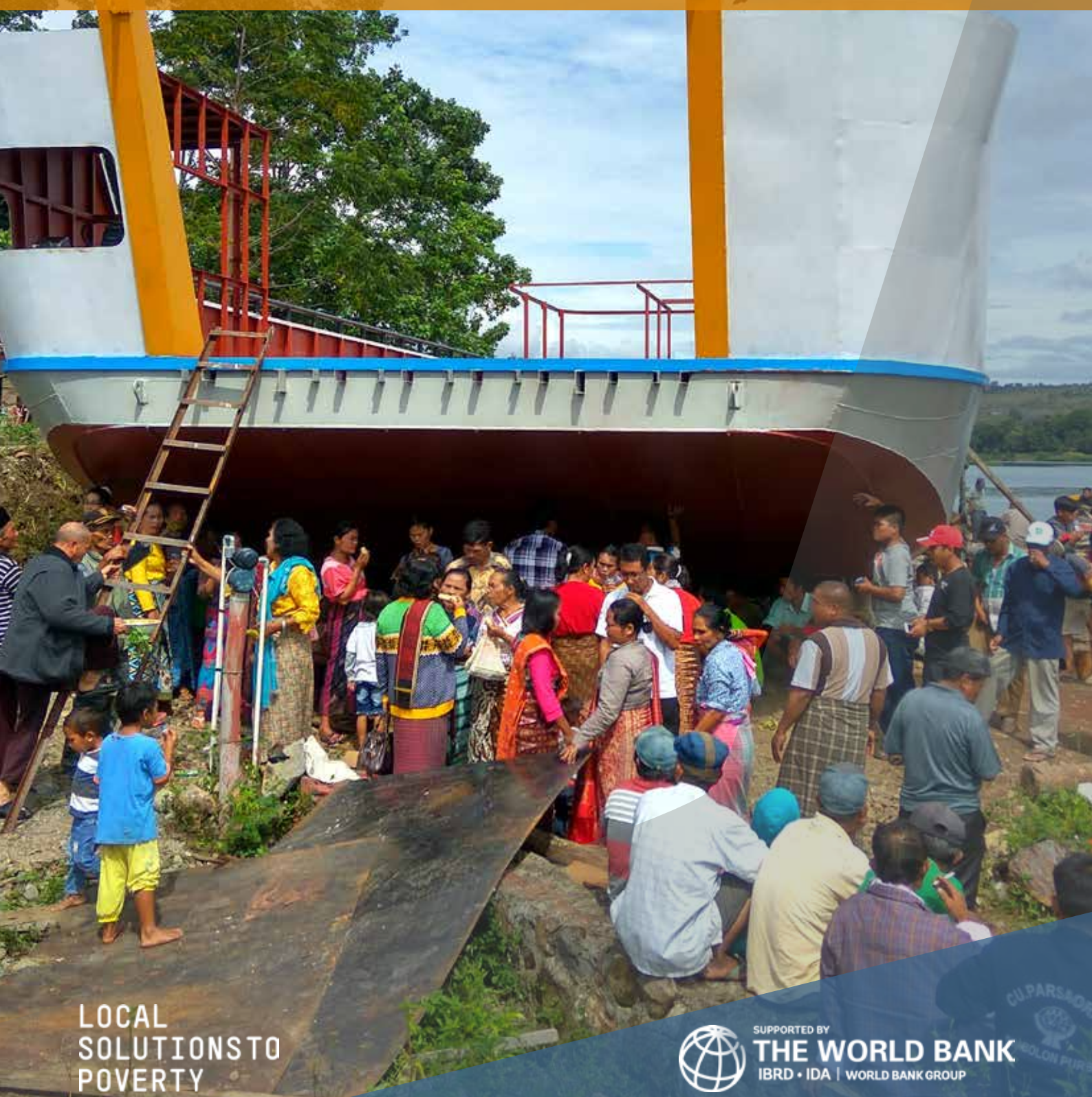


Urban villages - Perspectives and experiences of migrants and their families on moving from villages to cities

Reality Check Approach
Indonesia, December 2017



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Disclaimer:

The work is a product of the RCA+ and PLJ Teams and World Bank Indonesia. The findings, interpretations and conclusions therein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of The World Bank, the Government of Indonesia, the United Nations, or the Palladium Group.

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GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

<i>angkot</i>	public bus/minibus transportation
<i>becak</i>	rickshaw
<i>bedeng</i>	emergency (temporary) house for workers in slum area
<i>bengkel</i>	workshop/machine shop, most commonly for car/motorbike maintenance
<i>bentor</i>	pedicab
BPJS	<i>Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial</i> , Social Security Agency
BRI	<i>Bank Rakyat Indonesia, People's Bank of Indonesia</i> , a state owned bank with branches throughout Indonesia which also focuses on small scale financing
<i>cuan ki</i>	meat ball dish originating from West Java
<i>Disdukcapil</i>	<i>Dinas Kependudukan dan Pencatatan Sipil</i> , Department of Population and Civil Registration
Forum Betawi Rempug	Betawi Coordination Forum, local organization for ethnic Betawi (Jakarta area) people
HHH	host household
ILO	International Labour Organization
<i>istri simpenan</i>	literally 'stored wife', a mistress
<i>jambret</i>	bag snatching
<i>jamu</i>	traditional herbal beverage
<i>kampung</i>	village
Kartu Keluarga	Family ID Card
<i>Kecamatan</i>	Sub-District, the government administrative unit below the district (<i>kabupaten</i>)
<i>keluar</i>	literally 'Going out', this term is used in some locations to refer to migration
<i>kelurahan</i>	the administrative unit below the sub-district office in cities/municipalities
<i>kemalangan</i>	unfortunate events
<i>kenalan</i>	acquaintances, contacts
<i>kenek</i>	public transportation driver's assistant
<i>kerja kantoran</i>	office work
<i>ketoprak</i>	Indonesian dish consisting of raw vegetables and peanut sauce
KJP	<i>Kartu Jakarta Pintar</i> , or Smart Jakarta Card, Jakarta's social assistance program for education
<i>kolong</i>	area under a bridge
<i>kontrakan</i>	rented house
<i>kost</i>	boarding house
KPS	<i>Kartu Perlindungan Sosial</i> , Social Protection Card
KTP	<i>Kartu Tanda Penduduk</i> , ID card
<i>kuli</i>	labourer, generally used to refer to a day labourer and jobs such as portering
<i>mandor</i>	Supervisor
<i>Menaker</i>	<i>Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan</i> , Minister of Manpower
<i>merantau</i>	migrating for the purpose of finding work
<i>mulud</i>	The birth of Prophet Muhammad
<i>nembak</i>	literally 'to shoot', can refer to many things such as in this context, 'speed money' or bribes
<i>ngamplop</i>	'envelope money', used to refer to money given at parties
NPWP	<i>Nomor Pokok Wajib Pajak</i> , Registered Tax ID Number
<i>ojek</i>	motorbike taxi (informal)

<i>paguyuban</i>	local ethnic or profession-based organisations
<i>pecel</i>	traditional Javanese food of mixed vegetables with peanut sauce, served with rice
<i>pegawai</i>	employee
Pemda	<i>Pemerintah Daerah</i> , local/regional government
<i>pendatang</i>	migrants or Incomers
<i>pengajian</i>	Islamic gathering to recite communal prayers, prayer group
<i>perantau</i>	migrants
<i>perantauan</i>	destination location for migrants
<i>pete-pete</i>	local public minibus transportation in Makassar
PLJ	Pulse Lab Jakarta
<i>Polindes</i>	<i>Pondok Bersalin Desa</i> , Village Maternity Center
<i>Posyandu</i>	<i>Pos Pelayanan Keluarga Berencana Terpadu</i> , Integrated Service Post for Family Planning, or <i>Posyandu</i> , is a health activity at the village level partly organized and carried out by people in their own villages, with the assistance of public health workers
<i>preman</i>	gangster or informal security groups
<i>Puskesmas</i>	<i>Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat</i> , Community Health Center, or <i>Puskesmas</i> , are government-mandated public health clinics
<i>Pustu</i>	<i>Puskesmas Pembantu</i> , Assistant Community Health Center, are small village health clinics often staffed by only one individual meant to complement a community's <i>puskesmas</i> or provide support to villages which have more limited access to a <i>puskesmas</i>
<i>rantau</i>	destination for the migrants
Raskin	<i>Subsidi Beras Bagi Masyarakat Berpendapatan Rendah</i> , a government program providing subsidised rice for poorer households
RCA	Reality Check Approach
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i> , neighbourhood unit, the administrative unit below RW
<i>rusun</i>	<i>Rumah Susun</i> , flats. Used to refer to low income or subsidised apartment-style housing
RW	<i>Rukun Warga</i> , the administrative unit one level below the village or <i>kelurahan</i> level
<i>sabu-sabu</i>	crystal meth
SKCK	<i>Surat Keterangan Catatan Kepolisian</i> , Criminal Record Check
SMA	<i>Sekolah Menengah Atas</i> , Senior Secondary School
SMK/SMEA	<i>Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan</i> , Senior Secondary Vocational School
<i>Surat Keterangan</i>	Identification Letter
<i>Surat Lahir</i>	Birth Certificate
<i>Surat Pengantar</i>	Cover Letter
<i>Surat Pindah</i>	Relocation Notification
<i>tuak</i>	traditional alcoholic drink
<i>uang paku</i>	literally 'money for nails', used to refer to an insignificant amount of money
UMI	<i>Universitas Muslim Indonesia</i> , Muslim University of Indonesia
<i>uztad</i>	Islamic scholars
<i>warteg</i>	short for <i>warung tegal</i> , a food stall that sells local Indonesian pre-cooked rice dishes
<i>warung</i>	kiosk or stall

SUMMARY



SUMMARY

The Reality Check Approach (RCA) Study was carried out in November to December 2017. The qualitative study was commissioned by The World Bank. The objective of this study was to provide people-centred insights to feed into the World Bank's Poverty and Social Development Global Practices current analytical project to help the Government of Indonesia better understand the process of urbanization in Indonesia. This project aims to provide a better understanding of: a) the nature of urbanization, b) macro-level trends in rural-urban migration and the opportunities, barriers and consequences of migration, c) the degree and determinants of economic mobility, d) the economic and non-economic (e.g. social and geographic) dimensions of urban poverty, and e) policy lessons that can be drawn from overseas and Indonesian experiences. An improved understanding of these processes will enable the Government of Indonesia (GoI) to design better policies which can, in turn, drive economic growth and reduce poverty.

The RCA is primarily **immersive research** whereby trained researchers live with people in their own homes and share in their everyday lives. It is based on the principles of ethnography but its narrower focus (on relevance or usability, for example) and the short time for immersions distinguish it from ethnography. RCA is based on the premise that **experiential knowledge** is a critical element of research seeking to produce people-centred accounts. RCA seeks to understand the processes, motivations, behaviours and attitudes of people through 'hanging out' informally, two-way conversations, observation and experience over several days and nights. Relying on building informal relationships and adopting the position of learner, RCA researchers involve community members in analysis of their own situation so that insights emerge naturally. These emerging insights are collected through extensive debriefing sessions and then analysed into patterns and relationships using Grounded Theory.

This study took place in ten locations; five urban and five rural. The urban locations were identified within the cities of Jakarta, Medan, Tangerang, and Makassar and included slum and non-slum areas, central and periphery areas, areas with many long-term migrants and those with short-term migrants. These urban locations were chosen to ensure the study covers patterns of migration in the western,



central, and eastern regions of Indonesia and the specific cities selected were those with the highest migration rates based on various surveys previously conducted by the World Bank. The rural locations were purposely identified after the immersion in the urban areas as those areas where migrants met in the urban areas originated from. Further criteria were applied in selecting rural locations to include villages with large proportion of households with one or more current internal migrants, both those with relatively easy access to the city and those requiring longer journeys, and with a range of short term and long term migrants. Anonymised mobile network data analysis undertaken by Pulse Lab Jakarta was also used as a criterion for selection. The selected rural villages were located in Cirebon, Pematang, Samosir, Jeneponto, and Manggarai Timur districts. The study involved actually living with 30 different families or groups living in boarding houses (total 146 people) as well as interactions with a further 1128 people comprising other migrants, neighbours and friends of those we stayed with, formal and informal providers of services for the migrant workers, e.g. local government officials, landlords, food vendors, transport providers, health service providers, security, moneylenders, and some employers as well as, in rural areas, families who decided not to migrate.

People mostly use the term *merantau* to describe migration which may be for the purpose of finding work, continuing education or looking for experience. However, the term is not universally used and people also referred to migrants as 'working in the city' or '*keluar*' (going out), especially when the migration does not involve moving to a different island. In urban areas, **first generation migrants persist in referring to themselves as *perantau* (migrants) or sometimes, *pendatang* (incomers), even if they migrated decades ago and consider their *kampung* (rural village) as their true home even if they rarely visit.** Second generation migrants may adopt both local and migrant identities. People reminded us that **there are different cultural interpretations of *merantau*.** Sumatrans, particularly Batak and Minang people, see *merantau* as a rite of passage to adulthood. This is a long tradition for boys but is increasing

as a trend for girls.

Based on conversations with migrants, **six distinctive types of migrants** emerged. These distinctions are based on a combination of (i) the nature of their work, (ii) motivations to migrate, and (iii) length of residence. Four types work largely within the informal sector and comprise casual workers which are further segmented as (i) long stay, (ii) commuter (stay weeks) and (iii) 'follow the money' who move frequently for work as well as the self-employed. Two types of migrant are situated in the formal sector; waged and salaried, which also includes those migrating for higher education for the purposes of getting salaried work. The team talked with over 300 migrant workers of whom 192 were informal sector workers and 121 were in the formal sector. We had very detailed conversations with about half of these (150) about the nature of their work, their experience of migration and their current day-to-day lives. On average we met three others living in the community for every migrant but in their capacity as service providers, goods sellers and others within the same community. Some of these were also migrants but the nature of the interaction precluded establishing this for certain.

However, we were able to use the anonymised mobile network data analysis to identify the origins of migrants for the urban locations of interest based on the locations of night time calls and SMS over a four month period immediately prior to fieldwork (August to November, 2017). Working with a combined dataset covering 19,588,177 anonymous mobile network subscribers, representing 74 percent of the population of the cities covered by the mobile network data analysis (based on 2010 census), the analysis had a more narrow definition of a migrant as an anonymous subscriber whose home cell tower was located first outside of and then within the city of interest at some point during the time frame of the research. The anonymous mobile network data analysis suggests **that there has been a significant underestimation of the scale of short-term internal migration within Indonesia to date.**

The most common reason we heard from all types of migrant across all study areas to

move from rural to urban areas is economic.

People often told us that either there was nothing for them in the village or that farming did not provide them with enough income, even when they own their own land, especially considering the demands of the cash economy that has emerged over recent decades. Cash flow in the village is inconsistent and seasonal. Job opportunities other than farming are limited and setting up small enterprises suffer from low turnover and high demands for purchase of goods and services on credit. People also pointed out the increasing demands for money including education costs, paying off debts, house renovations, purchase of motorbikes, and increasing expectations and therefore costs of celebrations leading to commuter migrants talking about *'working hard to party hard'*. To ease cash flow (e.g. seasonal challenges) and pay for one off big expenses, many of these migrants opt to migrate for very short periods. For those self-employed who go for longer, they move to the city where profits are greater and they are often prepared to move location frequently to seek out new opportunities and avoid competition.

Strong family ties are key in people's decisions to migrate, providing role models as well as a trusted network of support. **This is typified by families who have already migrated extending invitations and support to others to migrate from the village.** Their support includes providing recommendations to employers and accommodation when the migrant first arrives. There are strong demographic trends apparent in that mostly young and single people migrate, mostly men but increasingly young women migrate, older people move to join their adult children when they become in need of care, and married women join their migrant husbands mostly when their children are older. Other social drivers for migration include the need for older siblings to support the education of younger siblings, being orphaned and losing one's support base in the village and family feuds.

The drive to migrate can also be because people regard farming as physically demanding, they do not have the skills to farm or farming is regarded as *'not cool'* making comments such as *'only poor families become farmers.'* Migrating

is seen as a way to gain life experience or to feel less bored (e.g. *'nothing happens in villages'*). It is also seen as a route to independence and freedom. Still others migrate to pursue higher education generally with a view to getting salaried work. Cities provide greater choice and quality of courses together with many options for employment on graduation.

The arguments in favour of migration were heard more than reasons to stay in villages. Only in one village (Central Java Village) did we hear people, including young people, consistently say they were happy where they are. Here recent crop diversification initiatives and partnerships with buyers have made farming profitable and migration, which was common before, is now looked down on. Otherwise **those who did not migrate often had no choice because they had family obligations such as taking care of elderly parents, young children, and/or family farmland** or because of family pressure. Others had been former migrants and had either felt homesick, failed to make money, incurred debt or had bad experiences and had returned to live in the village.

Selection of urban destination is strongly influenced by where prospective migrants already have social networks and where they have been assured by these networks that there are plenty of jobs and prospect of good income. Commuter cash casual workers choose destinations where journey time and costs back to the village are minimal. Many are also very well aware of the differences in minimum wages across different provinces (in our urban study areas ranging from approximately IDR 1.5 million to IDR 2.4 million) and migrate to places where minimum wages are higher (and where they will make efforts to optimize this by minimizing their costs of living).

We looked at the actual experience of being migrant workers through a Livelihoods Analysis framework. Using this multi-capital lens approach we found that **from migrants' perspectives the essential asset is social capital** which mainly constitutes their support network of relatives and friends (bonding social capital). It is the main source of information and means to get work. *'If you want a job, you need to have connections.'* Within these

networks there are often those considered to be more 'in the know', some of whom take on a brokering role but they are nearly always family or neighbours from the village. Such networks confirm the honesty and integrity of those they recommend and link to work rather than their skills. It may also help to circumvent meeting some of the requirements for the job such as minimum or maximum age limits, certification, height, and appearance requirements. Personal recommendations work in favour of the employer and for the worker, they provide implicit assurance of potential good relations with the boss, something migrants frequently shared with us as essential in the workplace, even moving and taking less money to assure this. Educated migrants also favoured connections over, for example, getting work through Job Fairs. Connections may also minimize the need for bribes to secure work. Use of private sector agents has declined significantly as people's trust has been eroded and the use of the internet to search for work shows signs of increasing but is still rare. Reliance on social bonds to get work, however, may severely limit choice of work and the information received. Migrants told us **they mostly only seek simple reassurance of a possible job and indication of the money they could earn and rarely ask about the work or living conditions, taking these on trust. The emphasis on networks also provides a sense of belonging for migrants who often try to re-create the sense of *kampung* they say they miss in the city.** This desire for community often overrides other considerations in choosing where to live and migrants often shared that **they consider apartments or rented rooms isolating.** On the whole, receiving communities welcome new migrants and see benefits in diversity. Given the emphasis on social relations and the importance of this asset, migrants shared with us how certain challenges faced in migration, for example, in marital relations, managing child care, and long distance relationships with family can deplete this capital and trade-offs are often required ('*We need the money more*' is a typical comment of those making such trade-offs). This further confirms the often shared point that '*the best time to migrate is when you are single.*'

Economic capital is the next most significant

capital for people but the urban environments we stayed in predominantly accommodated low income workers and for them being able to minimize expenses is the most important aspect of economic capital rather than maximizing income. The preoccupation is to save money on transport, accommodation, and food. Many live in areas where they can walk to work and those with longer journeys almost all use motorbikes. People told us their biggest expense is food but choose to buy cheap street food rather than buying cooking fuel, cooking utensils and spending time cooking. Those who cook, cook only '*simple food*' and fresh food is considered expensive in the city. The provision of lunch by employers is an important aspect for some in choosing work. People aspire to own houses so they do not pay rent, even if this means the house is built illegally. Rents in slums may amount to only 15% of incomes earned while rents in formal areas are around 50%.

Provision of accommodation as part of the job in the context of high rents is key for many making work choices, so workers will live with employers, stay at a work site or in dormitories provided by the employer, even if the conditions are not ideal in order to save money. Many send remittances regularly to the village and mostly carry this or entrust to family and friends with fewer using cash money transfer services through BRI (*Bank Rakyat Indonesia*, People's Bank of Indonesia) or minimarkets and rarely transfers between bank accounts. Only salaried workers spoke of savings but buying goods on credit was widely practiced across all types of migrants, especially to purchase motorbikes. People see limited opportunities to increase income and it was rare for people to share with us ambitions to radically change the nature of the work they were engaged with beyond starting very small-scale enterprises such as food vending, owning kiosks, automotive services or rubbish recycling, often within the community they lived in. We met several young migrants who have entered online trading and service provision and see these as growing potential markets.

While human capital theoretically covers a range of assets including skills, knowledge, labour, and capacity to work the **aspect most talked about by migrants was education and**

skills. While education is seen by many migrants as an important asset and they aspire for their children to be educated at least to a level which could lead to work in the formal sector, the main motivation for parents and students alike is to get school certification, a requirement for even the lowest waged workers in 'formal' factories. Such requirements can be circumvented with connections or it is possible to buy fake certificates or falsify other documents such as the *Kartu Keluarga* (family card). Competition for work in 'good factories' has led to raising of minimum requirements to university level but people look for the easiest and cheapest way to secure this sort of certification. Acquiring the necessary skills usually entails learning on the job (e.g. tailoring, barbering, driving, construction or learning in a factory). Whatever work is undertaken it was clear that people value leisure time and prefer jobs where it is easy to take time off and where working hours are shorter. Waged workers often miss out on this and the lack of a social life can precipitate a change of occupation. Homesickness and loneliness were problems some migrants shared and this emphasizes the importance of integration within the communities they reside in.

In terms of physical capital, people shared with us that they appreciate how facilities, especially health facilities, are often **nearby in the city and they are usually of better quality than in villages**. People also mentioned the importance of being near thriving markets both from consumer and supplier perspectives. As rural electrification has become widespread and mobile telephone masts are situated throughout Indonesia, these technological advantages previously valued by those migrating to urban centres are less pronounced. Nevertheless, the use of technology in town may be more sophisticated e.g. active engagement in online trading.

Three of the five urban locations we stayed in were described by inhabitants as slums or having slum areas. While residents were under constant threat of eviction (Jakarta Urban Slum and Medan Urban Slum), felt the areas were crowded, unclean and sometimes unsafe and had difficulties accessing water, they actively chose to live there as *'the slum is cheap.'* Rents

are less than half of what they might have to pay elsewhere and some are able to 'own' a home in the slum. Savings from low or no rents are invested in education and consumer goods and services. People also live in slums because of the proximity to their place of work and the savings on transport costs especially as they are thriving micro-economies in their own right. Residents also say they have a sense of home and belonging, have friends there, and have got used to the living conditions. For some residents 'with histories' or engaged in illegal activities, the slum lets them get on with life under the radar.

Political capital covers legal and political aspects of migrants' lives including the need for documentation. Their perspectives on this can be summarized as *'too little information and too much hassle.'* Migrants express a preference for relying on the head of their RT (*Rukun Tetangga*, Neighbourhood Association) and not interfacing with higher level officials. Few have updated resident identity cards (KTP), particularly those working in the formal sector where it is a requirement. Having a 'city' KTP is a requirement for enrolment on the health insurance scheme (BPJS). To avoid 'hassle' many of those who have acquired city KTP through *nembak* ('speed money'/bribes). Urban based families will often add the names of migrant relatives who move to stay with them to their *Kartu Keluarga* (family card) as non-inclusion results in being overlooked for some state grants. While getting a birth certificate in the village is considered a 'hassle' and unimportant, it is considered important among migrants and they are active in securing these particularly for their children. Some shared the complicated application requirements of some jobs, requiring application letters, police clearance, certificates, resumé's, tax payer cards (NPWP) or yellow job applicant cards (also known as yellow card or KTPK); many of which require lengthy processes at the district level. The costs and time loss incurred is another disincentive to apply for work in the formal sector. Most informal sector workers had not taken up BPJS citing hassle and not seeing a need for health insurance as the main reasons for this.

We came across no institutions in rural areas

which support migrants other than informal networks. In urban areas nearly all assistance was locally-based and primarily came from RTs and *paguyuban* (local ethnic/cultural or profession based organisations) with some assistance coming from religious organisations, especially for new arrivals. Only in one urban location did we come across private sector support to migrants in the form of private training and job placement services.

As part of a Livelihoods Analysis, we examined critical trends as well as risks, uncertainty, shocks and seasonality, over which people have limited or no control. Slum dwellers we stayed with in Jakarta Urban Slum and Medan Urban Slum have all experienced evictions and live with this constant threat. Compensation and offers of re-housing are considered inadequate and inappropriate. Workers themselves often downplayed occupational risks, often because they felt it was the only work they could get because they could not meet the requirements of formal sector work. This means work on busy roads, hazardous construction sites and unregulated factories. Out of 60 workers in a range of jobs including cleaners, drivers, food vendors, factory workers and store assistants we chatted to about health insurance only five had BPJS and these had it provided by their employers. In addition to working in unregistered enterprises, we also met those who were involved in entirely illegal activities such as drug trading, theft of oil and trade in other stolen goods. Slums are often located near dumps as was the case in Medan Urban Slum which bordered ponds which have become a dumping ground for waste from the oil palm industry and water used to wash down the oil trucks. People also talked about trash, poor drainage, overcrowding and lack of recreational space.

People noted how **the slum where they live is often regarded by others as a dangerous area, a sentiment they themselves share.** Some areas we stayed in were regarded as 'gang areas' and we were advised to stay inside at night. Crime was attributed to unemployed youth not migrants '*who work hard and are willing to do any job.*' Across all the locations, people acknowledge that they feel less safe living in town than in villages with the exception

of some young women who shared how they feel unsafe walking in villages without light. In all but the Tangerang Urban Industrial location, people told us that they feel drug use is rising and shared a particular concern for their children. In particular, people talked about the increased use of and trade in *sabu-sabu* (crystal meth) and concomitant with this an increase in petty theft, especially of mobile phones to raise money for drugs. In what were regarded as the three least secure areas there was little to no police presence, people talked about being suspicious of outsiders who might be working undercover for the police and they shared that if there were problems they would rather report these to the RT than the police. By contrast, in what people regarded as safer neighbourhoods people talked about having strong and effective RT. In the absence of trusted policing, security is instead provided by local security patrols organised at RT or RW (*Rukun Warga*, Community Association) level, by associations or by racketeer bands. Money for security is raised by donations either way. In Medan Urban Slum, both protecting one's business and securing a particular location in which to operate requires payment of monthly, weekly or, in some cases, daily fees to officials, brokers, racketeers or *preman*.

Overall, migrants we met are positive on a personal level about their own migration experience and have been able to meet the financial aspirations associated with their decision to migrate. People enjoy the status of being regarded as having been successful and like to be able to bring gifts back to the village. Despite the costs of living in town and (for some) the expectations of sending remittances, they mostly indicated that they themselves enjoy more disposable income which has resulted in increased consumer tastes. Many shared that they felt migration had made them '*naughtier*' referring mostly to becoming less religious.

Those left behind in the village shared problems about constant worry of spouses' infidelity, childcare burden and children being brought up without father figures (less often without mothers). It was not uncommon for parents to migrate leaving their children in the care of grandparents or other relatives. Divorce rates among migrants are regarded as high.

People say urban areas have become more crowded with 'newcomers constantly coming in'. But people told us **more people bring more work to the area, which then opens more opportunities and attracts more employers to set up their business there.** This led people in Medan Urban Slum study area to feel it is easier to earn money in the area than ever before. In Makassar Urban Periphery, **people told us that without migrants settling in the area, certain jobs and services such as transport and food vending would not have existed.**

Most villagers told us that they either see their village staying the same as it has always been or slowly emptying with more and more young people migrating. This leads to local labour shortages for farming in particular. **Although migrants send money to their family and many build or renovate their houses in the village they do not contribute much else to the community.** It is not uncommon to find abandoned houses or simply left behind with a caretaker to look after not only their houses, but also their land, and sometimes their elderly parents. These houses may or may not in time become retirement homes for migrant workers. In some areas, outsiders are buying up land for investment but also for retirement.

We rarely heard about how migration is considered to enrich the local area, and only in Central Java Village did people talk about it bringing specific knowledge to the community. People here shared that the only upside of migration (which they described as hard work and 'not cool') was that **those who migrated had been able to bring new knowledge to the village and attributed both the up turn in agriculture through new commercial partners and tourism development to migration.**

Taking a gender lens to the findings, it is unsurprising that **jobs available for migrant workers that are physically demanding, such as road or building construction, kuli (e.g. portering) or trash collection are almost exclusively done by men.** Similarly, jobs that are related to vehicles, automotive or mechanics, such as *angkot*, *pete-pete* or *becak* drivers, long haul drivers, car mechanic or parking attendants are also mostly done by men. **Women, on the other hand, tend to do more care and**

domestic work, including nanny, babysitting, providing care for the elderly, house maid or domestic workers and **factories often employ mostly women.** Nevertheless, **many jobs are done by both men and women with selling as the most common. Women are more likely to be employed on a fixed wage or 'paid job'** and these are often at lower wages than the lowest income jobs for men which tend to be selling goods and services.

Women are more likely to be the main care giver for children and elderly and this often necessitates them staying in the village, giving up or changing work in urban situations to accommodate these responsibilities. Some cultures actively encourage migration of young girls but others do not. Parents often worry more about their daughters migrating and often make more effort to ensure they live with relatives or continue to support them in other ways while they are away compared to their sons. Migrant men seem to more be exposed to health risks due to their lifestyle choices and physically demanding work.

Throughout the report we have provided indented study implications relevant to the sections of the report. These are summarised below:

- Understanding how people view their status as migrants: two implications emerge: there is a need to be aware that there are **differing regional and cultural definitions and descriptors of migration;** people have their **own categorization of types of migrant** and these are important to recognize when describing their needs and targeting interventions.
- The need to earn ready cash as well as frustration with agriculture means more people will move to cities in search of **guaranteed and regular income.** However, it is important for urban planners to **distinguish between those who move temporarily in order to meet a life cycle expense or to manage seasonal cashflow and those who move long term or permanently** retaining only a very small stake in their village origins. The results of our anonymous mobile network data analysis suggests that there has been a

significant underestimation of the scale of short-term temporary migration within Indonesia to date which should be taken into consideration by planners. Aspirations among migrants range from those who **seek experience and adventure** (spend what they earn in town, often therefore both working within and being consumers of the informal economy and rarely contribute to the rural economy) to those who come into towns for **higher education often with the intention of securing salaried work** following graduation in town. Their needs in terms of information and housing solutions differ immensely.

- Like other studies we find there is currently **little desire for those operating small informal enterprises in towns primarily on self-employed basis to want to expand or be regulated** and that accepted models which may suggest that with economic growth the informal sector gradually becomes more formal may not hold in the Indonesian context.
- **Strong family ties are key in people's decisions to migrate**, providing role models as well as a trusted network of support. This suggests it is important to recognize that the most important **means to provide information, networking and support is through these social bonds**.
- **Informal networking persists as the dominant means to secure work** for migrants, especially but not exclusively in the cash casual categories (Type 1-3) of work. Since the culture of getting work by *'who you know rather what you know'* prevails, the role of skills training and certification and efforts by training institutions to link graduates to work is limited. This also means that those wanting work in the city but without contacts are at a disadvantage.
- There appears to be **a nascent trend towards using social media platforms to search for work** although this still is largely through networks of friends and relatives (even 'weak ties') rather than public job vacancy sites. There is potential for using social media to share job vacancies and increase transparency in terms of sharing pay and conditions offered across types of work.
- Social interaction is considered to be very important for people living in the city and people value this over actual living conditions. The reasons people like to live in slums mirror their view of perceived assets with social capital as paramount and economy as secondary but key as slums are cheap places to stay and close to income earning opportunities. People will put up with the downsides if it means they can make money and enjoy leisure time. Planning to encourage migrants needs to recognise the importance people attach to leisure and social interaction by ensuring reasonable working hours, adequate holidays, and providing physical space to encourage social interaction.
- With few affordable day care facilities in town the choice is limited to (i) leaving one parent (usually, but not always, the mother) at home in the village to care for children, (ii) transferring responsibility of child care to relatives in the village or (iii) stopping work or finding work which accommodates child care responsibilities in town (but often results in a drop in income). Child care provision needs to be prioritized.
- On the whole newcomers and diversity are welcomed in the urban communities we visited. **The nature of rented accommodation in the community may limit integration** and undermines the value put on belonging (collectivism versus individualism) by both newcomers and original residents.
- Migrants seek to **reduce their costs** as much as possible leading to a clear preference to walk or use own motorbike to get to work, buy convenience foods (often street food) and live rent-free or with low rent. There is a need for low cost rental properties meeting a range of needs from singles to couples and families. The dual nature of accommodation as workplace is important for many.
- Migrants see **little opportunity to increase incomes other than starting a small enterprise**. Whilst there is

considerable scope to do this to serve the urban working population (food, transport, goods and services), these are small scale and often risky in terms of capital outlay and competition. We met several young migrants who have entered online trading and service provision and see these as growing potential markets. Our interactions and observations suggest that access to financial education, especially around savings and credit is important.

- **Certification rather than education per se** has become a requirement to get jobs anywhere other than within the informal sector.
- Those without documentation because of costs, 'hassle', lack of official address (or, as other RCA studies have pointed out, administrative errors) face increasing problems securing work, especially in the formal sector, as well as missing out on entitlements such as health and education assistance.
- Information for migrants will be most efficiently channeled at the local level though the RT and existing local organisations such as *paguyuban* and religious organisations, all of which are known and trusted.
- While unregistered and unregulated businesses continue to operate, workers are especially vulnerable to occupational risks. Information about risks and employers' responsibility and liability needs to be readily available through the informal and local channels noted above. Those most at risk are often those with low education and minimal documentation.
- The slums and low cost housing areas we stayed in are growing at speed. Meanwhile the villages we stayed in (with the exception of Central Java Village) are losing young people, often depleted of labour, and development has plateaued. Aspirations to retire back to the village often remain aspirations as people share they get used to urban life and delay this decision. People fear that this means that many villages where migration is prevalent will become homes to elderly.

1. INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

This report presents the main findings of the Reality Check Approach (RCA) study which was conducted in November to December 2017 in collaboration with Pulse Lab Jakarta (PLJ). This study is commissioned by the World Bank to help identify the major needs of rural to urban migrants, potential migrants and their families. The insights will feed into the World Bank's Poverty and Social Development Global Practices current analytical project to help the Government of Indonesia (GoI) in better understanding the process of urbanization in Indonesia. This project aims to provide GoI with possible options for enhancing safe and dignified migration and mitigating the constraints migrants and their families face where they work and live. While current poverty reduction programmes and policies in Indonesia have typically been geared towards rural communities, inequality is higher in urban than in rural areas, and has been rising more rapidly in cities. Given this and Indonesia's rapid urbanisation, designing policies to increase economic growth in equitable and sustainable ways that will also reduce poverty and inequality requires a better understanding of the increasingly urban nature of poverty and economic mobility. This RCA study aims to aid in this understanding and is intended to provide specific strategic key implications for GoI on migration and urban poverty, especially targeted towards contributing to the improvement of migrants' livelihoods in urban areas and their families and communities in rural areas.

HOW THIS REPORT IS ORGANIZED

'Thank you for listening to my stories. Not so many people are willing to listen to these kinds of stories.'

(Pete-pete driver, Makassar Urban Periphery)

During our analysis of the insights, observations and experience gained from this study, it became clear that context and lives of rural to urban migrants are diverse, as are the motivations that first inspire a person to move out of his or her village. The urban context for migration could not be understood without learning also about the origin rural areas. The study was purposely designed to start with researchers living with migrants in urban areas and then 'follow them home' to the rural areas they left in order to provide a more complete picture of the rural to urban migration experience. **This report is organized to mirror the journey of the migrants themselves, starting from rural areas, their urban experience and, in some cases, their return or expectation to return to rural areas.**

Following the Introduction, the report is divided into **four major themes:** (1) People's Concept of Migration and Typology of Migrants, (2) Making Decisions to Migrate, (3) Migrants' Experience, and (4) People's View on Impact of Migration.

Under the first theme (People's Concept of Migration and Typology of Migrants), we begin by unpacking the diversity of migrant types. The typology presented is based on our interaction with a wide range of migrants and analysis of how **people themselves described the different categories.** **In the second theme (Making Decision to Migrate) we look at their social and economic motivations** to move to the cities. **The third theme (Migrants' Experience) looks at migrants' life in the city,** and uses a Livelihoods Analysis to frame these insights. **The fourth theme (People's View on Impact of Migration) presents people's own views on the impact of migration at personal, familial, and community level.**

In relevant sections throughout the report, we also include **key study implications** based on our analysis of what people shared with us. These provide immediate possible policy applications from the findings.

2. METHODOLOGY



METHODOLOGY

2.1 OVERVIEW OF THE REALITY CHECK APPROACH

The Reality Check Approach (RCA) is a qualitative research approach involving trained researchers living with people in their own homes and sharing in their everyday lives. It is a relatively quick, contemporary approach to ethnography that has been noted to capture the often unmeasured and dynamic everyday experiences, awareness, and aspirations of people living in poverty¹. Qualitative research can humanise numbers and 'hard data' by adding details on 'why' and 'how' and explaining causalities and insights into the processes of change. It can also help explore the processes and connections related to aspects of poverty which are otherwise difficult to capture such as, for example, optimism or disconnectedness.

RCA is based on the premise that experiential knowledge is a critical element of research producing people-centred accounts. RCA seeks to understand the processes, motivations behaviours and attitudes of people with a special emphasis on **understanding what people feel is relevant and appropriate development.** RCA also aims to uncover the unintended consequences, positive and negative deviance and practicality of interventions. Relying on building informal relationships and adopting the position of learner, RCA researchers informally involve community members in analysis of their own situation so that insights emerge naturally. These emerging insights are collected through extensive debriefing sessions and then analysed into patterns and relationships (Grounded Theory). RCA reports provide a synthesis of what people share anchored by a deeper understanding of context and our own experiences in communities.

¹ The World Bank Group. (2015) Adaptive Design, Adaptive Interventions, "Taking the perspective of program beneficiaries through the Reality Check Approach". In *World Bank Development Report* (Box 11.1). Washington, DC: Author.

Tools used during fieldwork

RCA uses a variety of research tools during the field immersion. These include:

- » Informal conversations – 'one on one' and group conversations,
- » Facilitating debates – asking informal gatherings to discuss an issue,
- » Listening,
- » Naturalistic observation (of context and practice),
- » Experiencing daily life by being experiential, directly participating in chores, activities, and social and cultural life,
- » Following up on conversations with visits to facilities, services and places talked about in conversations,
- » Using visuals (photos, drawings, charts, maps) to aid conversation and seed discussion.

Over several days and nights in communities, researchers have informal, often spontaneous conversations which take place throughout the course of ordinary days while family members and the researcher jointly undertake chores and normal daily activities. Conversations are iterative and draw on the shared experience of daily activities as a stimulus for conversations in addition to the Areas of Conversation (see page 9 below). These Areas of Conversations provide a framework to fuel curiosity to guide researchers' interactions during the immersion. This approach of fitting in and learning from people so that the relationship between the participants and researcher is one of mutual sharing helps diminish power distance and minimizes disruption to normal life. Researchers are trained to understand the challenges of people-centered research and this includes being continuously self-aware and reflective about their place within a community.

As RCA researchers stay with families within communities, they are able to observe daily life in context, importantly at different times of the day (and night) and within different spaces and situations. Researchers insist to not be treated as guests and are trained to negotiate ways so as to help ensure this. They also emphasize this throughout their stay through continued participation in daily activities, an eagerness to learn from people and by 'going with the flow'.

RCA researchers also experience some of the realities of living in these communities, which in turn aids interpretation of conversations. They accompany family members to school, fields, work, markets, and recreational spaces, adding meaning to what is shared orally and providing a basis for understanding, for example, what people mean by 'a long journey'. The ability to supplement informal conversations with first-hand observation and experiences provides



A RCA researcher helps with peeling beans while talking with his host family during the study.

important means to triangulate insights and understand processes of change. The result is that RCA researchers have **unmediated conversations, observations, and experiences** with people (in their own environment and often private spaces) as they go about their daily lives.

A Grounded-theory approach promoting local perspectives

Being people-centred, RCA research uses a Grounded Theory approach whereby a theory is constructed from insights gathered from the field (inductive rather than deductive). Fieldwork in RCA studies **builds on an iterative, progressive series of conversations, observations, and experiences** as one of the means to enhance rigour in the research method. Analytical frameworks are developed following completion of the data collection as the approach seeks to enable emic (insider) perspectives to emerge and to limit etic (outsider) interpretation or validation. RCA studies are therefore able to extend enquiry beyond sectoral lenses and project/theory of change boundaries, to accommodate multiple realities and embrace unexpected, non-normative experience.

RCA studies are always carried out in small teams in order to minimise researcher bias and to optimise opportunities for triangulation. The principle of triangulation is to examine the same issue through different lenses, using different methods and multiple observers to increase confidence in the findings. Researchers use multiple methods (conversation, observation, experience, supplementary visuals) over multiple days and nights and interact with a range of people at different locations and spaces.

Importantly as well, **RCA teams are independent** and make this explicit with the people who participate in the study. Our objective is for RCA researchers to become a conduit rather than an intermediary so that the views, perspectives and experiences of ordinary people are respectfully conveyed to policy and programme stakeholders. Subsequently, RCA studies promote the idea of sharing implications structured around what people themselves share and show us.

2.2 STUDY LOCATIONS

The Terms of Reference for this study proposed two phases of data collection, phase 1 in major cities across Indonesia and phase 2 in rural villages where many of the migrants from the first phase urban locations originate.

Medan, Tangerang, and Makassar were proposed by the World Bank for the first phase urban locations. The selection of these three locations are meant to reflect previously done surveys and the three cities were identified as urban areas with the highest migration rates. The choice of Medan, Tangerang, and Makassar also ensures that the study covers the experience of migration in the western, central, and eastern regions of Indonesia. In addition to these three identified cities, the RCA team proposed adding Jakarta as an additional urban location, particularly to have a closer look at slums, and including two locations in Makassar, resulting in a total of **five urban locations** along with a corresponding **five rural locations**.

Based on discussions with the World Bank, the following criteria was applied in selecting urban locations to include both:

- slum and non-slum areas,
- central and periphery areas,
- areas with many long-term migrants and those with short-term migrants.

For determining specific areas of the urban locations, and particularly for identifying potential slum areas, the RCA+ team consulted with available local government data and data provided by the World Bank.

From this data a final list of slum locations were charted on Google Maps, with sub-teams identifying potential areas for visiting during a scoping day which directly preceded the fieldwork. During these scoping days the five sub-teams visited some of their pre-identified areas, walking around and speaking with locals to explore topics such as whether most of the people in the community are originally from the city and what kind of jobs are typical for people in the area. Based on these visits, sub-teams discussed and determined their final target communities for the fieldwork, considering once again the initial location criteria for the urban locations mentioned above.

For more details about the data used for location selection, please see **Annexes 3 and 5**.

The following table lists the selected urban locations where researchers stayed in.

The selection of rural locations happened after phase 1 and was based on (i) researchers own interactions with migrants in the first phase who **discussed their origin villages/communities** as well as, where possible (Jakarta and Tangerang), (ii) **key cell-phone network** data compiled by Pulse Lab Jakarta.

This analysis examined anonymised mobile network activity records with a view to identifying migrant origins based on activity patterns. Pulse Lab Jakarta worked with a market leading mobile network operator in the Jakarta-area, processing its data to identify a 'home cell tower' for each of the network subscribers (anonymised) and filtering

Table 1: How urban locations meet the study selection criteria

Location	Slum	Non-slum	Central	Periphery	Longer term migrants	Shorter term migrants
Jakarta Urban Slum	✓		✓		✓	
Tangerang Urban Industrial		✓		✓		✓
Medan Urban Slum	✓			✓	✓	
Makassar Urban Periphery		✓		✓	✓	✓
Makassar Urban Slum	✓		✓		✓	

Table 2: Differentiating criteria among rural locations

Urban location	Matching rural location	Density of migration	Near to city	Far from city	Short term migrants	Long term migrants
Jakarta Urban Slum	West Java Village	High	✓		✓	
Tangerang Urban Industrial	Central Java Village	Low	✓		✓*	
Medan Urban Slum	North Sumatra Village	Medium		✓		✓
Makassar Urban Periphery	South Sulawesi Village	High	✓		✓	
Makassar Urban Slum	Nusa Tenggara Village	Medium		✓		✓

*Previously this village had more long-term migrants, but this has shifted in the past 10 years

the database for subscribers resident in DKI Jakarta and Tangerang that have at some stage had home cell towers outside of the Jakarta Metropolitan Area. The analysis output normalised lists of migrant source communities to both DKT Jakarta and Tangerang which was handed over to RCA to inform the selection of these rural locations. The following criteria were applied in selecting rural locations to include villages:

- with a large proportion of households with one or more current internal migrants,
- both those with relatively easy access to the city and those requiring longer journeys,
- with a range of short term and long term migrants.

According to the mobile network data analysis all five of the villages selected by the field researchers were within the top four percent of source communities of migrants to the cities of interest.

2.3 STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Study participants comprise:

- Migrants and their families with whom researchers stay,
- Neighbours and friends of those stayed with,
- Formal and informal providers of services for the migrant workers, e.g. local government

officials, landlords, food vendors, transport providers, health service providers, security, money lenders and others,

- Some employers,
- In rural areas, families who decide not to migrate.

The researchers engaged a total of 1274 people (women 592, men 682), including in depth interactions with over 300 migrants (108 women and 197 men) in conversations which form the basis of analysis for this study (See Annex 4 for full details).

Entering Communities and selecting study participants

Sub teams comprise 3-4 researchers who entered each of the ten locations independently on foot in order to keep the process 'low key'. Households or boarding house accommodation for researchers was not pre-determined – these were selected by individual team members through informal discussions with people in the community *in situ*, e.g. at *warungs* (small shops or kiosks), around people's homes, etc. Each sub-team and its members spent considerable time² getting to know the context and community, being known, chatting with different people and making their purpose clear. Researchers emphasise that

² Minimum 2-3 hours. In one location because of arriving late, the researchers stayed with families who offered accommodation but the next day, having taken time to get to know the context, reflected on the appropriateness of the households.

Table 3: Types of accommodation stayed in by researchers

Location	Rented family home	Owned family home	Boarding house	Informal makeshift house
Jakarta Urban Slum	1			2
Tangerang Urban Industrial			3	
Medan Urban Slum		2		1
Makassar Urban Periphery		2	1	
Makassar Urban Slum	1		2	

Note: Those staying in homes lived with migrant families. Those in boarding houses (*kost*) stayed in rooms near other migrants

they are there to learn about the community, people's lives, that they are independent and not linked to any resource mobilization. As researchers continue to re-emphasise these points and their desire to learn as they meet new people in the community, trust is built and community members are also able to explain to others about the visitors in their community. Eventually researchers begin to broach their interest of spending multiple days and nights in the community with particular families or with residents of boarding houses, emphasising the importance of staying with ordinary families/individuals and not being afforded guest status. Researchers worked to ensure that selected households (or boarding houses) were at least approximately 15 minutes' walk away from each other where possible, although some stayed closer together in communities where migrants stayed in more concentrated areas. This spacing ensures that researchers had interactions with a different constellation of migrants, neighbours, and other community members while still living in the same larger community space to allow for good triangulation between the sub-team members.

For those researchers staying with a household, each team member discretely left a 'gift' on leaving, to the value of about IDR 200,000 to compensate for any costs incurred in hosting them. For those researchers staying in a *kost* (boarding house), researchers shared in the costs of some meals when eating together with others in the building/compound. As team members insist that no special arrangements

are made for them (e.g. such as insisting they eat the same as families normally would), help in domestic activities and do not disturb income-earning activities, the actual costs to host families are minimal³. The timing of the gift is important so people do not feel they are expected to provide better food for the team members or give the impression that they are being paid for their participation.

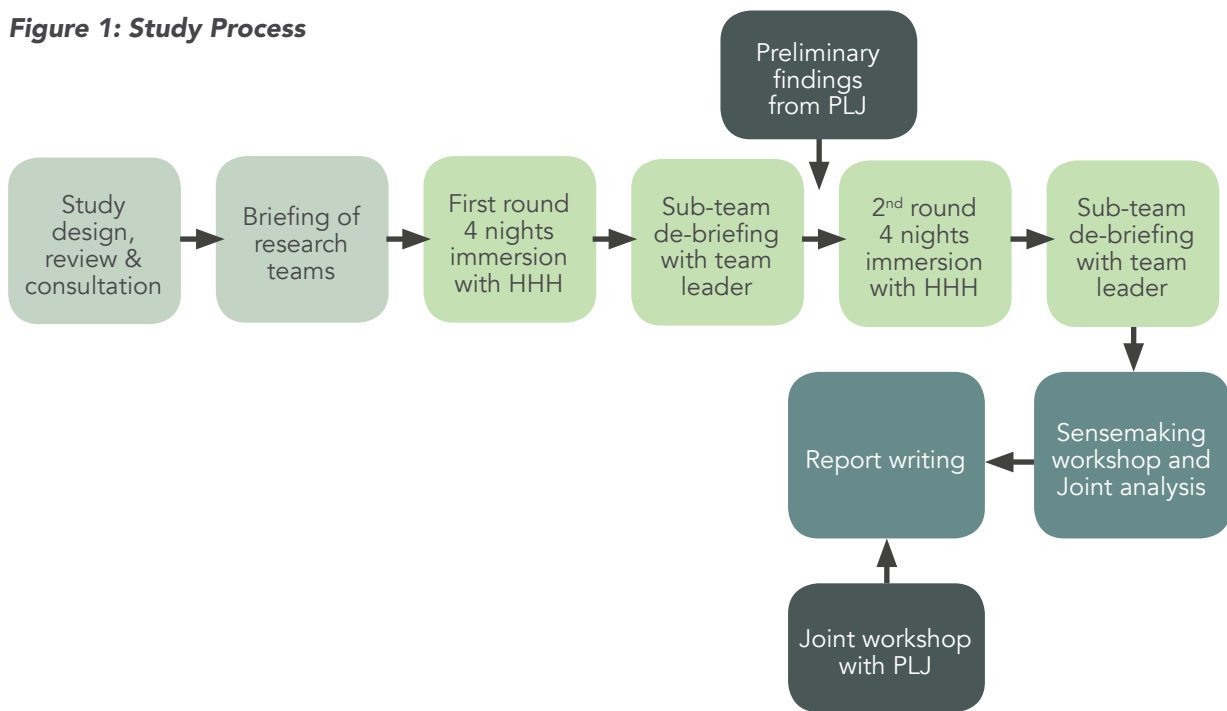
2.4 STUDY PROCESS

Study Design

The RCA+ team prepared a full study design for this research based on the World Bank's TOR used during the initial tender process, an Inception Discussion with the World Bank team in Jakarta, and secondary data and documentation such as the 'Indonesia's Urban Story' booklet⁴ prepared by the World Bank. Along with background information, study rationale and team composition, the study design included proposed locations and criteria, information on targeted/expected study participants, a list of study outputs, and a draft **Areas of Conversation**.

³ While this may not necessarily indicate that a family has no burden at all in hosting a researcher, it is quite common for households to insist that researchers stay longer. In such cases researchers graciously decline, explaining that plans have already been made with their fellow sub-team members for traveling back to a nearby city or Jakarta.

⁴ Indonesia's Urban Story. (2016 June 14). Retrieved from: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2016/06/14/indonesia-urban-story>

Figure 1: Study Process

The Areas of Conversation is a collection of possible issues and topics which act a guide for researchers and helps ensure that conversations are purposive. These Areas provide support while allowing flexibility to explore relevant topics which may come up as part of conversations and to undertake conversations at times/situations that are appropriate. Along with providing the opportunity to explore certain issues in greater depth, it is often this flexibility which can allow more unique or unexpected insights. The draft Areas of Conversation were prepared based on secondary data and experience from other RCA studies, along with preliminary ideas of what might be important based on the study topic. These Areas of Conversation were further refined based on client input, particularly the inception discussion with the World Bank, and then again during the Study Briefing with the research team. The outcome of the deliberations with the research team are provided in **Annex 2: Areas of Conversation**.

Study Briefing

Before the fieldwork begins, all RCA researchers involved in the study participated in a one-day study briefing to familiarise themselves with the goals and specific processes related to this study. This included background information about the study and the World Bank's interests, and discussion of the household/migrant selection

criteria. The team members also explored some of the possible visual techniques relevant with this study, participated in a refresher lesson on different strategies for taking photos during a RCA study, and worked in small groups to brainstorm additional ideas for the Areas of Conversation. Sub-team leaders were briefed on the logistic and security procedures along with additional guidance regarding each team's scoping day.

Immersion (Fieldwork Process)

Working in sub-teams of three to four team members, researchers spread out within a larger community so that data collection involves individual team members immersing themselves fully in the community and the lives of those they stay with. To understand and experience the day-to-day lives of people in context, gather insights into phenomena through as many eyes as possible, and promote good triangulation, researchers generally do not meet up with their other team members until leaving a community. By being there, researchers can use the environment as a stimulus for conversation and generate a deep understanding of context and people's attitudes, motivations and behaviours. When researchers finally get together after the immersion they share their individual insights, observations and experiences, and look at the similarities and differences in their knowledge of study participant lives and perceptions.

As described earlier, RCA researchers use a variety of tools during fieldwork including informal conversations, facilitating debates, listening in to conversations, observing, experiencing daily life, following up on conversations, and using visuals to aid conversations.

For examples of how these tools were specifically used during this study, please see Annex 3.

Where appropriate visuals are used to aid conversations. Visuals can help researchers engage in deeper conversations with study participants and experience has shown that for some people it can be easier to open up and explain issues through visual methods. Visuals also give researchers an opportunity to further elaborate on ideas and explore different ways of approaching or discussing an issue. For this particular study the following types of visuals were identified as particularly relevant and were used by researchers as appropriate:

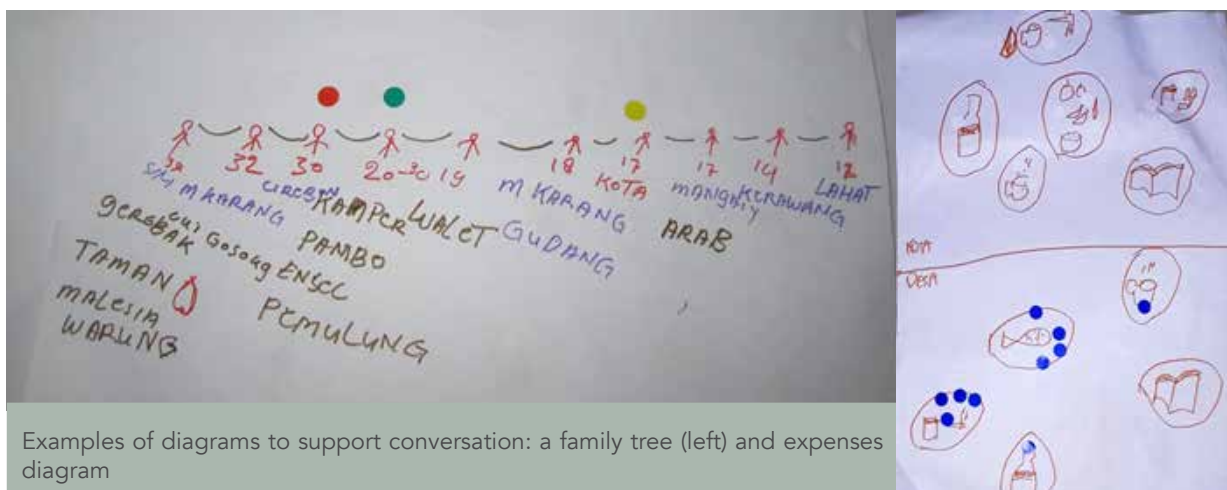
- Social maps – a map of the community where people are asked to draw key features, places, and buildings.
- Household expenses exercise - This provides a means to explore the expenses of migrants or families left behind (e.g. daily or monthly expenses).
- Job preference ranking: Researchers can facilitate participants to rank different jobs according to different criteria they select and on which they base their choices (e.g. wages, working environment, skills needed).

Photos are taken, often by the study participants themselves, to illustrate important issues, emphasise points being made in conversations and to provide context. These visuals and photos, together with the conversations, observations and experiences of researchers form the basis of detailed and collaborative one-day debriefing sessions with each of the researcher sub-teams.

Post-Fieldwork Process

Debriefing

While team members do not take notes in front of people, they do jot down quotes and details as needed in field diaries or on mobile devices. Each sub-team of three to four researchers spent a full day for collaborative debriefing and analysis with either the study team leader or technical advisor as soon as possible after completing their field immersion. These sessions explored the Areas of Conversation, including each team members' observations and experiences and expanded on these areas based on the insights gained from the study participants. This process enabled extensive triangulation as similar topics were explored through different team members, from different people's perspectives, at different locations, times and using different methods (conversations, observations, experiences, use of visuals including photographs). Each of these collaborative analyses were recorded in detail in written notes combined with other important archived material (see below).



Examples of diagrams to support conversation: a family tree (left) and expenses diagram

Archiving

Each sub-team also spent a day, generally directly before their debrief, to develop a coded archive of their fieldwork experiences including items such as household data and village profiles. Along with the debriefing notes these archives assist the study leader, co-lead, and technical advisor during the analysis and writing process, provide a data back-up and are particularly helpful for longitudinal studies.

Sensemaking Workshop

After the fieldwork and all debriefings were completed, the entire team came together for a 'sense-making' workshop to extend and re-visit some of the initial findings from the fieldwork and to begin the analysis process. This joint reflection process also acts as another check that none of the team members are overlaying their own interpretations on the findings. For this particular sensemaking workshop, the team diagrammed and explored items such as origin and destination matrices, comparisons people made between villages and cities, and characteristics for the emerging types of migrants that were identified based on the sub-team debriefings. The outcomes of these diagrams and the sensemaking process were compiled and written up for further analysis by the study team.

Analysis

The study team leader, co-leader and technical advisor then began further analysis to lead into the report writing process. A three stage process derived from conventional framework analysis was undertaken by these three researchers



Researchers analysing and comparing field data during the sense making workshop

independently comprising:

1. Familiarisation (immersion in the findings),
2. Identification of themes (from the debriefing notes and the sensemaking workshop), and
3. Charting (finding emerging connections).

The independence of this activity is designed to test if the same/similar themes emerge between different reviewers. This is a key part of the analysis to add credibility (i.e. different researchers having similar takeaways/coming to the same conclusions from the same material). After the study leader, co-lead and technical advisor completed their own charting of the debriefing notes, they came together again to discuss and explore the key emerging narratives and an initial framework to guide the report writing. During this discussion the analysis team also identified areas of the debriefing notes for further compilation/analysis along with topics which required follow-up or exploration with the full team of researchers. Items compiled and further analysed from the debriefing sessions included the following:

Tables from sub-teams on profiles of each of their migrant contacts

Information on migrant contacts' type of work, distance to work, and wages

Access in slum areas to water, health and education facilities

Documentation requirements/expectations for migrants

Location descriptions for urban and rural areas

Follow-up topics included sub-team and team members further discussing and describing the following items:

Occupational risks and crime/security in the urban areas

Reasons why different migrants choose particular locations and the costs involved

Percentages of migrants in rural areas, obligations preventing migration, and 'failures'

Please see [Annex 3](#) for a more detailed explanation of the analysis process.

2.5 STUDY TEAM

The study team comprised twenty-one trained RCA researchers, including two international researchers in the roles of team leader and co-team leader. For more information, please see Annex 2.

2.6 SAFEGUARDING AND ETHICS

The RCA+ team takes ethical considerations very seriously, especially considering the fact that the research involves living with people in their own homes. Like most ethnographic-based research, there is no intervention involved in RCA studies. At best, the study can be viewed as a way to empower study participants in that they are able to express themselves freely in their own space. Researchers are not covert but become 'detached insiders'. People are informed that this is a learning study and are never coerced into participation. As per American Anthropological Association Code of Ethics, RCA adopts an ethical obligation to people '*which (when necessary) supersedes the goal of seeking new knowledge*'. Researchers '*do everything in their power to ensure that research does not harm safety, dignity and privacy of the people with whom they conduct the research.*' Researchers ask for people's verbal consent to be able to use their stories and insights and assure people that they would keep their sharing off the record if they do not give their consent. Researchers sign a declaration as part of the archiving process that they received people's verbal consent to share their stories and insights.

Before taking photos in a community, researchers ask members of the community about the appropriateness of taking photos. They also obtain consent from their host households and any others participating. Any identifying features in photos are removed digitally to further protect people's anonymity.

All researchers are briefed on ethical considerations and trained on the Child Protection Policy before beginning every study (irrespective of whether they have previously gone through this). All researchers sign Code of Conduct on Confidentiality, Data Protection and Child Protection Policy declarations as part of their contracts. All data (written and visual) is coded to protect the identity of individuals, their families and communities. As a result, the exact locations and identities of households and others are not revealed in this report.

2.7 STUDY LIMITATIONS

As with other research methods, the RCA fieldwork has a number of limitations as follows:

- The size of the urban locations meant that sub-teams were not able to visit all of the potential pre-identified areas during the scoping day.
- Some of the urban locations were considered to be quite unsafe for walking around at night and researchers were often told to stay inside their host households limiting opportunities to engage with others during what was often people's leisure time.
- While staying in boarding houses did bring new and different insights compared to staying in a home, it was often difficult to spend extended periods of time with people who stay in these. Many living

in boarding houses leave early in the morning and may not return until later in the evening. Some boarding houses also have limited spaces for hanging out.

- It was often difficult in the urban locations to accompany people to their places of work, particularly with certain types of work such as factory work, work in port areas, illegal activities, and roaming food sellers.
- In general, people in urban locations work long hours leaving less leisure time for longer discussions.
- In rural locations such as West Java Village, there were limited opportunities to chat with young adults as most were working outside of the village.
- Particularly in the rural locations and to a lesser extent in some of the urban locations, people would often use their local language during informal conversations and 'chit chat' with each other. Researchers who could not speak the local language would ask questions in such situations, but the nuances of what was being shared may sometimes have been missed.
- In some of the rural locations frequent rain made it more challenging to meet and chat with a wide range of people as they tended to stay indoors and not hang out in public areas. It also limited opportunities to see and follow along for some of the people's income-earning activities.

The data analysis by Pulse Lab Jakarta which aided round two location selection (for Tangerang and Jakarta teams) has the following limitations:

- The limited timeframe which mobile network operators hold network activity records,
- The issue of people purchasing new/different SIM cards upon moving/migrating (SIM card churn),
- The possibility that some migrants do not own mobile phones, so would never appear in the mobile network data in any form,
- Direct mapping of cell towers to *kelurahan/desa*.

For a more detailed description of the mobile network data analysis and its limitations, please refer to [Annex 5](#).

STUDY LOCATIONS

M1

Medan Urban Slum

Coastal urban slum.

Size: Approximately 6,000 households.

Migration context: Mostly Bataknese migrants with one quarter Malay locals.

Livelihood: Fishermen, port workers, traders, construction workers, transport drivers, informal workers.

Religion/ethnicity: Muslim majority with around a third Protestant Christians of Bataknese, Javanese, Malay, Acehnese, Minangese, and

Chinese ethnicity.

Road access: Asphalt roads with newly built toll roads.

Schools: Many schools in the community, from primary to senior high schools.

Health facilities: Navy hospital, *posyandu*, and *puskesmas* five to 10 minutes by motorbike.

Mobile phone/internet access: Good reception, including 3G. All providers.

J1

Jakarta Urban Slum

Urban slum located under a flyover.

Size: Approximately 1000 households.

Migration context: Mostly long stay migrants with newer migrants living in rented rooms (*kontrakan*) to work in factories.

Livelihood: Factory workers, daily labour, domestic workers, hawkers and petty traders, kiosk owners, construction workers, park labour, trash collectors, drivers.

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Sundanese and Javanese Muslims.

Road access: Asphalt roads with busy highways nearby. Public transportations (*angkot*) available.

Schools: Primary, junior high, and senior high school 15 to 25 minutes walking.

Health facilities: *Puskesmas* 15 to 20 minutes walking. Hospital 15 minutes by motorbike.

Mobile phone/internet access: Good reception, including 3G. All providers.

S1

Makassar Urban Periphery

Lowland non-slum urban area

Size: Approximately 3,700 households.

Migration context: 60% of the population are migrants and most have stayed for longer than 10 years.

Livelihood: Public transportation drivers, hawkers and petty traders, store assistants, construction workers, *becak/bentor* driver, trash collectors, parking attendants, tailors, restaurant workers, sailors, police officers, nurses, civil servants.

Religion/ethnicity: Muslim Makassar and Bugis majority with around a fifth Christians

of Bataknese and Torajanese background. Other ethnicities are Mandar, Flores, and Javanese.

Road access: Asphalt and cement roads.

Schools: Private kindergarten five minutes walking, primary school ten minutes by car, private junior and senior high school five to 10 minutes walking, public junior and senior high school 10 minutes by car.

Health facilities: *Puskesmas* 10 minutes by car, hospitals 10 to 20 minutes by car.

Mobile phone/internet access: Very good reception, including 3G. All providers.

T1

Tangerang Urban Industrial

Urban to peri urban non-slum swampy area.

Size: Approximately 30,000 people.

Migration context: Half of the community are migrants, mostly working in factories or as petty traders or kiosk and stall owners.

Livelihood: Kiosk owners, barbers, stall owners, car workshop owners, hawkers and petty traders, drivers, motorbike taxi (*ojek*) drivers, trash collectors, factory workers, airport staff, rented room (*kontrakan*) owners, teachers.

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Muslims with a few Christians of mostly Betawi, Javanese, Sundanese, Banten, Minangese, Bataknese ethnicity with a few from Madura, Papua, and East Nusa Tenggara.

Road access: Asphalt roads with majority owning motorbike.

Schools: Primary and junior high schools in the community. Senior high school 20 minutes by public transportation.

Health facilities: *Puskesmas* nearby *kelurahan*, five to ten minutes walking. A few clinics in the community.

Mobile phone/internet access: Good reception, including 3G. All providers.

M1

M2

T1

J1

J2

T2

U1

Makassar Urban Slum

Urban central location with a mix of slum and residential areas around a canal.

Size: Approximately 435 households across three *kelurahan*.

Migration context: Mostly long stay migrants, majority from other parts of South Sulawesi with some Javanese and people from the Manggarai region of Flores. Small pockets of newer migrants, often staying in boarding houses.

Livelihood: Hawkers and petty traders, kiosk owners, civil servants, daily labour, *bentor* drivers, distributors.

Religion/ethnicity:

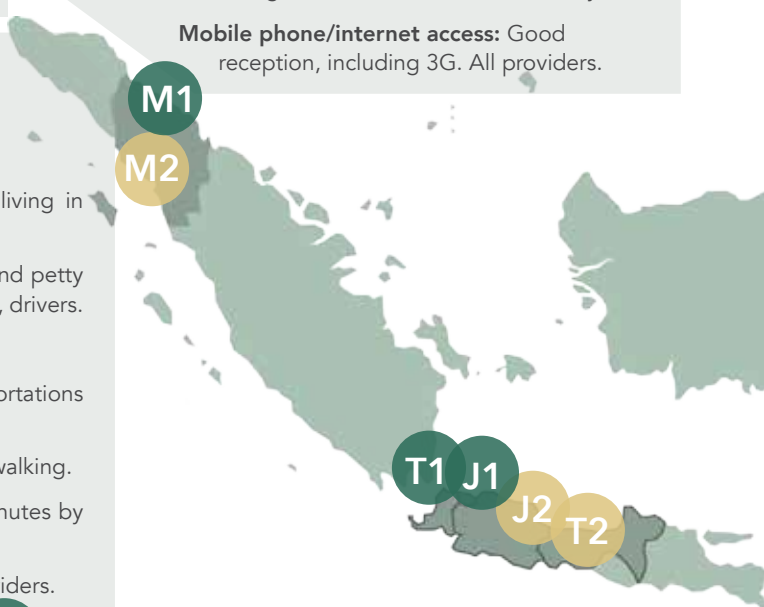
Muslim majority with a few Christians. Makassar, Toraja, Bugis, Manggarai, and Javanese ethnicity.

Road access: Good access with public transportation.

Schools: 10 to 20 minutes walking to primary and junior high school. 10 to 15 minutes by motorbike or public transport to senior high schools.

Health facilities: 20 minutes walking or 10 minutes by *angkot* or *bentor* to *puskesmas*.

Mobile phone/internet access: Good reception, including 3G. All providers.



T2

Central Java Village

Rural location at a mountainous area.

Size: Approximately 2200 households (7000 people).

Migration context: Commuter migration as a means to meet big expenses. Last decade contract farming preferred.

Livelihood: Farmers, vegetable sellers, construction workers, transport providers (drivers, motorbike taxi (*ojek*) drivers, transport assistants (*kenek*)).

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Javanese Muslims.

Road access: Asphalt roads. Most families have motorbikes.

Schools: Primary and early childhood education facilities in the village. Junior high school 15 minutes by motorbike. Public senior high school one hour by motorbike at the district.

Health facilities: One midwife in the village. Mostly go to *puskesmas*, one hour by motorbike at *kecamatan* or to hospital, half hour by motorbike at the district.

Mobile phone/internet access: Good 4G. Tower nearby. No wifi.

M2

North Sumatra Village

A village located uphill of a major lake in Sumatra.

Size: Approximately 200 households (750 people).

Migration context: Tradition of migration except for youngest son who is expected to take care of land.

Livelihood: Paddy/coffee/onions/chili pepper farmers, hawkers and petty traders, kiosk owners, traditional alcohol (*tuak*) sellers.

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Bataknese Christians.

Road access: Asphalt road

under construction. Boat and 3km walk preferred. 1 hour from district town.

Schools: Primary school in the village. Access junior and senior high school by boat and bus (30 minutes and 1 hour respectively).

Health facilities: *Pustu*, five minutes by motorbike. *Puskesmas* at neighbouring village, 10 to 15 minutes by motorbike.

Mobile phone/internet access: Patchy reception in the village. Hiking up the mountain for better 3G reception.

J2 West Java Village

Rural location near a water dam, surrounded by paddy field and forest.

Size: Approximately 700 households with 2000 people.

Migration context: Three generations of migrant; people preferring migration than farming; most young people never learned how to farm; migration mostly to nearby cities so they can come home regularly.

Livelihood: Contractors, farmers, daily construction workers, asphalt labour, kiosk owners, shop assistants, wood collectors, rock smashing, factories workers, goats and chicken rearing, teachers, civil servants.

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Sundanese Muslims.

Road access: Village areas are accessible by motorbike and the main road is also accessible by car. Public transport (*angkot*) comes every half an hour costing IDR 4,000 one way. Almost fully asphalt in the village.

Schools: Primary and junior high in the village. Senior high school 15 minutes by motorbike.

Health facilities: *Polindes* and a midwife in the village. *Puskesmas* at sub district, 35 minutes by motorbike.

Mobile phone/internet access: Good 2G, not so good 3G/4G. All providers. Tower nearby. Wifi at village office and some kiosks.

S1

S2

U1

U2

U2

Nusa Tenggara Village

Forested hills rural area, partially cultivated.

Size: Approximately 1350 households across three villages.

Migration context: Majority migrate with most returning to look after land and/or family. Youngest sons often expected to stay or return from migration to look after elderly parents. Increasing number of young women are expected to further schooling outside when families can afford it.

Livelihood: Rice/corn/coffee/sweet potato/cashew/candlenut/cacao farmers, civil servants, contract teachers, oil palm plantation workers.

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Catholics with Manggarai ethnicity.

Road access: Asphalt main roads gravel/stone road village roads.

Schools: Primary and junior high schools in two villages. Children from third remote village walk 45 minutes to these schools. Two senior high schools 30 minutes and one hour by motorbike. Those from remote village board near the senior high school.

Health facilities: *Pustu* in least rural village. For other two villages, *puskesmas* accessed in adjacent villages, around 20 minutes by motorbike. Hospital under construction (30 minutes by motorbike).

Mobile phone/internet access: Good reception for one provider, including 3G in two of the villages. The most rural village has no reception.

S2 South Sulawesi Village

Highland rural area with low temperature surrounded by plantations.

Size: Approximately 200 households.

Migration context: Migration started around 20-30 years ago. Last decade increasing farming of cash crops, i.e. chili pepper and sticky rice. The past five years more young people migrate for education.

Livelihood: Farmers, breeders, hawkers and petty traders, drivers, collectors, civil servants, contract teachers, mechanics.

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Makassarese Muslims.

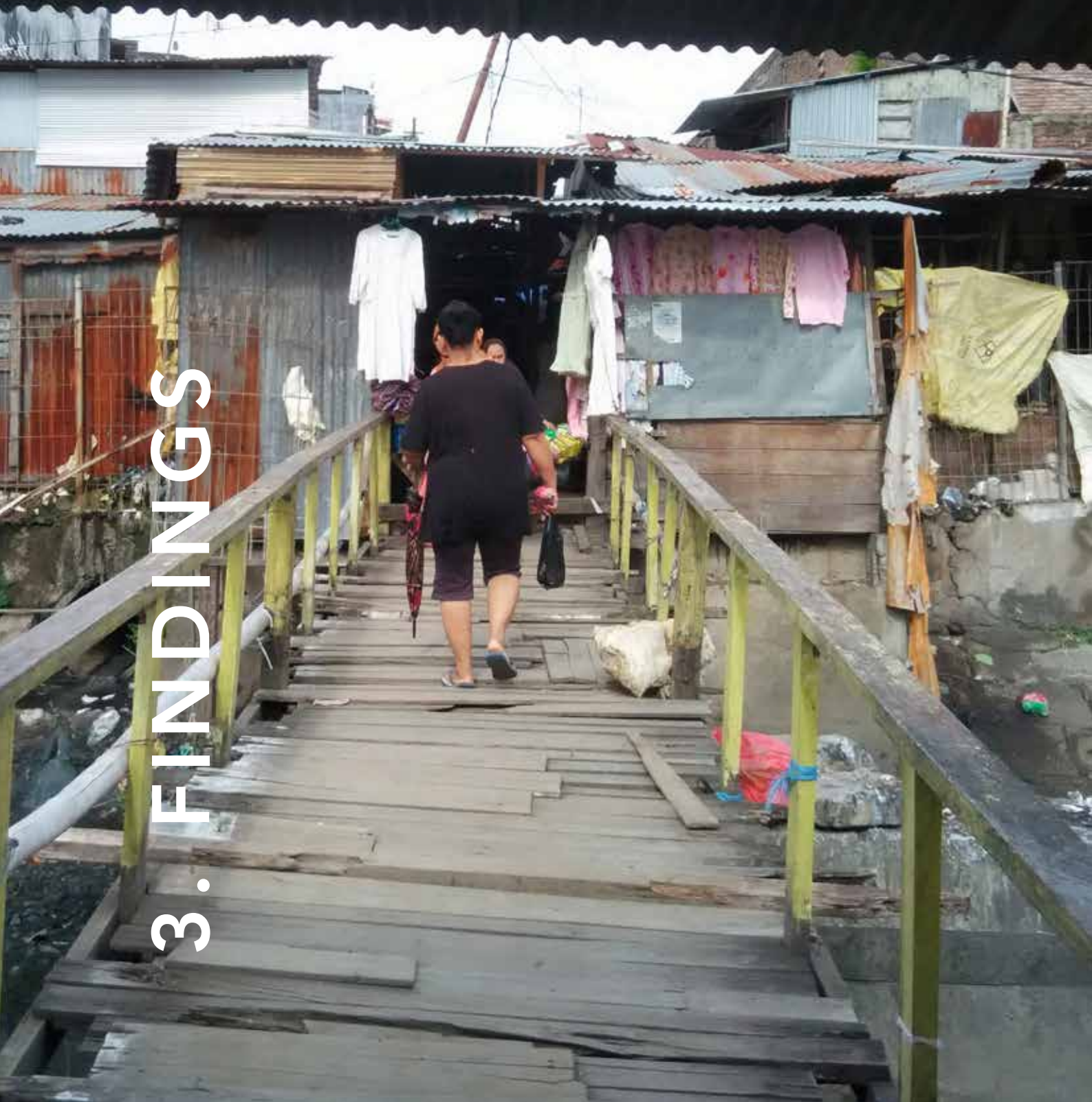
Road access: 3-4 hours by car from provincial capital. Half an hour by car from the district.

Schools: Primary school in the village. Junior and senior high school ten to 30 minutes by motorbike.

Health facilities: *Puskesmas* at neighboring village, 35 minutes walking.

Mobile phone/internet access: Good reception for one provider. Good internet access near central tower. No wifi.

3. FINDINGS



FINDINGS

3.1 THEME ONE: PEOPLE'S CONCEPT OF MIGRATION AND TYPOLOGY OF MIGRANTS

What Migrating Means

'I came from Karawang but I have lived here for a while. I'm a "perantau".'

(Long-stay migrant (Type 1), woman (48), Jakarta Urban Slum)

When talking about migration, people we met in both rural and urban study areas mostly use the term *merantau*. **Merantau refers to the action of moving from a person's *kampung* (home village/origin place) to a different place, whether it is rural or urban.** *Merantau* is generally for the purpose of finding work, continuing education or looking for experience in the sense of adventure or 'trying one's luck'. *Perantau* refers to the person undertaking *merantau* and *perantauan* or *rantau* refers to the destination or the current residence for a migrant.

However, the term is not universally used. Some people also referred to migrants as 'working in the city' or sometimes 'going to Jakarta' even though they are actually working in a different big city. For people in South Sulawesi Village, when someone they know from the village goes to the provincial capital to work, they refer to it as 'working in [provincial capital]' and since the migrants do not go to a different island, they do not refer to these migrants as *merantau*. Similarly, in Nusa Tenggara Village people do



A young boy in North Sumatra Village looks out across the lake after asking the researcher here where she comes from

not use *merantau* if they go to work within the same island even if it is to the urban areas and often refer to this instead as 'keluar' (going out).

Although *merantau* may cover migration either for work or for education, sometimes these are differentiated. For example, in North Sumatra Village, those who go for education are specifically called *skolar* (scholar) while others who go for work are referred to as *perantau*, whether or not they end up being successfully employed in the city.

In the urban study areas, those who have migrated in usually also call themselves *perantau* or sometimes, *pendatang* (incomers). Despite many in the Jakarta Urban Slum having lived in the area for 20-30 years they still refer to themselves as migrants, strongly identifying with their roots and introducing themselves by their origins, **even some who are second generation and have been living in *perantauan* their entire lives.** By contrast, many long-term migrants in the Makassar

Urban Slum would refer to themselves as being 'from here' even though it turned out they were born in another area of South Sulawesi. **The migrants in the Jakarta Urban Slum told us they consider themselves *perantau* because their *kampung*, or 'true home' even if they have never actually lived there, is elsewhere.** The *kampung* they referred to can be the place where their parents were originally from or, sometimes, the home village of their spouse. They feel it is their own *kampung* for several reasons. Usually, they have many family members still living there whom they visit. For others, it is because they still hope that in their old age they would go 'home', i.e. to the village of their family origins.

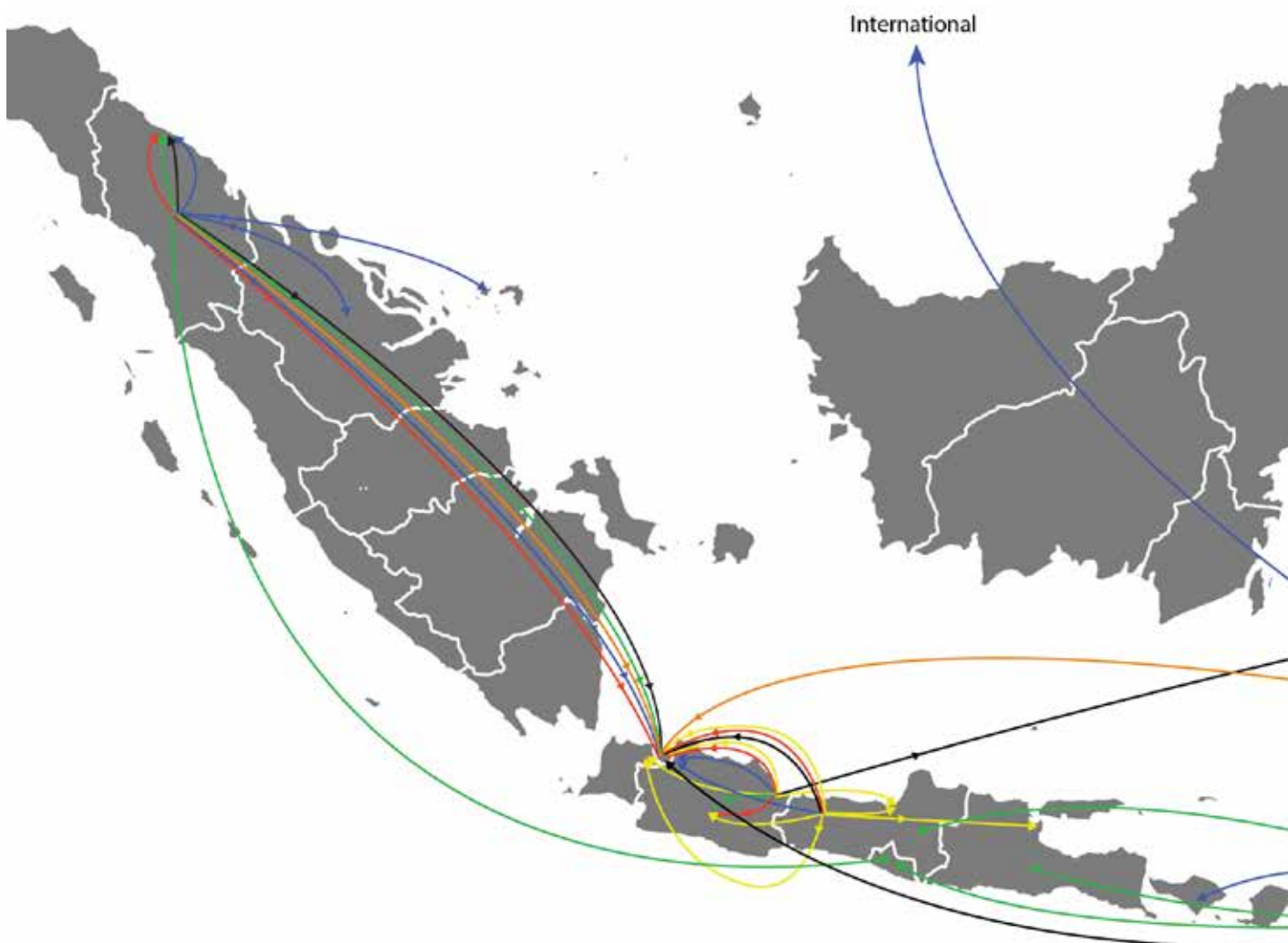
By contrast, some second generation feel they are 'not migrants'. Although they visit their parents' *kampung*, they told us they



Access is still a major issue for the communities in North Sumatra Village and Nusa Tenggara Village. West Java Village is also described as being at 'the end of the road'.

do not feel any real connection to the place. Similarly, some people who migrated might

Figure 2: The picture of rural to urban migration based on our migrant contacts



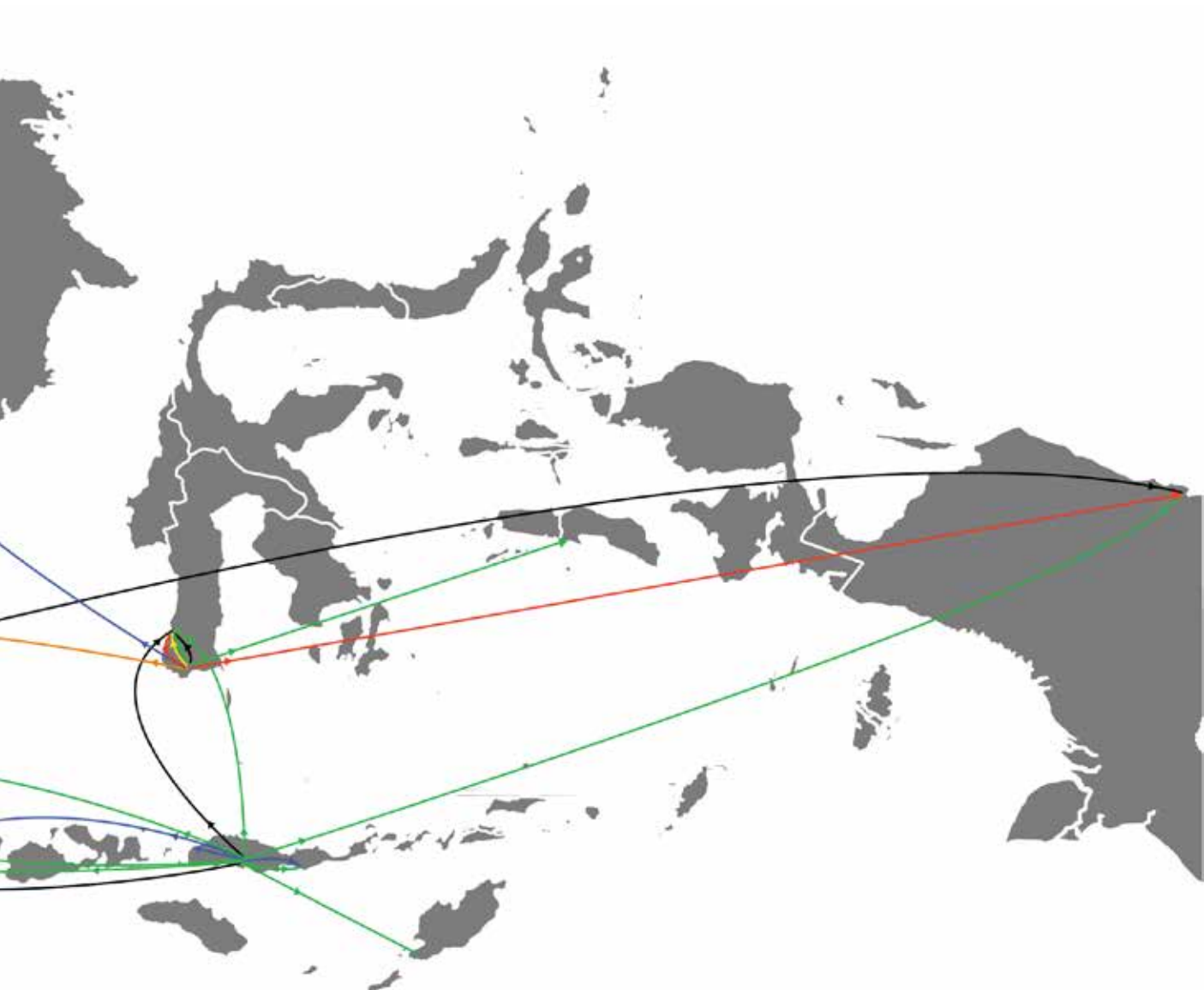
refer to themselves as, for example, '*Jakartans*', indicating that they feel they are 'local'. This is not common but was apparent among some migrants in Jakarta Urban Slum and Tangerang Urban Industrial. They told us they adopt both identities; villager but also a local, '*I'm Sundanese, I'm from Karawang, but I have DKI Jakarta 'KTP' (ID), yeah, I feel I am Jakartan,*' (park cleaner, woman, Jakarta Urban Slum, in migration for around 10 years). **In short, some children of migrants say they are migrants, even if they were born in the city, while some migrants say they are local, particularly if they have stayed for a long time in the city.**

People reminded us that **there are different cultural interpretations of *merantau***. Sumatrans, particularly Batak and Minang people, see *merantau* as a rite of passage to adulthood, something you must do to prove yourself by staying away. This was a tradition for boys but is increasing as a trend for girls.



The quiet main road to North Sumatra Village. Although near a popular tourism area, this village is still not easy to access and, like many of the rural locations, people here say that one of the reasons to migrate is that there is not much happening or changing in their home villages.

Batak people say, '*Baby banana has to grow elsewhere to grow better,*' but the Javanese have an almost opposite saying: '*Mangan ora mangan asal ngumpul*' (whether or not we can



eat, what is important is for us to stay together). For them, *merantau* is often regarded as a short term means to earn cash.

Study implication 1: Terminology

Planners need to be aware that the way people use the term *merantau*, for example in surveys and local census data, could be misleading. The mismatch between existing official definitions of migrants and real life experience is also underlined by the results of our anonymous mobile network data analysis, which suggest that there has been a significant underestimation of the scale of short-term migration within Indonesia to date (please refer to **Annex 5** for more details). *Merantau*, is used to describe a range of long term to short-term, migration for work or education, rural-to-rural or rural-to-urban migration and just 'wandering about'. Furthermore, localized rural-urban migration may be missed because people use the term '*keluar*' (going outside). This might be taken by outsiders (e.g. enumerators) to imply that the person is not at home at the moment but will be coming back later in the day when in fact they are a migrant. People who have been resident in an area for decades may still refer to themselves as *perantau* even though their connection to the *kampung* is only because it is where their parents were born, yet others (e.g. in Makassar) readily see themselves as locals.

How people define different types of migrants

Based on conversations with migrants, we identified **six distinctive types of migrants** from their descriptions. These distinctions are based on a combination of (i) the nature of their work, (ii) motivations to migrate and (iii) length of residence. We are aware that this typology may be influenced by the particular study locations selected and there may, for example, be other types but for clarity **throughout this report we will use this typology** to differentiate their migration experiences and to identify specific needs.

Type 1: Casual cash worker, long stay

Type 2: Casual cash worker, commuter

Type 3: Casual cash worker, 'follow the money'

Type 4: Formal waged

Type 5: Salaried and/or education

Type 6: Self-employed informal

Type 7: Accompanying others

Informal/formal sector mix

Type 1, 2, 3 and 6 work largely within the informal sector and the first three of these types are all 'casual cash workers', meaning they are not contracted and, basically, look for any available work. We met 123 migrants who fell into these three categories, with more than two thirds being men. Of these, 69 were self-employed (Type 6) in the informal sector in almost equal numbers of men and women.

Type 4 and 5 are situated within the formal sector and we met 121 people within these categories and of the waged factory workers more were women. The percentage of workers we met who were engaged in the informal sector (61%) mirrors the nationwide estimates of workforce engaged in informal sector (60%) currently quoted by the International Labour

1

Being a commuter worker

In this village about one hour by road from Cirebon, most men work in Jakarta as labourers. 'My father', in his 60s, said this started in the 70s and three generations have done the same, 'We only harvest rice twice per year and it's not enough, so we go to Jakarta to find money'. In the past they went by bus to Grogol, stayed as many as eighty in a Haji's place from where they searched work. They brought hoes and spades from the village and sat by the roadside waiting for work returning to the village for a week or two having got paid. Nowadays, workers go to Pasar Rebo and get work through networks. Many have themselves already become contractors, 'the only thing that didn't change is we still go back home after 1 to 2 months in Jakarta, stay for 2 weeks in the village and return to Jakarta.' They like this arrangement; they get money fast and can stay with their family frequently. My father said, 'There is lots of development in Jakarta, they will need people to asphalt the road or build tower blocks. We get more money and can go back to village to rest and see our family.'

Field notes, Central Java Village

Organisation⁵ and is within range of other estimates (e.g. Alatas and Newhouse, 2010)⁶. The following describes these types in more detail.

Type 1: Casual cash worker, long stay

Migrants of this type **work in the informal sector and stay in urban areas for an extended period of time** (i.e. mostly upward of three years). These people are employed by or organized by others but are not waged or formally contracted and typically earn daily cash from selling their labour or goods (and sometimes services). As a result, their income is likely to fluctuate according to demand. Jobs include, among others, trash collectors, day labourers, hawkers and petty traders, cleaners, street food workers, and laundry workers. We met **this type of migrant most during fieldwork** and many of them were men although domestic work (such as cleaning and laundry) are typically done by women. This type of migrant chooses to do casual cash work

⁵ Informal economy in Indonesia and Timor-Leste. Retrieved from: <http://www.ilo.org/jakarta/areasofwork/informal-economy/lang--en/index.htm>

⁶ The World Bank Group. (2010). *Indonesia Jobs Report: Towards a better Jobs and Security for all*. Washington, DC: Author.

2

Moving around

I chatted with a barber (41) who moved from Garut to Jakarta 10 years ago. He has constantly moved from one place to another sometimes staying for as little as two days, sometimes for as much as two years. *'It depends on numbers of customers, if it's less I move on.'* First, he started as an assistant for a friend while learning how to cut hair. Then he managed a barbershop with monthly profit sharing with the owner but moved again because there were too many competitors. He moved to Bandung but although customers were many he had to pay off *preman* (thugs) every evening. He moved to a modern barbershop as an employee paid IDR 2-3 million per-month. But he shared, *'I can't take orders from someone, high-class customers were cocky and expected too much. I also couldn't smoke inside the air-con room,'* so he decided to open his own place. He invested IDR 15 million of his savings but closed the shop after three months, *'I can't manage a business because I have employee mentality.'* He sold all the equipment to a friend and is now working for another boss, *'the customers have been good so far, if not, I will move again as two other friends have offered me to manage their places.'*

Field notes, Tangerang Urban Industrial



In all the urban locations, food sellers like this *pukis* seller in Makassar Urban Periphery are many. These sellers are generally migrants who move where business is considered good (type 3 and type 6).

usually because these are the easiest jobs to get, needing no school certification, unlike waged works.

Casual cash, long stay migrants (Type 1) across study locations told us that they consider where they live at the moment as their current main residence, with some having stayed for 20 to 30 years in the city. **They often also met their spouse in the city** and/or hope to raise their family and encourage the rest of their family to join them in *perantauan* and to settle in town.

Type 2: Casual cash worker, commuter

Commuter migrant workers are **those who go regularly back and forth between their homes and the urban areas where they find work**. They reside in town temporarily for short periods of a few weeks or months, usually just until a particular financial goal is fulfilled. Typical jobs for this type of migrants are drivers, construction workers and road workers and, in the study locations, **commuting is mostly done by men**, although some women will also commute and pick up casual cleaning or other domestic work or work in sales promotion.

Type 3: Casual cash worker, 'follow the money'

These workers usually **move around depending on where the job takes them or where it gives them the biggest cash return (least competition)** as typified by a *cuan ki* (traditional snack) seller (Tangerang Urban Industrial), *'If it doesn't make sense anymore, I'll move.'* He considers earning IDR 100,000 daily to be his goal. If he only takes IDR 60,000/day, he would



In Makassar most *pete-pete*, the city's public transit minibuses, are driven by migrants like this man from Jeneponto who migrates seasonally while waiting for his seaweed harvest. He said that the daily income is not a lot but, 'allows me to support my family, have some savings and send my two sons to high school.' Overall, drivers told us that high competition from other transportation services means that one needs to work long hours to earn good money. They also often stay with relatives to avoid needing to spend money on accommodation.

move to a different place to hopefully sell better. 'Follow the money' migrants may follow a 'boss' or broker they are linked to who will contact them when work is available and they will temporarily move to the new work location. These destinations may be very far apart, such as in different provinces. Typical jobs include food hawkers, construction workers, and petty

3

Supporting siblings

I met the girlfriend of the man I was staying with in Medan Urban Slum when she came to stay for a couple of nights. She shared with me that after graduating from high school, she left the village to migrate. As the second child of nine she needed to support her younger siblings' education. She herself had been supported through high school by her elder brother. 'The older one supported the one after,' she explained to us. Now she works in a factory that produces clinical gloves for export to Asian countries such as Japan and Korea. She met her boyfriend through Facebook and hopes to quit her factory job, help him expand his business and then marry him.

Field notes, Medan Urban Slum

traders. These are typically single young people who are often seeking new experiences and cash primarily for their own needs.

Type 4: Formal waged

This type of migrant is engaged in the formal sector, with employment contracts being signed before the commencement of their work and wages provided typically on a weekly or a monthly basis. However, compliance with employment standards may vary considerably, even in the case of issuance of a 'formal' contract, as some of these businesses are unregistered and unregulated. Typical jobs for waged migrants include security guards,

Table 4: Example of expectations from Type 2 (commuter migrants) – the 'big expenses' which need to be met as described by wives left behind in the village (Central Java Village)

Families	Upcoming big expenses needed to be paid for (we were told it takes approximately 'two months to earn 7 million')
Family 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clothes and decoration for the celebration of circumcision of son (IDR 4 million) Paying debt to kiosk to pay for the rest of expenses for the celebration of circumcision of son (IDR 17 million) A bicycle for the circumcised boy Wedding of daughter (IDR 30 million)
Family 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Money to attend <i>Mulud</i> (the birth of the prophet Muhammad) party as a guest (IDR 100,000) Money to attend approximately nine more parties in a month (IDR 900,000) Money to give when visiting relatives or neighbours who are ill and in hospitals
Family 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School fees for their child in SMP (IDR 75,000/month) Snack money for their child in SMP (IDR 20,000/day) Renovating kitchen and toilet Attend celebrations in the community
Family 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paying off loan for two big motorbikes Paying informal loans for purchase of chili seeds



Typical factories in Tangerang Urban Industrial, but those which are said to be good places to work have extensive document requirements from applicants

factory workers and shop assistants. **Many waged migrants are women** because factories offer more jobs for women than men.

Type 5: Salaried and/or education

This type of migration is typified by **a formal channel pursuing higher education into salaried work**. Jobs are regulated with formal hiring procedures, contracts with clear regulations and benefits of employment, and generally fixed monthly salaries. Workers are referred to as employees, either of the private sector or state. People we met often differentiate this type of work as *kerja kantoran* (working in

4

'Working hard to party hard'

People in this village said that the number of people working in Jakarta is declining because of the recent profits made from potato farming. But some still go. 'Why people still go?' I asked. 'To make a party!' a man (30) almost shouted. 'My boy's circumcision party last year cost about IDR 15 million,' a different man shared. He took food (noodles, rice, sugar, and coffee) from the kiosk on credit and worked in Jakarta on a construction site specifically to pay for them, 'I got IDR 7 million from two months working.' Another man (50) said, 'I will go to Jakarta this month as my last daughter will have her wedding party early next year. We need about IDR 20 million.'

Party costs are high because 'You have to invite your relatives. They invited you before so you have to invite them back.' As everyone is everyone's relative here, a party usually comprises 500–1,000 people. 'If we attend a party, we also need money to chip in' and they called this *ngamplop* (envelop money), about IDR 50-100,000 per-party. There are peak months for parties, for example, this sub-village will have up to 10 parties during *Rajab* (an Islamic month). 'So, whether you throw a party, or attend parties, you should go to Jakarta first to get the money,' the men laughed.

Field notes, Central Java Village



A trash collector's compound in Jakarta Urban Slum

offices) and refer to the workers as *pegawai* (employee). Jobs that are typically done by salaried migrants include administrative work, technicians, airport staff, NGO work, police officers, teachers, management work, and working for big companies. We include students in this category, specifically higher education students, as generally they are intending to enter this formal sector on graduation, with some having a job almost guaranteed.

The difference between waged migrants (Type 4) and salaried migrants (Type 5) in our study is distinct from the difference between blue collar and white collar workers. **Table 5** provides a brief summary of the comparison between the two types.

Type 6: Self-employed informal

Migrants of this type work for themselves, typically as entrepreneurs. **They usually initiate and run their own businesses which operate in informal sectors**. Typical jobs for self-employed migrants include hawkers and petty traders, kiosk owners, food stand owners, and home-based manufactures or services. As self-employed, they can choose where and when to work and when to close the business. These enterprises may be set up long term or short term but tended to have a long-term outlook including building up a customer base and reputation. We found that **selling and trading are equally done by men and women**.

The complete list of the migrant workers we met, based on type, is provided in **Annex 6**.

Table 5: Differences between waged (Type 4) and salaried (Type 5) migrants

	Waged	Salaried
Basis of payment	Output	Performance
Rate of payment	Varied	Fixed
Payment cycle	Daily or weekly	Monthly
Payment made to	Workers (pekerja in Bahasa)	Employees (pegawai in Bahasa)
Skills (typical)	Semi-skilled or unskilled	Skilled
Education (typical)	Secondary level (junior or senior high school)	Tertiary level (university)
Nature of work (typical)	Manufacturing-process work	Administrative-office work
Place of work (typical)	Factories or stores	Offices or organizations

Type 7: Accompanying others

We also met migrants who moved to the urban area due to reasons other than work, particularly to accompany family members. They are typically either not working or earning 'pin money'.

Study implication 2: Importance of using people's own categories

Using people's own categories of migrant helps to segment data in ways which resonate with real life experience. These categories are defined based on the nature of work, the length of residence and motivations to migrate. Each category shares important characteristics but differ from other categories in important ways. Many of these shared characteristics have key planning and policy implications. Using people's categories for targeting interventions helps people understand and accept the basis of support provided.

3.2 THEME TWO: MAKING DECISIONS TO MIGRATE

People's Views on the Drivers for Migration

'I have nothing to do in my home town.'

(self-employed migrant (Type 6), man (27), Jakarta Urban Slum)

We have used the Livelihood Analysis criteria in categorizing people's drivers for migration which includes: economic capital drivers, social capital drivers and human capital drivers. The following drivers are presented in priority order based on the most common reasons shared by the migrants themselves.

Economic capital drivers

'Only agriculture [here], money is hard to come by.'

(waged migrant, woman (35), Tangerang Urban Industrial, about livelihood options in the village)

The most common reason we heard why people move from a rural to urban area is economic. All types of migrant across all study locations indicated that they decided to migrate because of financial reasons and in order **to find work and better livelihood than in the village**. People told us that either there was nothing for them in the village or that farming did not provide them with enough income, even when they own their own land, especially in the cash economy that has emerged over recent decades⁷. Like others, a 40-year-old man (Central Java Village) said that the money he received from selling his harvest did not cover his investment. He then tried to do 'gaduh' (taking care of someone else's cow) but he said it was not worth the effort because he only earned IDR 6,000/day. People told us that part of the problem is that everyone in the *kampung* plants the same crops leading to gluts and depressed selling prices. 'No one

⁷ Several RCA studies have noted the increasing need for cash in Indonesia, e.g. the RCA study on child poverty (2016) and the RCA study on household finance (2016).

5

Need money to pay debt

'Do you need a person to work in your home in Jakarta?' a woman asked me in the village in Central Java. She then shared that they need capital to buy seeds and fertilizer. 'I still owe two million to the women's revolving fund group and have to pay IDR 50,000 per week to the 'bank keliling' (mobile loan provider). So, I have to go to Jakarta for domestic work for two to three months to make money and then return to the village to farm. Rains destroyed our last crop of leek and red pepper. It is a quick way to get money, I have been doing this since I was married 15 years ago. When I was a single, I just stayed and work for the same house for seven years. I cannot do that now, I can't go too long now, two to three months is a maximum as long as I get enough money to pay the debt and capital for farming. So, do not forget to contact me if you or your friends need short term maid,' she smiled to me.

Field notes, Central Java Village

will buy because everyone has the same thing,' explained a *pete-pete* driver, (Makassar Urban Periphery) which was why he has planted only yam or sweet potatoes for family consumption on his village land. A kiosk owner (Medan Urban Slum), typical of many others in the study, said that staying in the village means being 'condemned to a poor life' because there are few opportunities to earn money.

'What's the use to be in the "kampung" if we don't have land or cattle?'

(Long stay migrants, Jakarta Urban Slum)

People also pointed out to us that even if it might be possible to eke out a livelihood in the village, the lack of cash is a problem in increasingly cash economies. Cash flow is described by people as inconsistent and seasonal. A young migrant (Medan Urban Slum) shared. 'There (in the village), my family



Although farming is now viewed positively in Central Java Village and many do not migrate, the many parties thrown in the village for events such as weddings, circumcisions, births, and funerals are motivation for some to migrate for short periods in order to raise enough cash for these parties.

sells livestock only once a week. If they run out of money, they can't buy anything, they're cashless. Here (the city), you won't go cashless; as long as you're willing to do menial jobs.'

'I came to [the city] to eat.'

(self-employed migrant (Type 6), woman (mid 30s), Medan Urban Slum)

A lack of opportunities in the village is a significant driver for young people to migrate. Young people we met in Tangerang Urban Industrial told us, 'In the village, there's no opportunities. Money doesn't go around quick enough.' They and many others who came to the study area in Tangerang Urban Industrial migrated because they heard that there were plenty of jobs. A couple, now in their early 50s told us, 'We moved [to Tangerang in the mid-eighties] because the airport was just about to open and some factories just opened in the area.' A 25-year-old oil trader (Medan Urban Slum) said he migrated from his island village because there were no opportunities for a young person like him. He was also **encouraged by family to help with the family's financial situation**, a reason we heard from many others as well. A 23-year-old in North Sumatra Village told us that he migrated after his father strongly encouraged him to support his two disabled siblings. Some migrants told us that **they migrated to earn money in order to support the education of their family members**, such as the case of a 21-year-old factory worker in Medan Urban Slum who told us that there is a tradition in her family for this. Those who have finished SMA would migrate to the city, find work, and use the money to support their younger siblings who are still in school (see **Box 3** which is typical of many stories we heard).

The difficulties of earning sufficiently in the

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Good salaried contract work

The mother I stayed with in the village talked often about her eldest daughter of six children. At 27, her mother thinks she has a good job working at the ASTRA Group and living in Ambon. This work required her to pass a selection test conducted in Medan earlier this year after she graduated from college in the same city. She wanted to work outside the village as there were no opportunities to earn good money there and her parents asked her to do so. As the eldest, she has an obligation to help siblings through education, currently contributing IDR 10 million each year to her sister's college tuition in Yogyakarta. Recently, she also contributed to renovations on the family house in the village. Her mother misses her as she has not come home for more than nine months but told me that the girl has not had any problems migrating.

Field notes, North Sumatra Village

village is especially exemplified by those who shared stories of **trying to return to their village but were unable to make enough money**. For example, a kiosk owner (Jakarta Urban Slum) shared that she returned to her village to open a kiosk with her new husband but sales were slow and demands for selling on credit high. They decided to move back to their previous location in the city to open a kiosk, where they are doing well.

'He went to get a chunk of money.'

(a wife of a commuter migrant (Type 2),
Central Java Village)

Many choose to migrate only short term as exemplified by **commuter (Type 2) who migrate to earn for upcoming big expenses or to pay off debt**. Wives of commuter migrants we met in Central Java Village explained that their husbands were currently temporarily away, working in construction and road building earning money for a few weeks or months to be able to pay for 'big expenses' such as school fees, paying off debts, house renovation, purchase of motorbikes and celebrations. Hosting celebrations for circumcisions, weddings, and funerals in this particular community is an important social activity with such celebrations potentially lasting for three days with 500 guests, costing between IDR 20-30 million. The RCA study on

household finance management⁸ also noted high costs of celebrations and the burden felt across a number of different locations (p33-34).

Some commuter migrant (Type 2) also migrate only seasonally.

This is the usual case with many *pete-pete* (public transport) drivers (Makassar Urban Periphery) and construction workers (Central Java Village). The former cultivate seaweed in their village with maturation period of 40 days, during which they go to the city to work as drivers. Others plant coffee, paddy or peppers and usually go back to the village only to harvest two to six months later, leaving the day to day cultivation to family in the village. Migrants from Central Java Village looked for construction jobs in the urban area during rainy seasons (two to three months) as they could not find work in the village. Some others engage in commuter migration to finance agricultural inputs. For example, 'becak' (rickshaw) drivers (Makassar Urban Slum) told us they can earn enough money to buy seeds and fertilizers.

8 Reality Check Approach. (2016). *Perspectives of People Living in Poverty on their Household Financial Management*. Jakarta, Indonesia: The Palladium Group.

7

Less demands from relatives when you are in town

I met a lady (47) selling *pecel* (Javanese vegetable salad with peanut sauce dressing) and *jamu* (traditional herbal drink) from her bike. It was only noon but she had already sold all her *pecel* and *jamu*. She told me she is from Klaten and came to Makassar when she was 17 with about fourteen of her friends who pooled their savings to buy boat tickets. She has been living in Makassar for around 30 years now and likes it there. 'Here in Makassar I can save more money. In Klaten there are lots of relatives... so lot of family events and I have to donate to these. Relatives also only want to pay the half price for what we sell.' she added explaining why it was better to live in town away from the village.

Field notes, Makassar Urban Periphery

Study implication 3: Need to differentiate cash seeking behaviours

As other RCA studies have pointed out, increasing and year-round cash needs in rural areas (e.g. for school, mobile phone, electricity and water connections, transport, etc.) as well as increasing consumerism have propelled people to look for **ways to earn ready cash**. Unpredictable climate, cost and accessibility of agricultural inputs, low incomes as well as a pervasive dismissal of farming as low status and physically demanding mean **people are looking for other more guaranteed and regular means to earn cash**. Village households typically have little disposable income and people have shared in this study and other RCA studies that small business efforts in villages often fail or make little to no money as they suffer from low turnover and high expectation of extending credit. This study suggests that **more people will move to cities to earn cash**. However, it is important for urban planners to **distinguish between those who move temporarily in order to meet a life cycle expense** (e.g. setting up home, schooling, wedding of offspring, care of elderly, funeral cost, etc.) or to manage seasonal cashflow **and those who move long term or permanently** retaining only a very small stake in their village origins.

Some migrants, especially waged migrants (Type 4) and salaried migrants (Type 5), moved to the urban area specifically to **find work in the formal sector that provide them with more job security and higher pay**. For example, and echoing others we met, a 29-year-old shop assistant in Makassar Urban Periphery explained, *'Working as a farmer I can only get the money every three months. If I work in the city I can get monthly wages.'* Many women working in factories in Tangerang Urban Industrial consider this waged work as 'a good job' and had moved there because the factories offer good contracts. **Young people pursuing higher education (Type 5) also feel cities provide better opportunities to work in the formal sector**. An example of this is a nurse (Makassar Urban Periphery) who moved

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Right location for trading

I met a young woman who ran away from home to avoid an early marriage and after working in a number of shops in Makassar, she used her own savings to start a business. She bought two beverage stands and started to sell fresh fruit juice and iced coffee. *'2016 was a good year for my business, I can earn at least IDR 1 million from each stand per day, I can hire someone to help me, I can send more money to my parents. But this year everything changed'*. The store building where she rented space for her stands was renovated and she had to find a new location. She has moved three times but *'I keep trying to find a good spot for my business but it is very difficult. Here, I can only earn IDR 200,000 – 300,000 per day... it's not enough, I need to earn more to continue my business, or it will not survive. My little sister often said that I used to be rich but now I am poor, because whenever she opens my wallet she never finds those "red money" (IDR100,000 IDR notes) again.'* She plans to find a location within one of big universities in Makassar city, but she thinks it will be hard because she does not have any connection. *'I am planning to go to UMI (a private university), I need to find someone who can get me a location in that university. It will be impossible for me to get it without connection. Here connection and good relations is important.'*

Field notes, Makassar Urban Periphery

to the city to enable her to work in large well established medical facilities including public hospitals.

While for self-employed migrants (Type 6), their main motivation to migrate is to seek markets for their goods and services. They shared with us that **the city is where their profession has the bigger chance to earn the most money**. For example, tempeh sellers from Java in Makassar Urban Periphery told us it is easier to make a sale in the city because people tend buy food rather than cook, *'People like to snack here. Consumptive.'* A different seller (Makassar Urban Periphery) shared that the challenge of selling goods in the village is the fact that many buyers are her own relatives, forcing her to sell for a low price or at a discount (see Box 7). A young woman who owns a beverage stall in the same city agrees, *'In the city, you can sell IDR 10,000 per glass [of the beverage] while in the village, you sell for IDR 5,000 and they still ask for a discount.'*⁹

⁹ The RCA study on international migration (2015) found that *'there was little appetite for entrepreneurship (in rural areas) where low profits and high demands for credit from family and neighbours is the norm'* (p17).

Both self-employed migrants (Type 6) and 'follow the money' migrants (Type 3) indicate that they are prepared to move often, if necessary to avoid competition or increase their customer base. Two food vendors (one selling juice and the other kebabs) in Makassar Urban Periphery moved cities because business was better there. Some vendors in Tangerang Urban Industrial moved because of competition. *'It's harder to sell in Jakarta,'*. Many vendors we met in Makassar Urban Periphery were Javanese and had been told by friends that here there was a good customer base and have subsequently stayed many years. Waged workers (Type 4) in Tangerang Urban Industrial and long stay casual cash migrants (Type 1) in Jakarta Urban Slum also told us how they have tried working in different cities before settling down in their current location, partly because it is where they earn the most regular earnings.

Echoing what the older migrants in Jakarta Urban Slum and Tangerang Urban Industrial shared with us, **younger migrants we met across study locations or those who have only been in migration for less than a year told us that they might migrate again to a different location in the current city or a different city altogether to see whether they can make a better living there.** Some young migrants (Makassar Urban Periphery) said they want to try to go to Jakarta to make even more money. Many of them have relatives there and have heard stories of how they earn significantly more. *'Here I can only earn IDR 600,000 per month. In Jakarta, I can earn four times that,'* (pete-pete driver (29)). A 23-year-old tailor, also living in Makassar Urban Periphery, told us that she has the same aspiration and believes in Jakarta it will be easy to find a job. *'I can go first for jalan-jalan (excursion) and then find work and then I'll stay in Jakarta.'*

Self-employed migrants (Type 6) may have inherited their business either from their parents or other older family members. For example, a 37-year-old vegetable hawker (Medan Urban Slum) told us that on his uncle's retirement he took over his business which continues to flourish. Some migrants followed the family business such as a *'ketoprak'* (vegetable salad with peanut sauce from Betawi) hawker in Jakarta Urban Slum who sells

along with his uncle and wife, *'It's better than becoming a security officer because we don't have to wait for a month for money and we can manage our money daily.'*

Study implication 4: Further study needed into why small informal traders do not consider formalising their businesses

The plethora of small enterprises operating within the informal sector, which makes their owners relatively good money and enables them to be their own bosses, provides compelling motivation for others to emulate and aspire to. Studies¹⁰ suggest that in Indonesia a dual economy exists with the formal and informal sectors operating in fundamentally different ways (context, labour force, capital, and other inputs and customer base) and there is a strong preference to retain informality in the informal sector. The insights from our study suggest that there is little interest for these small self-employed people to want to expand or be regulated and that models which suggest that with economic growth informal sector gradually could become more formal may not hold in the Indonesian context. However, it is also arguable that informal sector actors are not sufficiently aware of possible advantages of formalization. Further study into the current perceptions and experiences of informal sector entrepreneurs regarding the pros and cons of formalization could be considered.

Social capital drivers

It is not uncommon for people to move to the city because a family member offered them a job as exemplified by the following examples: a 30-year-old wedding officiate moved to Makassar Urban Periphery to take up an offer from a relative; a 28-year-old ambulance driver in Medan Urban Slum got his job through his father who works in a medical clinic; a 19-year-old asphalt worker from West Java Village started working on road construction through his uncle; a 23-year-old tailor in Medan Urban Slum took up sewing because her aunt provided her with the job and taught her the

¹⁰ E.g. Rothenberg, Alexander et al. "Re-thinking Indonesia's Informal Sector". *World Development* 80, (2016): 96-113.

necessary skills on the job. **Migrants shared with us that they would especially encourage their family members to migrate if they see them struggling in the village.**

Relatives also often provide recommendations to employers. For example, 'our' father (Medan Urban Slum) shared that for the first five years living in town he acted as a point of reference, helping fellow villagers to find jobs and settling in the city. 'Another family we stayed with (Medan Urban Slum), told us they have brought with them at least eight people from their village who are now working and living in town.

Having an already established network of family members or friends influences and facilitates people's decision to move to an urban area, particularly for casual cash, long stay migrants (Type 1). We illustrate this with a typical example of one family we stayed with (Makassar Urban Slum) with siblings, nephews and nieces all working and living in the area. Similarly, one of 'our' neighbours in Jakarta Urban Slum, who is working as piece-rate home-based tailor, said that after graduating from primary school she realized that '*All my sisters went to [the big city]. My friends went to [the big city]. My uncle asked me to go to [the big city] too.*' These migrants tend to live close by their relatives in the urban area. This, they say, makes them feel comfortable quicker and provides them with a support system facilitating long term residence, with many ending up staying 10 to 30 years in the city.

Some people accompany a family member who decided to migrate. This is especially true for young children who were brought by parents or a spouse who followed their husband or wife. As an example, we met

a 34-year-old 'ojek' (motorbike taxi) driver (Medan Urban Slum) whose parents took him to live in the city when he was still in junior high school (14-15 years old). He later fell out with his parents and shared, '*I don't have a 'kampung' now. Someday I will go some places else for better opportunity. I do this ['ojek'] simply because I need to get money.*' In Medan Urban Slum, some people decided to migrate as a result of originally accompanying a relative to get health treatment in the city. For example, we met a woman who told us she migrated to the city because her husband was sick. It took him a long time to recover so they decided to stay.

For many parents, children are the drivers for their migration. They told us they want a better life for their children which often means **that their children do not have to do the type of work they are doing at the moment.** Factory workers (Tangerang Urban Industrial) shared with us that they hope their children will do something better, '*that they don't do what I do now.*' Construction workers (Makassar Urban Periphery) said they hope for their children to work in an office, unlike them who need to do hard physical work. For most, they want to **able to support their children's education, if possible until university.** For others, **migrating means better living condition for their children, starting with the house they live in.** For example, a woman shared that she and her husband had migrated with the hope to set up their own air conditioning repair business one day to be able to buy a house. They currently live in a small rented house '*This house is only 'sepetak' (narrow).*'

Furthermore, family life cycle is an important determination whether or not to move. Those

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How rural parents feel about their children migrating

Even if the community is very accustomed to migration, **migration still means being separated from your loved ones which leads to some worries.** Parents (West Java Village) shared with us how they are anxious about their children going away. A food seller (Makassar Urban Slum) has a 20-year-old daughter who is about to finish her midwifery training and has received a job offer in a different island. She told us that she is worried for her daughter even though they actually have extended family there. She would prefer that her daughter stays close but at the same time she realized it is a great opportunity for her. Similarly, a kiosk owner (West Java Village) shared that she is not looking forward to her 16-year-old daughter going away after graduating from senior high school. '*I know she will go someday,*' likely to get '*a better job*' by migrating, for example, in a factory. She compared this to the boys in the village whom she felt sad for and who are '*just hanging around, out of school with no work*'.

Field notes, Makassar Urban Slum and West Java Village

who are older told us that they might follow their children when they move, thinking that, because of their age, they might be dependent on the children for care and support. Those with children who are in school sometimes wait until their children finish education before deciding. **Parents, especially mothers, shared with us that they themselves have plans for their own future, but postpone these until their children are a certain age or after the children have completed their education.** For example, the wife of a *ketoprak* seller (Jakarta Urban Slum) told us she wants to have her own cart to sell *ketoprak* too but is waiting until her three-year-old child is old enough to be left alone. The daughter in law of another family (Jakarta Urban Slum) hopes to go back to factory work when her 2.5 months old son can finally *'fend for himself'*.

Family members who are left behind are often ambivalent about having their loved ones migrating (see **Box 9**) but tend to be supportive. **Those who live in the community where migration is very common or even a tradition see migration as an integral part of life and consider it normal for their family members to go out of the village.** People (North Sumatra Village), where migration is customary for the younger generation, reminded us that *merantau* is about gaining knowledge and a rite of passage to adulthood. People in West Java Village, where migration has been the practice of three generations, told us that migration for them is a norm; that it has been their way of living for as long as they know. Those in the South Sulawesi Village shared with us how **they are proud of their children who migrated**, seeing it as a sign of independence and they are happy that their children are not struggling as farmers.

In general, family members **view migration quite favourably as they say it generally helps with the financial situation of the family.** The wives of migrants (Nusa Tenggara Village) told us that they are feeling positive about their husbands being away because it helps with paying for the children's schooling. One of the women here was cradling a small baby and told us she does not have any in-laws to support her raising the baby, but she felt her husband being away is a good thing. *'It's good because he will*



People in North Sumatra Village say that successful migrants have provided support to local businesses in the area like this newer ferry boat

get money'. Mothers (West Java Village) shared the same sentiment, *'We miss them (husbands) but we need the money'*. One of the mothers told us that her husband at one point told her that he wanted to come home but she scolded him, *'I said to him, 'you will lose your job, you will be replaced.'*

Apart from family, friends are often a significant factor in people's decision to migrate, both as inspirations as well as source of information and support. Young people in Jakarta Urban Slum and Tangerang Urban Industrial came to the area because their friends have gone there first. 'Our' sister in Jakarta Urban Slum came to the area based on an information from her circle of friends who have gone first to work in a factory. Young people in Tangerang Urban Industrial were impressed by their migrant friends' new fancy clothes and wanted to look as *'necis'* (neat), so they also decided to migrate. **Sometimes, a certain role model, usually an older successful migrant, inspires young people to also migrate.** Young migrants (Makassar Urban Periphery) talked to us about how they want to emulate older people from their village who have successful businesses in big cities. **Friends can also directly provide job opportunities** such as the case with 'our' brother in Makassar Urban Periphery who told us that he initially wanted to go to Jakarta to work, but then his friend offered him to work with him in Makassar Urban Periphery instead.

For some long stay migrants (Type 1), having

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Running away

As a young girl, the woman street vendor told me she had never imagined she would leave her village. But her parents decided to arrange a marriage for her. *'They never told me until the marriage was set up. I was not ready to get married then and not to that man. He was too old for me.'* She was under much pressure to accept as he had money to support her family. *'The only way to stop this was to run away, so without knowing what will I do or how I would live, I came to Makassar.'* She stayed with a friend until she could afford her own place. *'At that time, it was really hard to find a job. I didn't have any experience or skills. Luckily one of my relative who owns a boutique asked me to work for her.'* After almost two years in the boutique, she decided to move to another store for better money. *'This time was quite easy for me to get a new job. Another storeowner liked the way I did my work in the boutique and asked me to work for him. People in the mall see the way we work, if we were good, owners of other store will offer us work, mostly for better money.'* She thinks she has as good life in Makassar, sending money to her family in the village and saving some money herself. *'I had to do well in Makassar, so I can make people in my village see that I was right... that I did not have to marry that rich man to have a good life.'*

Field notes, Makassar Urban Periphery

experienced problems with family members in the village is another motivation to reside in the urban area for an extended period of time. We met a number of young people who had run away from family problems or from social obligations in their village who had ended up living in urban area for a long time if not permanently¹¹.

The death of a parent also frequently precipitates young people migrating out of their home village. People told us they felt that they no longer have a reason to stay after their parents died or feel the need to migrate because they lost the economic support in the village. This is exemplified by 'our' father (Makassar Urban Periphery) who migrated to the city because he did not want to stay in his village following the death of his parents. He told us, *'All the memories are still there.'* We met two young people (Makassar Urban Slum) who only have grandparents left after their parents died and decided to migrate in order to support themselves. A fruit seller in Jakarta Urban Slum was brought by her husband to live

in the slum with him in the city after they lost a daughter to leukemia. *'For me I'd rather live there [the village]. But there's a lot of memories there of my child so my husband felt sorry for me. He brought me here so I won't feel lonely.'*

Some people migrate because they do not want to be separated from their family members or loved ones who have migrated first. These migrants (Type 7) sometimes ended up working in the urban area themselves although some decided to stay home or simply take work to fill in their time rather than for economic betterment. This type of migrants are mostly women, such as a woman in her early 30 we met in Tangerang Urban Industrial who said she would rather be in the city with her husband because if she stayed in the village they would have more expenses and spend more money. *'If we live separately, we are dealing with two kitchens ('dapurnya dua').'*

Some of those who have tried living separately from their migrant spouse told us that they find this emotionally difficult. *'I tried living away from him. That's enough. I don't want to do it anymore,'* explained one of 'our' neighbours in Jakarta Urban Slum. She sells fritters as snacks to young children in the slum area where she lives now but she said that was just to fill in her time and add just a little extra income. In some cases, migrating is done because of concerns of infidelity, as exemplified by a different neighbour, also in Jakarta Urban Slum, who said she tracked down her husband to the slum and insisted to stay. *'I accidentally pick up a call from a woman who claimed to be his wife. I told her, "I'm the wife!" After that incident, she refused to live far away from her husband and feels more secure, 'well, at least I'm with him now.'*

Study implication 5: Use family/friend networks to inform people about migration

Strong family ties are key in people's decisions to migrate, providing role models as well as a trusted network of support. People do not seem to gravitate alone to cities just in hope but are generally at least partly informed by relatives and friends of job and accommodation prospects. People

¹¹ Running away was noted as a reason for international migration in the RCA study on international migration (2015):15.

are either accompanied on their first trip to the city, invited or linked up before they travel. From a planning perspective this **informal means to provide information, networking and support through social bonds needs to be recognized** and made use of when improving these systems rather than allocating resources on less personal platforms providing information and support.

Human Capital Drivers

As well as the obvious human capital drivers of skills and education we also consider under human capital drivers other factors which also contribute to migrants seeking work in cities. These include getting work experience, choosing to work rather than continue education, seeking to work for oneself and exposure to new life experiences.

Some people migrate because farming is considered too physically demanding for them. Echoing many others, a 29-year-old shop assistant (Makassar Urban Periphery) told us, *'[Farming] is tiring. It's hot. If I spent too long working outside, I will get a nosebleed!'*

Some never had the skills to farm, either because they did not own any farmland and/or because their parents never taught them. Many young people in West Java Village lack the knowledge because their parents also did not farm. For example, a woman here whose parents are brokers said, *'I never touched a*



Farming, such as potato farming as depicted here, in the Central Java Village has become lucrative in the past 10 years due to contract farming deals with two big Indonesian companies.

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Working in the village is too hard so returned to the city

The husband of a couple I met used to be a security guard in a factory in Jakarta but left after five years because he wanted to stay with the wife and his first born in the village. He resumed his former job cutting and hauling timber but he shared, *'The work was so hard; I had to bring timber from the hills by hand'*. He had not expected that after five years in Jakarta he did not have the same energy to work as before. His wife added, *'back in the village he went for work for two days but needed to take rest for seven days,'* so they decided to go back to Jakarta. They learned how to make *ketoprak* from an uncle. He enjoys the new work as *ketoprak* hawker and the money is easier. His wife said she will have her own *warung ketoprak* (*ketoprak* stall) after the baby is big enough to take care of himself. And by that she meant going to school at seven years old.

Field notes, Jakarta Urban Slum

paddy field since I was young.' Similarly, 'our' father here said he used to help in the paddy field when he was young but his children never did because he was already a migrant worker when his children were growing up.

'If I do not go (to town), I do not grow.'

(Rubbish collector, man (23), Medan Urban Slum)

For young people, migration is expected to widen one's horizon; gain richer life and work experience (*cari pengalaman*). Young people (Makassar Urban Periphery) value the opportunities of meeting people from various places in the city and through them visiting other new places, *'This is not possible in the village.'* Echoing these young people, a teacher we met said in Jakarta Urban Slum, *'The [work] experience I get in Jakarta, I won't get in my home town.'*

Looking for life experience is the common driver for 'follow the money' migrants (Type 3). After their 'adventure' they typically return home, although they might have further adventures later as many transport drivers shared in Central Java Village. For example, one driver (Central Java Village) who recently married and had a small baby told us excitedly that the reason he migrated to Jakarta was to look for experience, specifically because, *'I wanted to see 'Monas' (the national monument*

12

Farming, cool or not cool?

People in West Java Village and in Central Java Village have a contrasting view of doing farming for a living. Those in West Java Village said that farming is *'nggak gengsi'* (not cool). *'Only poor families become farmers,'* pointed out a 41-year-old man in that village to us. While in Central Java Village, it is migrating that is considered 'not cool', especially if working in a construction site or as a domestic worker. This difference in opinion has a lot to do with the history of migration in each village. In West Java Village, migration has been done by three generations for the last 40 years because paddy farming slowly became insufficient for livelihood. Nowadays, young people often do not know how to farm because their parents also did not and look to migrating as a way to earn a living. In contrast, farming in Central Java Village has become lucrative in the past 10 years when two big Indonesian companies made deals with farmers for guaranteed price of harvest. Nowadays, unlike their parents, young people there no longer have to go out to make a living and prefer staying in the village to farm. They told us those who migrated out are the ones who could not manage and view life in migration to be hard.

Field notes, West Java Village and
Central Java Village

in Jakarta!' He first migrated as a *'kenek'* (driver's assistant), transporting soy beans. He now works as a truck driver transporting potatoes. He said he prefers to stay in the village for now, but he does not exclude the possibility of migrating again in the future. Another single man (32) also in Central Java Village told us that what is important for him at the moment is to *'experience stuff'*. He uses his money to visit malls and travel by train. He said, *'It's not my time yet to be a farmer. After I have seen other places, I will become a vegetable trader.'*

Those who migrated when they were young often said they were bored in the village resulting in them having little drive to do anything. Echoing others, one of 'our' mothers in Jakarta Urban Slum said, *'I prefer here [the city]. I feel I have the energy to work. In [my hometown], there's not much to do.'* A 21-year-old in Tangerang Urban Industrial said to us, *'I was lazy and naughty, not like my brother and sister. I was lazy of going to school. So, I decided to migrate.'* People told us that they would rather work and the saw the city as providing them with that opportunity such as the car workshop employee (Tangerang Urban Industrial) who told us, *'I wanted to leave*



In this village with many commuter migrants (West Java Village), higher education is not a common aspiration. These teenage boys like to hang out around this food stall. They say that they are relaxing while they still have money, but after they run out of money will migrate again to earn more money (usually as asphalt workers). They say they like to smoke, listen to the music and browse social media and said they can use wifi from the Village Office.

school and wanted to work.' 'Our' neighbour in Medan Urban Slum shared how she did not finish primary school as she was not interested in studying, *'I'm more interested in travelling.'* She migrated when she was 11, resumed her education briefly but soon decided that she would rather work instead. Getting a job and making some earnings for some also means **being able to support their family back in the village, which made them feel proud and valued.**

'Nothing happens in the rural area. We're only staring blankly, doing nothing.'

(young people, Tangerang Urban Industrial)

Some feel moving to the city to work means having more freedom in life. This is particularly true for self-employed migrants (Type 6) as many decided to take up entrepreneurship to freely decide things for themselves. For an example, having set up a rubbish trading business with a friend, a 28-year-old rubbish trader (Medan Urban Slum) shared he is proud to run his own business and be his own boss (see Box 14). A 48-year-old goods trader (Medan Urban Slum) likes being an entrepreneur as he can *'make his own money.'* Aspiring to have freedom while making money at the same time, some young migrants in Makassar Urban Periphery plan to buy motorbikes (or less so cars) to provide app-enabled online transport services.

13

Adventure

A 26-year-old man I met in Nusa Tenggara Village shared why he went to Bali for work. *'Bali is very popular and I am very curious about the island. One of my friends from my village was working there so I go there.'* He only graduated from junior high but knew that working there must require senior high school certificate, so he borrowed his friend's high school certificate, gluing his photo over his friend's photograph. He has worked in Bali for six years, constantly changing jobs; domestic cleaner, dish washer and laundry worker. His uncle tells me he *'comes home after six years just the same as when he left.'* The young man argues that he spent all his money on living costs especially rent and admits, *'Yeah, I have no savings.'* But he shares his experiences exploring many places and meeting people from various backgrounds. He wants to go back again and is re-applying to the laundry.

Field notes, Nusa Tenggara Village



Trash collectors come several times a day to drop off recyclable items with the buyer we stayed with. He says that it is not very profitable but keeps the community clean. One of his friends now has his own truck and he hopes to one day make enough to be able to have his own so he can have his own staff. He feels this would also show that he has been successful. (Medan Urban Slum)

Study implication 6: Money earned in the city does not always improve the rural economy

There is a particular demographic of young, often male, unskilled migrants who come to towns to seek experiences and adventure. They tend to spend what they earn in town, often therefore both working within and being consumers of the informal economy and rarely send money back or support others, effectively not contributing to the rural economy.

Other than looking for adventure, young people we met often told us that their reason for migrating was **to continue their education** and this fits into Type 5 as they saw education as means to secure salaried work. Some migrated because a family member offered to support the costs of their education on condition they moved to the city. For example, a 'kelurahan' (sub district) employee we met in Makassar Urban Periphery shared that she moved to the city when her parents died and her older brother, a policeman, offered help with her education, as long as she agreed to migrate to the city. Similarly, a woman (Makassar Urban Periphery) told us that she moved all the way to Kalimantan where relatives promised to pay for her university education if she worked first for them in their business for two years.

Some others go to the city **because the quality**

of education is considered better than in the village or because there are no higher education facilities near their village. 'Our' 25-year-old sister in Makassar Urban Periphery moved to the city when she was in the 3rd grade of Senior High School on the advice of her teacher to ensure her certificates were issued from a 'good school' to enhance her chances of getting a place at university. Some students whom we met in Makassar Urban Periphery

14

Self-employed informal business

Indra is 28 years old rubbish trader. Although born in Medan he was mostly brought up in the village after his mother died when he was a toddler. He told us he was from here, the 'city', but then proudly talks about his Batak heritage honed from his village upbringing, showing us traditional Batak dances on YouTube during our first evening together. He was brought up by his aunt and dropped out of school when he failed exams in junior high school. After his aunt told him that *'if an ant can live through a very tiny hole so can you. You are capable of doing more than an ant. So, go out there and prove you can do more,'* he was motivated to leave the village and prove himself. He started out working in his grandfather's shop but then wanted *'to be free of the burden of my family'* so moved around the city staying with different people doing different jobs including construction, garbage collecting and on a ship. He severed ties with his family, entered an unsuitable marriage and left after two years before deciding to set up his own business. He sold his *becak* for IDR 500,000 to buy the weighing scales. Iwan intends to become one of the big five garbage traders in the area.

Field notes, Medan Urban Slum



This trash collector is taking labels off of the plastic bottles as part of the 'cleaning' process before they can be sold for recycling (Jakarta Urban Slum)

told us that they specifically chose to come to the city to take nursing or management courses at the university. A 23-year-old male college student we met in Makassar Urban Slum told us he decided to move to there because he wanted to study agriculture, an option unavailable closer to home.

Study implication 7: Urgent need for rental housing for students and young professionals

The demographic who come to towns for higher education (Type 5) often do so with the intention of securing salaried work in town following graduation. This type of migrant has specific aspirations and specific needs in terms of being connected with appropriate and career oriented salaried work and access to affordable long term housing. While in tertiary education, they face particular problems finding suitable accommodation as few universities have campus accommodation. Requirements to pay large rent advances are particularly challenging and changes to rental agreement regulations need to be made to enable students and young professionals to rent suitable and affordable accommodation more easily.

Why People Choose Not to Migrate

The strength of opinion shared with us regarding drivers for migration, especially the need for cash can occlude the alternative views of those who want to stay in the rural areas. By purposely going to villages that are the source of migrants we were able to gather insights into why others do not migrate.

The most common reason people shared was **they are happy where they are**. This was particularly significant among those living in Central Java Village where recent crop diversification initiatives have made farming profitable and migration, which was common before, is now looked down on. Many in South Sulawesi Village also told us that they are happy with their life in the village, especially those who have cultivatable land.

Family obligation, including taking care of elderly parents, young children, and/or family farmland is another frequently shared reason for not migrating. In North Sumatra Village and Nusa Tenggara Village, this obligation usually falls on the youngest child. For example, the youngest brother of 'our' family in North Sumatra Village told us that he stayed in the village to look after the assets for his grandmother and receives financial support from his siblings.

Apart from the youngest, **women are often the chosen care givers** and some we met said

15

Obligations of the youngest son

'Ever since the beginning, I have been aware that someday I must go back home to this village,' the man (38) told me. He first migrated 20 years ago. 'In our culture, Batakese tradition, the youngest son will be the one who takes care of parents in their old age. And is also required to look after all the family's property and assets. That's why, no matter how far I was going, I knew someday I would be going back home, because I am the youngest.' Around 6 years ago, he got a call from his siblings that the time has come for him to go back home to look after their mother, who was living alone after the death of his father. *'I did not have a reason to say no, because it is a tradition. Moreover, I also do not have something I can defend by living in the city. Only if I have a great success in the city, then I have the power to say no,'* he added laughing.

Field notes, North Sumatra Village



The vegetable market in Central Java Village is used for collection and selling of the villagers' vegetables, including both those going to the big companies and those purchased on an individual basis from other buyers.

they were prevented from migrating by family even though they really wanted to. For young mothers in West Java Village, the situation could be frustrating as they often also do not go to farm and mostly spend their days sitting around in their houses. *'Talk to Pak Jokowi to build a factory here so we don't waste our time just chit chatting,'* they said to us. Taking care of others is also a common reason why people return to the village, either for good or temporarily.

Some young people shared with us that their parents are the ones who asked them not to migrate. This is especially true in South Sulawesi Village where **the tradition is to stay close to your children**. Young people we talked to shared, *'My parents beg me not to go.'* A young man told us he regretted not taking the scholarship he was offered to study in Jakarta because his mother did not allow him to be that far away from her.

Last but not least, people told us **they decided to stay in the village after actually trying to move out but failing to achieve what they have hoped to do or because they had an unpleasant experience**. For many this means coming home empty handed, sometimes even being in debt, either because they were not able to earn as much as they wanted, their money was mostly spent in the city or due to failed



Many women are left in the village as their husbands are working outside. These women shared that they had migrated in the past, but that once you get married it is typical to stop working and stay at home. (West Java Village)

attempts at small businesses. For example, a man (West Java Village) had returned to the village because he had incurred a lot of debt in Jakarta; a 24-year-old (South Sulawesi Village) told us that he wanted to join the army but failed the test four times; a 33-year-old man (Central Java Village) tried to work as a construction worker in Jakarta but found that he did not like living in a crowded city with no friends and no one to care for him when he was ill. Some, particularly waged workers (Type 4), also come home when their contract is not extended.

Choosing the Destination City

When it comes to choosing which city to migrate to, people usually told us **they would go to where their relatives or friends are already working**. For example, many migrants in Makassar Urban Periphery shared with us that this is the reason they would rather go to Makassar than to Jakarta. *'There's no network [in Jakarta] at all.'* This is not only because they would feel somewhat at home but also because they *'would not be gambling when they go there.'* For self-employed migrants (Type 6), this is particularly true as they often take over their relatives' business in *perantauan*.

People also often prefer to go to an urban area where there are plenty of job opportunities which is the main reason why Jakarta is the most popular destination for many migrants we talked to. They told us that in Jakarta, *'as long as we are willing to work*

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Migrating to Papua

Some struggle to find work in Makassar. One man I met was anxious to earn enough to get married and support his children. He and some friends started buying and selling clothes, but do this on the ferry ship from Makassar to Sorong (one week round trip). He told me he earns more this way than working in Makassar, has more flexible time, and can travel out of Makassar and enjoy new experiences. His life is mostly spent on the ship, sleeping on deck, buying meals, and taking rest when the ship transits. The money from the sale of clothing is used to support his wife and children in Makassar. Another man also shared how he took this work because there were no other opportunities in Makassar. But he later moved to Nabire (where job opportunities were greater than Makassar) with his wife and child and he became a motorbike taxi driver while his wife worked in a shop. When his baby daughter contracted Malaria they decided to move back to Makassar, because their parents and relatives were there to take care of her, but his work is intermittent. Now, his daughter is one year old, he has plans to bring his family to Nabire again, convinced there will be more employment options than in Makassar.

Field notes, Makassar Urban Slum

hard, we could earn some money.' For 'follow the money' migrants (Type 3), Jakarta is a good 'hub' with family contacts and connections and where family can reside. The migrants themselves can then travel around to the other urban areas surrounding Jakarta, peddling their goods (Type 3).

For some, **migrating to the provincial capital is their preference as it is close to their kampung which means they can go home when needed**, usually costing them less than IDR 100,000 one way, except for those in the North Sumatra Village who have to pay between IDR 300,000 to IDR 400,000 for the trip back from Medan and those in the Nusa Tenggara Village who pay around IDR 200,000 for the boat journey back from Makassar. However, many also shared with us that **they would**

compare the earnings they could get from different cities and choose to migrate to the one that gives them more, even if the place is further from home. This is why some migrants go to Papua (see Box 16) and for those who are waged workers (Type 4), they go to the city where the minimum wage is higher than other places. In Indonesia, the minimum wage level for each city and districts vary and are decided by the provincial government based on differences in cost of living. Consequently, some move to take advantage of higher minimum wages, such as daughter of 'our' family (West Java Village) who told us that she would rather work in an industrial city in West Java rather than in Jakarta as the minimum wage is higher. People we talked to usually receive information on the different level of minimum wage in different cities from acquaintances who

Table 6: Comparison of minimum wages

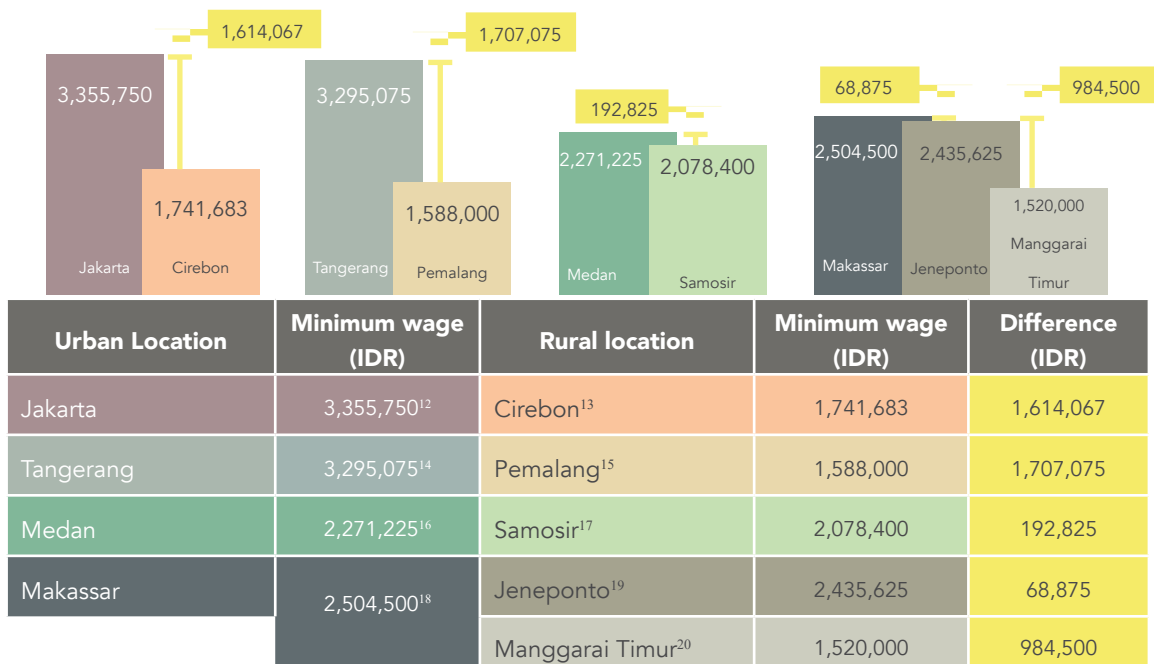
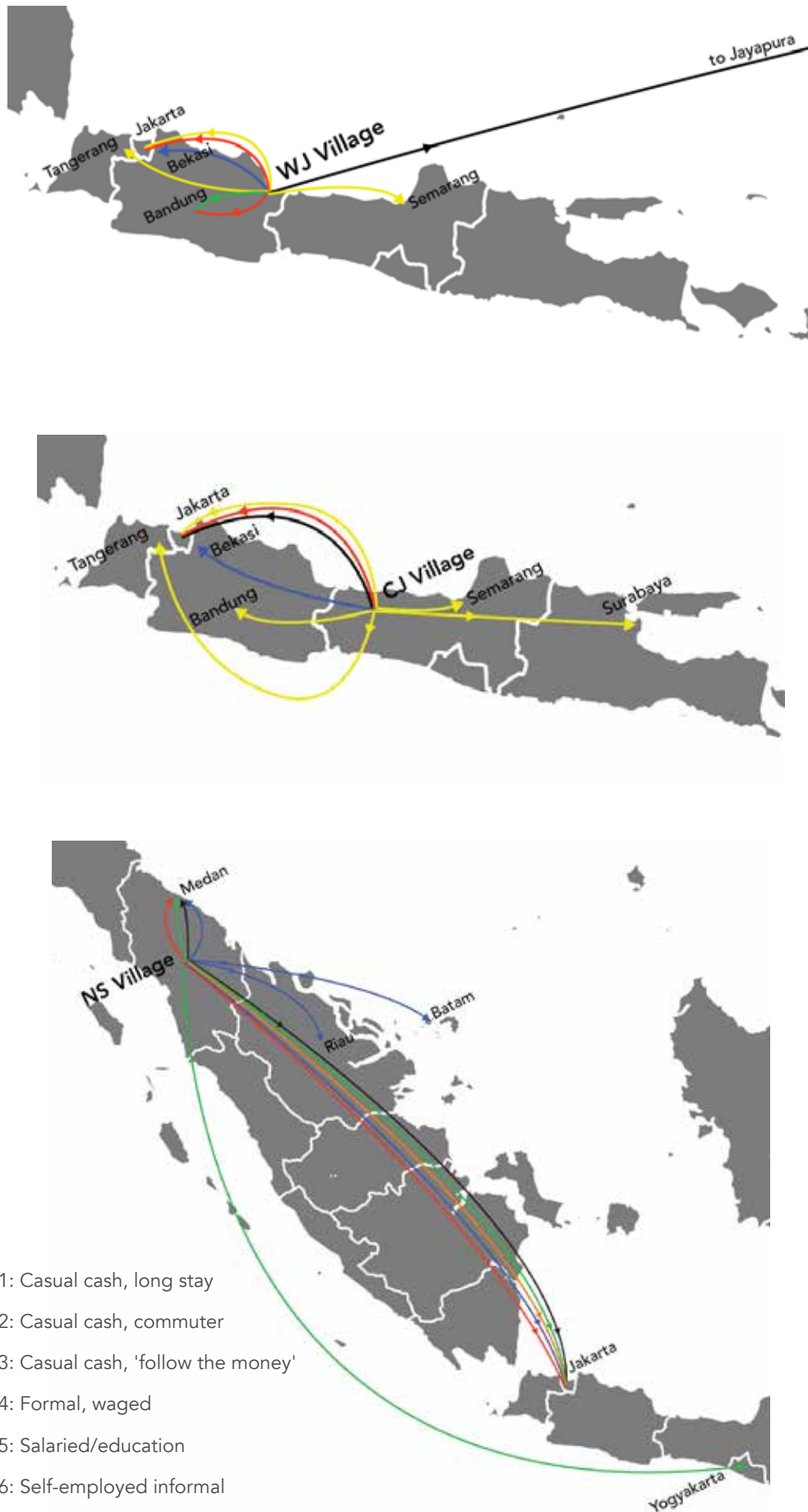


Figure 3: Destinations from each of our rural communities, by type of migrant



have worked in those cities or based on their own previous experiences. See **Table 6** above for the complete list of minimum wage of cities and rural areas in this study in 2017.

For commuter migrants (Type 2), they prefer to go to cities relatively closer to home to minimise transportation costs; (preferring to limit these to not more than IDR 150,000 one

way).

For young people who migrated to continue their education (Type 5), they choose a city where the university offers the topic of study they are interested in. For example, a college

12 UMP Jakarta tahun 2018, 2017, 2016, hingga tahun 1997. Retrieved from: <https://www.gajiumr.com/umr-jakarta/>

13 UMK Kota Cirebon 2018 Rp 1,89 Juta (2017 31 Oct). Retrieved from: <http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/jawa-barat/2017/10/31/umk-kota-cirebon-2018-rp-189-juta-412731>

14 Gaji Umk Kota Tangerang Tahun 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.gajiumr.com/gaji-umk-kota-tangerang/>

15 Gaji Umr Jateng 2018 dan 2017, daftar lengkap gaji umk 35 kota di jawa tengah. Retrieved from: <https://www.gajiumr.com/gaji-umr-jawa-tengah/>

16 UMK Medan 2017 Rp 2.528.815, Naik di Atas PP78. (2016 3 Dec). Retrieved from: <https://fspmi.or.id/umk-medan-2017-rp-2-528-815-naik-di-atas-pp78.html>

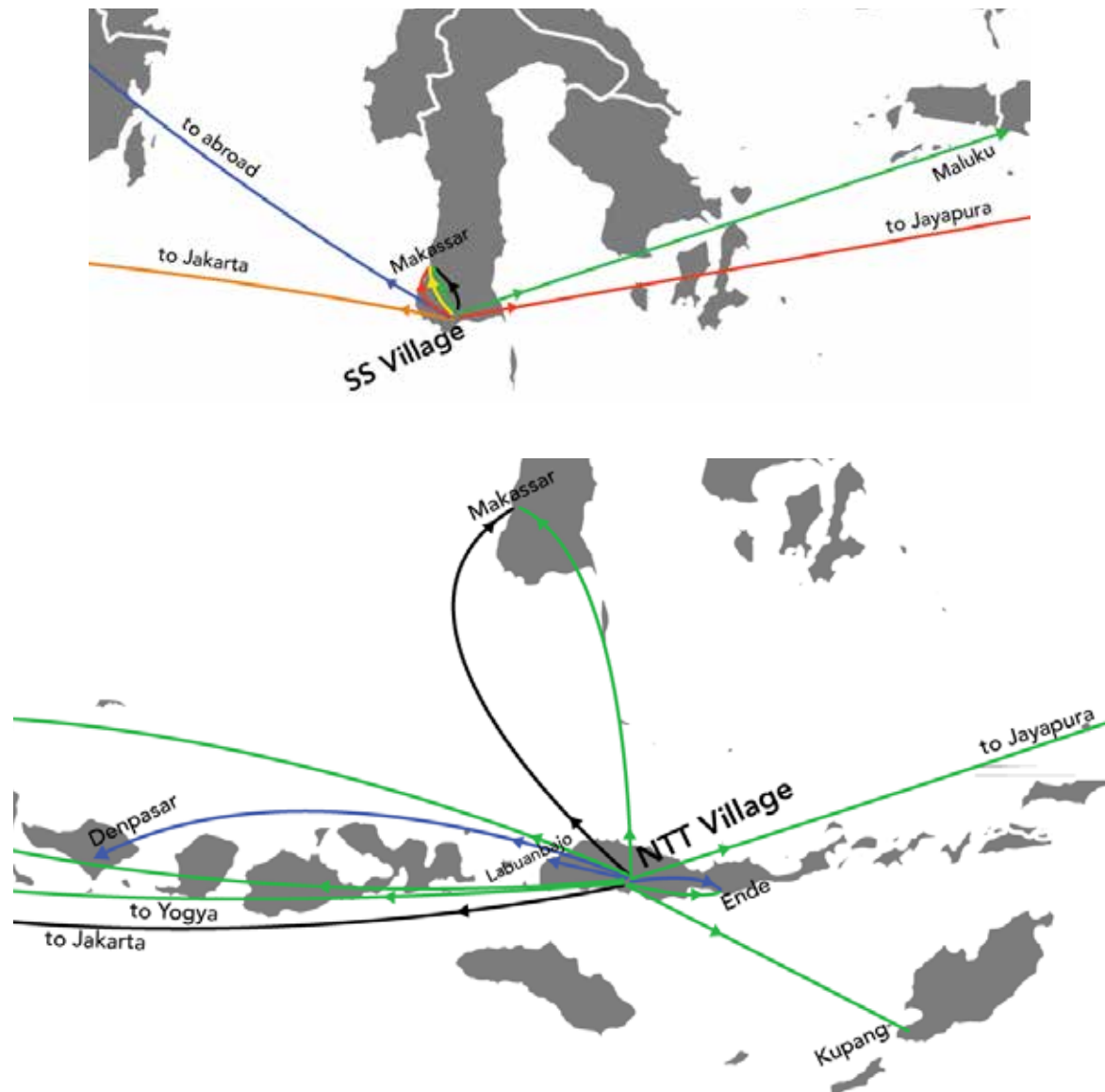
17 2017, UMK Samosir Naik. (2016 25 Nov). Retrieved from: <http://news.metro24jam.com/read/2016/11/25/2721/2017-umk-samosir-naik>

18 Ditetapkan, UMK Makassar 2017 Rp. 2.504.500. (2016 10 Nov). Retrieved from: <http://makassar.rakyatku.com/post/ditetapkan-umk-makassar-2017-rp-2-504-500.html>

19 UMP dan UMK Sulawesi Selatan 2018. Retrieved from: <https://gajimu.com/garmen/home/gaji-pekerja-garmen/gaji-minimum/ump-umk-sulsel>

20 UMR Nusa Tenggara Timur Tahun 2017 Sebesar Rp1,5 Juta. (2016 18 Nov). <http://www.wartant.com/2016/11/umr-nusa-tenggara-timur-tahun-2017.html>

Figure 3, continued



student in his mid 20s moved to Makassar Urban Slum to study area planning. **Students also told us that cost is sometimes a factor and they will continue education in a city where the university fee is affordable while the quality is still considered good.** This is why rather than going to Jakarta, some young people choose to study in Yogyakarta, Malang, or Makassar. Some have the opportunity to go abroad, such as students in Central Java Village who could do internships in Japan or Korea through their SMK. This opportunity is known in the village but parents often disapprove of their children taking the opportunity. They consider their children to be too young, the process too costly, and the place too far.

In terms of the distribution of source communities of migrants to each of the cities of interest according to mobile network data analysis (see **Annex 5** for complete analyses), most of the cities draw migrants from the surrounding regions as shown in the visualisations included on the following pages and in Annex 5. Medan draws migrants from around Sumatra, Eastern Indonesian regions are more closely linked with Makassar, and Jakarta and Tangerang attract migrants from many destinations. Pulse Lab Jakarta's findings also show that Jakarta and Tangerang in general attract migrants from the same islands, but Tangerang draws considerably less extensively than Jakarta from those same locations. Tangerang's similarly shaped distribution to Jakarta may be due to the draw of the Jakarta metropolitan area, and not based on the pull factors of Tangerang as a destination alone. It is also interesting that the mobile network data analysis indicates that the distributions of Makassar and Medan point to the Jakarta metropolitan area as a source of migrants, suggesting that the analysis may be detecting returning migrants.

3.3 THEME THREE: MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES

This theme is organized based on the multiple-capital approach of livelihoods analysis to examine assets. We chose this analytical framework as (i) it puts people at the centre of development (providing a realistic

understanding of people's strengths), (ii) it is holistic (embraces a multi-sectoral view) and (iii) it is based on the assumption that change happens and livelihoods are dynamic. We felt that since migration as described by migrants and their families was almost always an active choice and a means to utilise assets (converting assets into positive livelihood outcomes), that this framework would be more useful than, say, a focus on needs. There are different versions of capitals analysis but, based on the themes emerging from our conversations and observations, we chose to cluster insights under the five capital categories. These are (i) social (networks, social relations), (ii) economic and financial (cash, credit/debt, savings etc), (iii) human (skills, knowledge, labour, capacity to work), (iv) physical and environmental (built environment, transport, equipment, technologies), and (v) political (legal/regulatory, governance).

These capital are discussed according to the priority given by migrants themselves. Within each section we present the decisions they make and challenges they face in urban areas related to that specific capital.

Social Capital - people's most important asset

Conversations with migrants across all study locations indicated that their most important asset is social capital which mainly constitutes their support network of relatives and friends (bonding social capital). This section explores this and highlights how work and life decisions in urban areas are made based on this capital.

Social capital as main source of information and means to get work

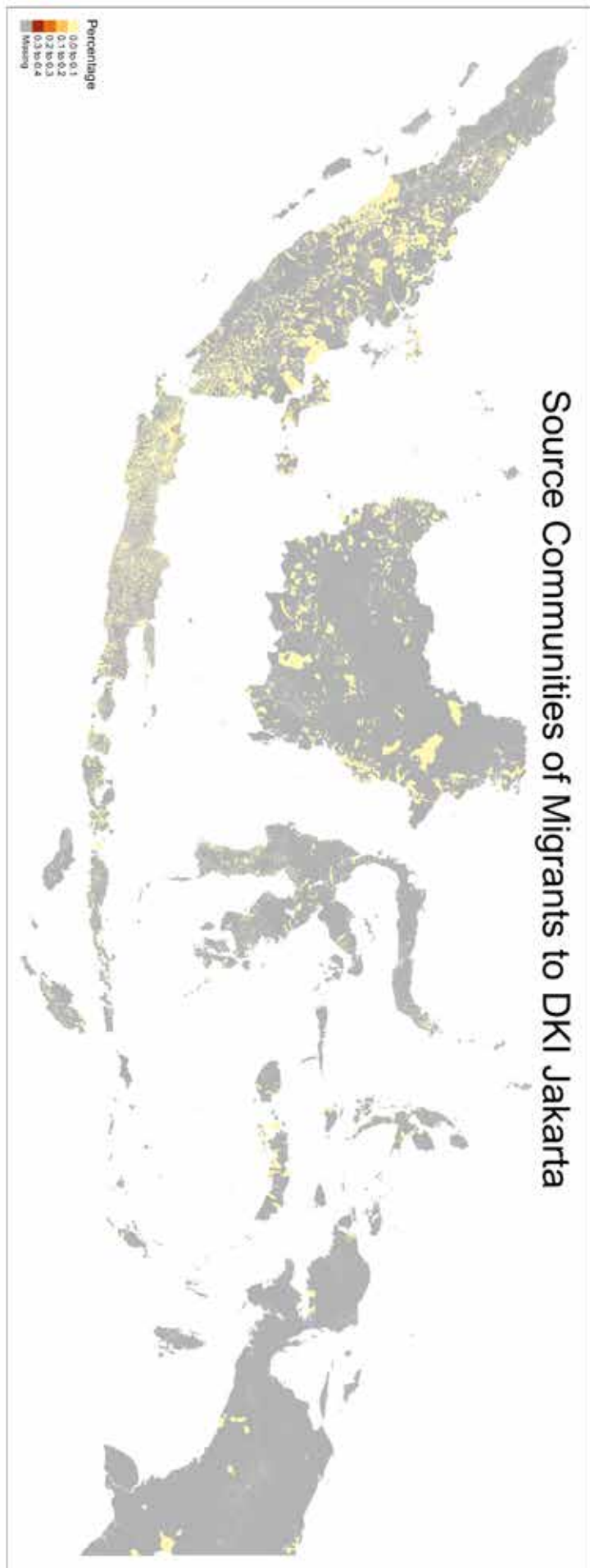
'I have friends from everywhere, not only from here'

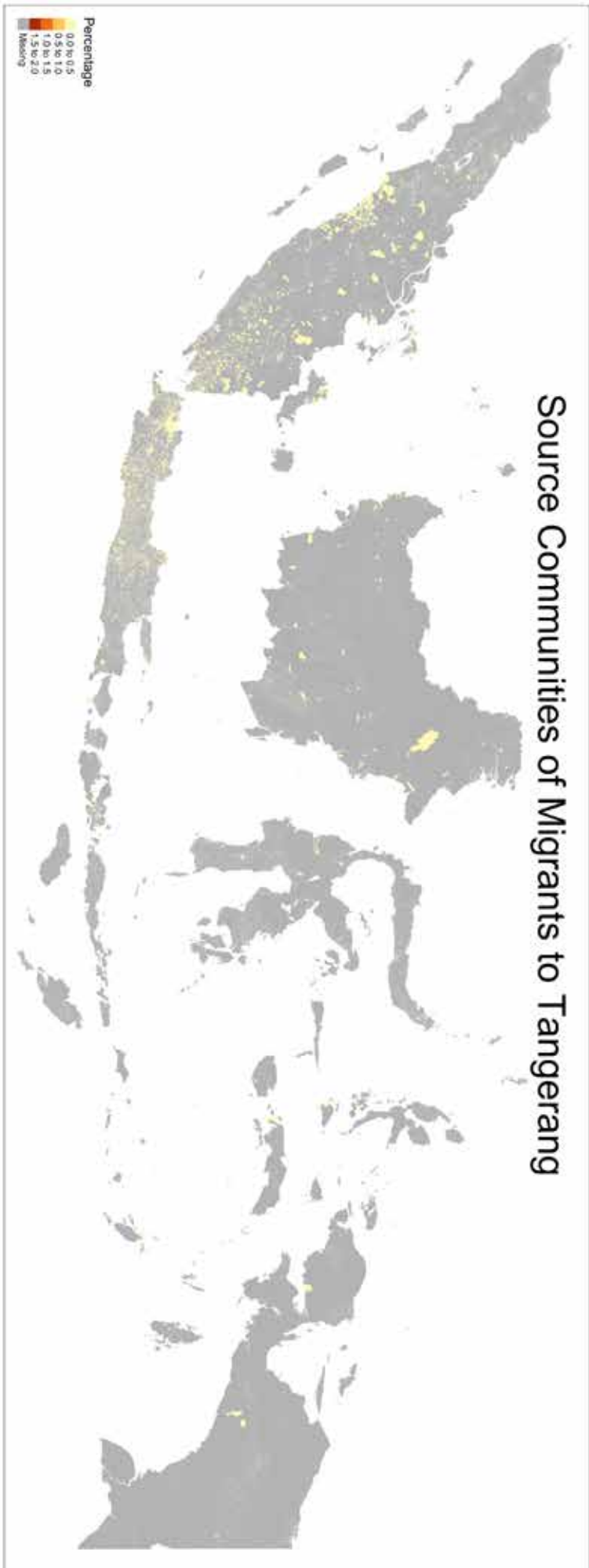
(garment worker, woman (22), Jakarta Urban Slum, commenting on the importance of networks)

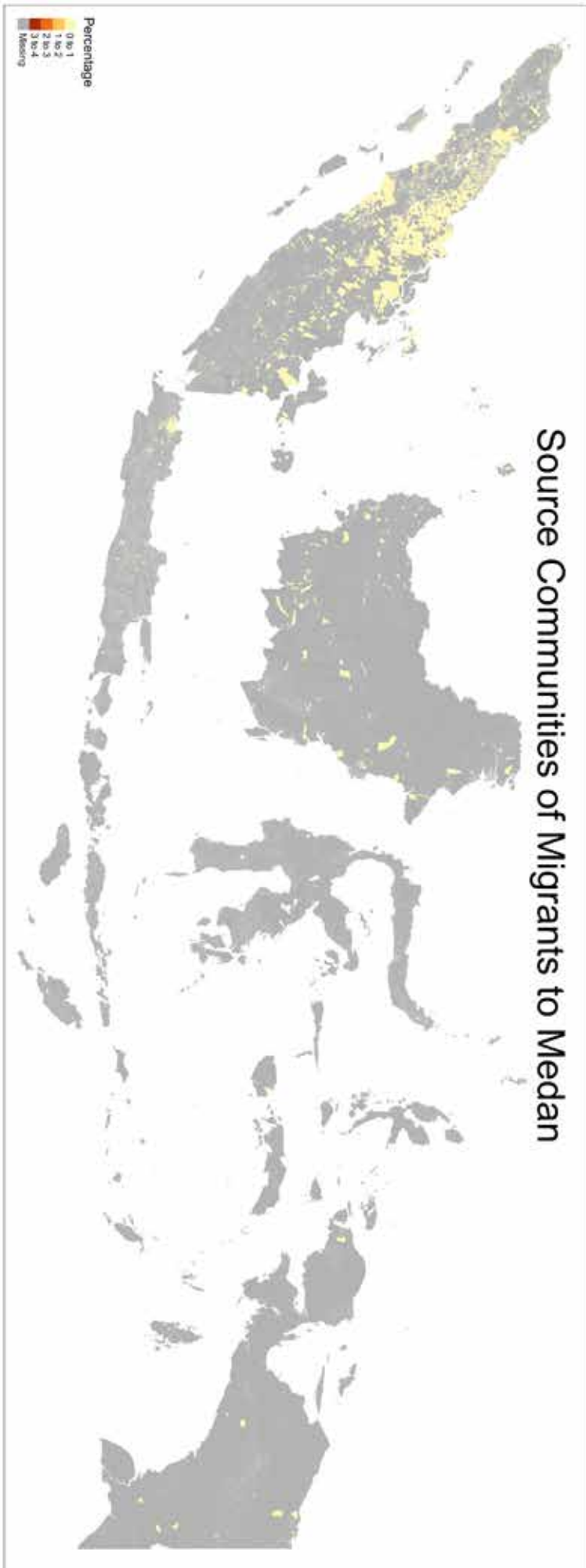
Almost all migrants we met told us that **the information they had about migrating and jobs came from their network of relatives and friends, typically those who have already migrated** ('dari mulut ke mulut' (word of mouth))

continued on page 45

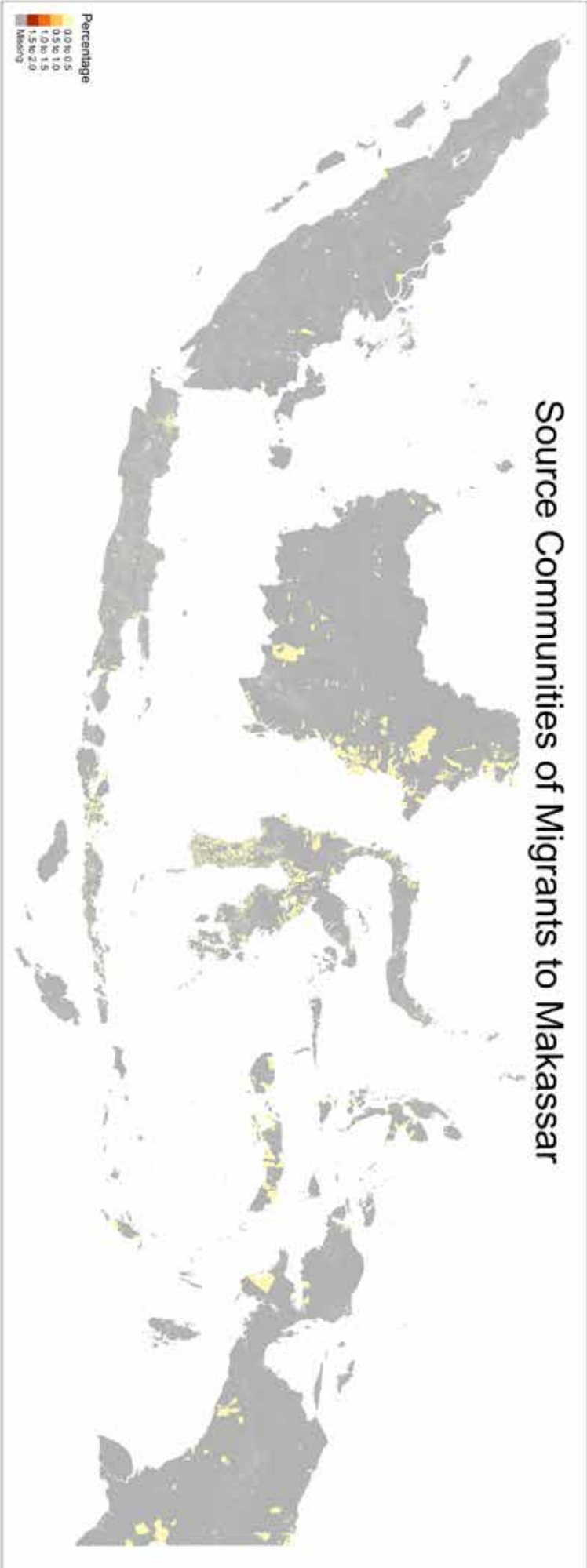
Figure 4: Visualisations from the mobile network data analysis on source communities







Source Communities of Migrants to Makassar



17

'At the very least we need to know someone who has experience and connections.'

'It is easier to earn money in Makassar. There are many things I can do to work and earn money. As long as I want to work and am willing to work hard, there will be work for me', shared a *pete-pete* driver. He told me that when he decided to come to Makassar, he did not have any skill except farming. He only knew someone from his village who has stayed in Makassar and he hoped he would help. His friend gave him a place to stay and introduced him to a *becak* (rickshaw) owner who took him on working 30-40 days and regularly returning to his village to harvest seaweed. Working as a *becak* driver, he made lots of friends and one of them introduced him to a *pete-pete* owner. Because the owner trusted his friend he was prepared to take him on as a *pete-pete* driver. *'When we come Makassar at the very least we need to know someone who has experience and connections in Makassar, if not, your life will be hard, because nobody will help you'*. He illustrated this with a story of a friend who, unusually, came to Makassar alone. It took him a long time to find work and every time he got a job no body supported him to keep the job, so he kept moving from job to job. *'I introduced him to some of my trusted friends. Just like me, with my recommendation he can learn to drive and work as a 'pete-pete' driver. Our friends here support us to keep our work. We are far away from the village, our friends here are our family, the closest people for support here.'*

Field notes, Makassar Urban Periphery

and that the trust and reciprocity inherent in these relationships was key in building confidence to migrate rather than hard facts about the nature of jobs and living conditions or promises made by agents. Having many 'friends' is considered therefore an asset, though many are in reality only *kenalan* (acquaintances/people they know). Being part of a network is essential and often easy to ensure (see **Box 17**). Networks are especially important for casual cash migrants, either long stay (Type 1, e.g. domestic workers (West Java Village) hear of jobs from other domestic workers), commuter (Type 2, e.g. casual asphaltting workers (West Java Village)), or 'follow the money' (Type 3, e.g. construction workers (Central Java Village) who got their jobs through other construction workers). But networks are also important for waged workers (Type 4, e.g. factory workers, especially where bosses often ask for personal recommendations).

Within these networks there are often those considered to be **more 'in the know', some of**



This barber said he calls his friends whenever he needs short-term loans or is looking for extra work

whom take on a brokering role. For example, within the 'hotmix' (asphaltting) work gangs from West Java Village, older more experienced workers elevate themselves to 'contractor' status and actively pitch for new contracts to avoid competitive bidding. *'We need to wear good shoes, shirts and long trousers and bring a folder (actually empty) and motor bike helmet to prove we are rich'* and on securing a contract mobilise their network of workers. Once staying in town, they become a source of information for others in the village, linking women, for example, to domestic and care work. **Such networks confirm the honesty and integrity of those they recommend rather than their skills.** Typical of other comments, a woman factory worker (Jakarta Urban Slum) shared *'If you don't know someone or if you don't pay certain amount of money you will wait long. Like me. I submitted my application one year ago and only got called two months ago.'*

'If you want a job, you need to have connections'

(various people, Medan Urban Slum)

Those in West Java Village told us that even if you do not have a good network, it may be possible to secure a job but perhaps at a lower wage. *'You might just receive IDR 135,000 or IDR 150,000, when you could have received IDR 175,000,'* explained a broker's wife (West Java Village). Across all study locations having skills or experience was not as important as having connections, especially for type 2 and 3 migrants but also for type 4 such as factory workers.

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Garment factory or home based?

I met a woman who came to Jakarta 24 years ago when she was just eleven. She worked for 20 years in garment factories but recently has had to seek work in home-based tailoring establishments because of her age. She said garment factories 'won't accept me back because I'm 35 now, they only hire young girls'. But she prefers this as working in small home-based units means there is flexibility in terms of time and targets. 'I don't have demanding targets anymore and can be at home at 5'. Her husband works in a workshop and is usually home late. She added that 'it's hard to leave my child when I'm working, but now she's in 5th grade so she can take care herself from 12-5pm while I work.'

Field notes, Jakarta Urban Slum

'If you get a connection you can join the factory easier'

(garment worker, woman (35), Jakarta Urban Slum)

Having connections also enables circumvention of some non-skill related job entry requirements such as age limitations, height specification or overall appearance. For example, in Tangerang, factories stipulate a maximum age of 30, some companies at the airport stipulate maximum entry age of 25, and parking attendants must be 160cm tall and 'good looking.' Employers also sometimes have other preferences for example employing women rather than men such as where work requires nimble fingers and close attention to details (e.g. swallow nest preparation or garments work). **With connections, some of these requirements can**

be avoided, although waged workers (Type 4) in Tangerang Urban Industrial admitted to us that factories where the rules can be bent are usually 'not good factories' where, for example 'you might be locked inside and have limited freedom to go out' during working hours.

Using connections to secure work also carries an implicit assurance of potential good relations with the boss. Migrant workers all shared how important the relationship with the boss/supervisor/employer is and both men and women shared the importance of employers being 'kind' and accommodating. Such bosses will, for example, lend money to help the worker in need. The importance is exemplified by the comparison made by the daughter of 'our' family in West Java Village of working as a shop assistant to being a factory worker. Although the salary is higher at the factory she prefers the shop because the boss at the factory was 'mean' while she described the store boss as 'friendly.' Many swallow nest factory workers (Jakarta Urban Slum) shared that they decided which factory to work for based on the likeability of the boss. We also heard often **how migrants decide to move job if they do not like the boss they were working for.**

In Tangerang Urban Industrial, we observed a strong practice of recommending people for work and it was normal to earn a cash commission for this although people told us that there is reputational risk if the person they

19

People anxious to help me get a job

When I was staying in Tangerang Urban Industrial, some people assumed I was there to look for a job. One man was really concerned and actively contacted his friends. 'Please let me know if there is any job in the airport, my nephew (i.e. me) needs one'. While making one such call to his airport technician friend, he turned to me 'What is your education?' I said, 'Undergrad.'. 'Undergrad' he repeated down the phone, 'what's your Major?' I said, 'Social science,' which he repeated again 'Social science... please help, okay'. He finished the call and said the man will come tomorrow.

At the rented house I stayed in, the landlady also assumed I was searching work. She called her friend. 'Do you want to be a cleaner? But it's just minimum wage.' Then she called another friend. 'There is a job in a cinema, as a ticket taker. Minimum wage at the beginning but you will get benefit for clothes and perfume. If you want, I will text you the office where you can send your application.' I thanked her.

The coconut water vendor also offered me a job, 'My husband said there is a vacancy in the gas station, as an assistant. It is only IDR 1.4 million per-month but you can sleep behind the station for free. Just take it'.

The next day, I met the airport technician set up by the first man. We talked and he sent me a vacancy flyer through WhatsApp, 'just go to the airport, find the office and submit the application. I cannot promise you anything but let's see what I can do'. After he left, the first man said 'Go there and submit. You don't need to pay anything, but maybe later when you get accepted than you can give him 'thank you' money ... IDR 2-3 million'.

Field notes, Tangerang Urban Industrial

recommend does not perform well or absconds. The transactional nature of recommendations has made it rather easy and fast to find work in Tangerang Urban Industrial, even for strangers (see **Box 19**).

Similar networks operate among educated young migrants (Type 5), mostly sharing information on job opportunities through informal alumni networks. We heard from different sources that this works better than getting information from Job Fairs. Several technical schools (SMK) had arranged Job Fairs recently but young people we met felt these were not very helpful. For example, in South Sulawesi Village, new graduates had attended the Job Fair but said they *'never got work that way'*. Others in Central Java Village shared that despite their school organizing a special event with an automotive company, they did not know how to apply for work there. Others who attended Job Fairs told us that the whole process of reviewing their resumé and being asked for interviews took too long. Others said the process of screening and interviews was *'too hard'* and **preferred to rely on using contacts to get a foot in the door with employers.**

No one shared stories of people being

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Factory work for young women

There were very few young, single girls and boys in the village and many people told me that most are working outside. I finally met one SMK/SMEA graduate (20) who had experience working outside of the village. Previously she had worked in a garment factory in Majalengka (her contract just finished this year). She had stayed at Majalengka with her friends. Although the SMK had attended had organised a job fair, she said many including her were not interested to apply for jobs there. *'It takes much longer. For example, if I apply on 1st day of the month, the interview would be on 11th. If we go to the factories directly, it would be lot faster'*. She got a one year contract with health insurance (BPJS) and earned around IDR1,500,000 per month. She told me she prefers to work outside of the village because there are *'more opportunities out there'* and she wants to experience different things. She is planning to apply for a job outside of Cirebon again soon, *'You see, some of my friends at my age already have kids, but I don't think I will get married soon, I prefer to gain more experiences.'* Her plan is to apply to factories again, if it is possible in a bigger city than Cirebon and Majalengka, and where she has relatives.

Field notes, West Java Village



While having vocational training is valued for the job market, SMK (vocational high school) supported Job Fairs were not seen as effective ways to get work. (Central Java Village)

wrongly informed by friends or relatives. *'This is my 'teman seperjuangan' (comrade in arms),'* a mother (Jakarta Urban Slum) explained pointing to a good friend of hers. On the other hand, people are wary of strangers, of being lied to, exploited or duped.

While familial and friend networks assist job seekers, they arguably limit work choice to sectors to where they have networks and contacts. It is difficult to transfer to other work once one has an established network, for example, of transport workers or friends working in retail. We were struck by how common it is for migrants to be doing the same work as members of their families or friends who migrated before them. This also may mitigate the need to bribe to secure a job. Lacking contacts may make applicants much more vulnerable to being asked for bribes.

We rarely heard of migrants getting work

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Easy to pick up driving work

I met a 38-year-old man in North Sumatra Village who first left home a few years after he graduated from junior high school. His uncle, who had lived in Medan for many years suggested he came to the city. *'Actually, he did not promise me particular work, he just said that I can find many opportunities there, as long as I am eager to work hard.'* After living for around 5 years in Medan, working as *'angkot'* (public transportation) and mini-truck driver, he decided to move to Jakarta. *'I met with people, fellow drivers or clients, who encouraged me to go to Jakarta. They said I could pick up any type of driver works there.'* He did find work easily and worked as container truck driver for a cargo company for many years.

Field notes, North Sumatra Village

through agents and yet people in some locations said this had been common practice in the past. Particularly in Nusa Tenggara Village and North Sumatra Village, people told us agents used to come regularly to villages offering work in cities but now **people are wary of such agents** who may not be *bona fide* or may be traffickers. Recent police crackdowns on trafficking in locations like Nusa Tenggara Village have fueled distrust in agents but people also shared that there was anyway concern over the legality of the process and the possibility of being duped. *'Often with these people you don't get the job promised you end up just being sold,'* ('Our' mother, Nusa Tenggara Village). Greater connectivity through social media has contributed to the spread of cautionary tales and fueled distrust of outsiders.

Apart from agents, a more informal version of this also operates whereby **brokers (on commission) who are neither family or friends may approach with work offers**. The daughter in law of 'our' family in Jakarta Urban Slum first landed a job as a domestic worker in the city through such a broker. A 19-year-old swallow nest factory worker noted that sometimes random people will offer her work, such as the security guard in a small mini market near where she lives.

Study Implication 8:

Further study needed on challenges to promote skills-based rather than contacts-based employment

Our interactions suggest that informal networking persists as the dominant means to secure work for migrants, especially but not exclusively in the cash casual categories (Type 1-3) of work. The networks mostly comprise friends and family and there is little networking with people they do not know, and by implication do not trust. While the culture of getting work by *'who you know rather what you know'* prevails, the role of skills training and certification and efforts by training institutions to link graduates to work is also limited. This means that those wanting work in the city but without contacts are at a severe disadvantage. The extent to which employers actually prefer to employ those who come with personal recommendation

needs to be further studied. To what extent is this lack of transparency in recruitment a means to foster patron clientalism and possibly exploit workers?

Signs of change? New trends in job seeking

Some people told us they have become a bit wary of recommending others to come to the city, especially in Tangerang Urban Industrial and Jakarta Urban Slum. They shared how they have done this in the past but have found that successful new migrants were not grateful and just disappeared. *'At the very least they could have come to visit us and give us something,'* shared people in Tangerang Urban Industrial referring to what others in other locations called *'thank you money'*.

Although most migrants use their immediate network to find jobs, there is an increasing trend to make use of their 'weak ties'²¹. We see this in young graduates who decide to 'cold call' sending their resumés to places they think might have a possible job opening or to companies they would like to work with, partly because of the long waiting period following applications made at Job Fairs (see Box 20). For example, a group of four recent SMK women graduates (West Java Village) told us how they went together as a group submitting their resumés from one company to the next, convinced that they will hear back quicker rather than going through the job fairs held by schools. Another woman in West Java Village had submitted a resumé to a supermarket and was contracted almost immediately. They explained that this was an unusual but growing trend. Another woman told us she simply went to Jakarta and asked around whether anyone needed a career.

This proactivity is facilitated by increasing use of social media, especially among younger migrants. They search directly for jobs using Facebook and Whatsapp (rather than other platforms) or more often use these social networks to contact their friends' network

²¹ Mark Granovetter was the first to argue 'the strength of weak ties' where people receive more useful information from a friend of a friend than from their immediate kinship or friendship, including in finding jobs. Granovetter, M. S. "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6, (1973): 1360-1380.

in town. **A few migrants shared they had found job opportunities through browsing the internet.** For example, staff at the airport in Tangerang Urban Industrial said that people actively use the airport's website which they said contains comprehensive information about vacancies and ways to apply for work.

By contrast, people shared that they are not getting information about domestic migration through the TV or radio although they did note how they sometimes see coverage of international migrants on TV and learned a little bit about life in big cities through TV.

Kinds of information prospective migrants want

Migrants shared that their information needs were simply reassurance of a possible job and indication of the money they could earn (see **Box 21**). Family sometimes also provides information on where to stay and connections with other family members who might provide accommodation and support. People in Jakarta Urban Slum told us they only ask *'what work do I have to do and how much will I get?'* While those we met in Makassar Urban Periphery and Makassar Urban Slum asked *'what job is available and who I can contact?'* and sometimes did not ask what income they might receive.

'They're the one who's there first. They know the condition.'

(Our' family, Jakarta Urban Slum, about trusting information from family members)

People we met shared that **as prospective migrants they almost never asked about the work or living conditions.** For example, in Medan Urban Slum, migrants we met indicated that they usually expect the first few years of working in the city to be hard with less than ideal living situation, tough working environment, and low earnings. Factory workers (Jakarta Urban Slum) told us they do not usually have complete information of the benefits or bonuses they might get from working in one factory compared to another before working there and only decide to stay or move based on the experience of working there.

Study implication 9:

Provide information on jobs and workers rights on social media

There appears to be a nascent trend towards using social media platforms to search for work although this still is largely through networks of friends and relatives (even 'weak ties') rather than public job vacancy sites. This may be because of the continuing strong faith in connections leading to securing work but also the limited information prospective migrants appear to want to base their migration decisions on. Most new migrants indicate they have low expectations. Greater awareness of employment rights, fair wages and conditions is needed for people to make choices about decent work. There is potential for using social media to share job vacancies and increase transparency in terms of sharing pay and conditions offered across types of work. This would enable people to have access to information beyond their limited networks and connections and has the potential to encourage more transparency (and possibly less exploitation of workers) among employers. The ubiquitous access to social media and enthusiastic use of this in Indonesia makes this the ideal platform for providing more information to migrant job seekers.

Social capital as the main source of support for migrants

People across study locations shared with us how **they value the tight-knit social life of the kampung where neighbours are usually close to one another but miss this in the city.**

'There are a lot of children there (in the village). Many relatives are there. Here, people are more individualistic. People don't hang out with their neighbours.'

(daughter, Jakarta Urban Slum)

Many people shared that they felt a sense of belonging in their *kampung* but that they usually do not have the same feeling in the city. **Some people described the city as 'quieter for them' despite the noise and the crowds**



A typical *kontrakan* in Tangerang Urban Industrial. While some say they don't like staying in *kontrakan* and *kost* because there is less of a feeling of community, many migrants (particularly more recent ones working in factories or small industries) stay in these and the rent often constitutes a large portion of people's earnings.

because they feel they do not actually have friends. Those who accompany others (Type 7) tend to feel this more acutely. For example, a housewife (Makassar Urban Slum) said she felt isolated and she was pleased to have us to talk to as, *'During the weekend people play guitar and eat 'rujak' (traditional fruit salad). I imagine that every day it'll be like that, but it is actually quiet.'*

This is why some people shared with us that **having people to socialize with is important in their decisions about where to live in the city.** People value opportunities to hang out with their neighbours in the late afternoon after work or in the evening, building a sense of community and belonging among them and re-creating something they feel they miss compared to *kampung* living. 'Our' neighbour in Jakarta Urban Slum told us that her husband chose to remain in the community he first found in the city precisely because he feels a sense of belonging there. This desire for community often overrides other considerations in choosing where to live (see section 'Living in a slum' below). Young construction workers (Central Java Village) shared with us that *'being together'* is an aspect they cherish living on construction sites, even though the living condition is tough. They do not like big cities' attitude of *'elu elu gue gue'* (minding your own business) which they feel separates people.

This is also the reason why for some people the

idea of living in a 'more established' residential area, particularly apartments or rented rooms, is not appealing. Some people said they dislike apartments because they feel anxious in high rise buildings among people they do not know, *'I can't imagine living in them!'* (wife of type 2 migrant, Central Java Village). But more importantly, **they consider apartments or rented rooms isolating.** 'Our' mother in Jakarta Urban Slum said that she tried to live once in a rented room but felt out of place, *'People in 'kontrakan' (rented rooms) doesn't seem to accept me. They stay inside. They're more individualistic. So, I don't feel comfortable there.'*

Study implication 10:

Low cost housing must be planned to re-create the sense of village in cities

Social interaction is considered to be very important for people living in the city and people value this over actual living conditions. Often migrant families indicated that they would rather be in friendly areas with people they felt they could socialize with rather than 'good accommodation' where people lived separate lives. There is a strong desire to create the sense of belonging that '*kampung*' life provides.

Social capital at risk – migration challenges to family life

Given the emphasis on social life and the importance of this asset, migrants shared with us how certain challenges faced in migration (for example, in marriages, child care, and long distance relationships with family) can undermine this and may, in effect, deplete this capital or has to be compensated for in various ways.

People frequently shared with us how **migrating could be hard on their marital relationship** mainly because of the possibility of infidelity. Not atypical, a barber (Tangerang Urban Industrial) with a wife in the village told us he has many girlfriends. In Jakarta Urban Slum, a few men are known to have two wives, one in the village and one in the city, although the second marriage is often not legally registered but officiated by a '*penghulu*' (traditional marriage



This woman is filling small toothpaste tubes, which can be done at home 'whenever you have free time' although people say the payment is small (Jakarta Urban Slum)

official). The 'city wife' is often referred to by people as '*istri simpenan*' (a wife that is being kept hidden). In Jakarta Urban Slum, the rented rooms in the '*kolong*' (underneath the flyover) are often occupied by these *istri simpenan*. As the practice is often frowned upon, the owners of these rooms shared that they often try to avoid renting to *istri simpenan*.

In Tangerang Urban Industrial, we met a lot of male and female migrants who are divorced from their first spouse. They told us that the divorce usually resulted from them having an affair with another person in the city when they lived alone. Women in this situation said that **they entered the relationship not because they need financial help (as often assumed) but because they are looking for emotional support living away from family.**

People across study sites indicated that the best time to migrate for work is when single.

We heard several experiences where the spouse found the situation challenging. For example, a meatball seller (Makassar Urban Periphery) shared with us his difficulties with his wife, who came with him to the city from a different island, was unable to adapt to the culture of the area and threatened to commit suicide if they did not go back to their home town.

As well as spouses living apart because of migration, **it is not uncommon that children of migrants grow up in the home village under the care of their grandparents or other relatives.** 'Our' neighbour (Medan Urban Slum) whose two primary school children stayed with the grandparents exemplifies this. In Jakarta

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Living apart from children

A garment factory worker who has been working in Jakarta more than 20 years told me how she has two young children but one of them stays with her sister in West Java. '*He's the youngest, he decided by himself when he was only 5 years old that he wanted to stay with the auntie.*' He prefers going to school in the village. '*I call him almost every day and he's happy there, with all his cousins.*' She visits the village to see her son twice a year.

Field notes, Jakarta Urban Slum

Urban Slum, women who gave birth in the city sometimes sent their children home to be cared for by grandparents very soon after, sometimes resulting in them not seeing their children for a very long time. For example, 'our' neighbour (Jakarta Urban Slum) has not seen her daughter for nine years (since the daughter was only 11) because she was being raised by her ex-husband's parents who live in a different village.

Some feel guilty for having to leave their children and told us how they miss them.

For example, a mother (Jakarta Urban Slum) decided to send her son to school in the village out of her concern that he has started hanging out with young people whom she considered 'bad' for him. But she told us she missed her son daily, calling him every evening on the phone and counting the days until she can visit him in the village. Parents in Tangerang Urban Industrial told us that because they feel guilty about leaving their children in the village they compensate by showering their children with gifts and buying items that their children ask them for, including expensive items such as laptops.²²

For many who brought along their children to migrate with them, providing constant care is a struggle.

Factory workers in Tangerang Urban Industrial shared with us how difficult it is to care for their children while working full time. Echoing others, one mother told us she does not have anyone to take care for her daughter who is currently in 4th grade. Some ended up letting their children take care of themselves such as the case of a migrant worker who remarried. His two children age 4 and 7 are alone from 6am to 9pm when he is at work as his new wife does

²² The RCA study on international migration (2015):32 also noted that appeasement with extravagant presents was common.

not like taking care of children.

Some migrants decide to prioritize childcare and choose to stop working or choose work that is compatible. This is usually particularly true for women and especially when they have a partner who can still earn. For example, a mother in Tangerang Urban Industrial decided to stop working to take care of her children and shared this was possible as her husband has always been the main breadwinner. Another mother in Jakarta Urban Slum chose to quit her factory work when she was pregnant with her second child but in contrast to the family in Tangerang Urban Industrial, she was the main breadwinner so this required her husband, who wasn't working before, to find ways to earn money. He took up casual construction work and trash collection, but cannot find work every day so the small family is barely managing. One of 'our' next door neighbours (Jakarta Urban Slum) shared with us that she now works as a part of a trash collection group to give her time to care for her daughter. She said she tried working at the swallow nest factory before but she quit soon after because her daughter *'cannot be left on her own.'*

Pregnancy can be problematic, especially for waged migrant (Type 4) who work in factories because they have targets to fulfill. Missing days from work because you are pregnant or after delivery means missing significant earning

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Lack of childcare facilities in town

I met a single mother with a young daughter renting a 3m x 3m room in the same compound as where I was staying. She has been working in the (illegal) string factory for eight years. She works six, sometimes seven days each week, doing shift work. Afternoon shifts are from 3pm until 11pm. Her daughter is in Grade 4 and attends an afternoon school shift because the local school is overcrowded. Her mother makes a brunch for her at 11am, sees her off to school but does not see her again until she returns from the factory late at night when the girl is asleep. Sometimes, if there is overtime, she does not get back until 3am. On Saturday morning, I bumped into the mother in the communal washing area. She looked tired. She had got up earlier than usual in order to wash three buckets full of dirty laundry. She started with her daughter's red and white uniform. *'If I don't do it now, there will be no time. On Monday (the uniform) will be worn again'*

Field notes, Tangerang Urban Industrial

as quite often, factory workers are paid based on daily performance with weekly or monthly bonuses if they show up to work every day. For swallow nest workers in Jakarta Urban Slum, missing a day of work means losing at least IDR 250,000, an amount that could be up to 15% of their monthly wages. This is why some women shared that they decided to leave or quit when they got pregnant and take up home-based work, such as assembling toothpaste, even though such work pays only around 25% of their previous factory wage.

Study implication 11: Urgent need for range of affordable childcare for working families

When families migrate without their traditional support system provided for in the village, they face dilemmas regarding child care. With few affordable day care facilities in town the choice is limited to (i) leaving one parent (usually, but not always, the mother) at home in the village to care for children, (ii) transferring responsibility of child care to relatives in the village, or (iii) stopping work or finding work which accommodates child care responsibilities in town (but often results in a drop in income). We also came across families who leave their children unsupervised in order for the parents to continue to work. In order to keep nuclear families together and provide support to families with children, a range of well-regulated day care, homework clubs, and breakfast clubs need to be established to support the children of urban working families.

Apart from leaving children, people also shared with us how **leaving their village may also mean leaving their parents behind.** 'Our' neighbour (Jakarta Urban Slum) told us, *'Nowadays because my parents are old, I always have my phone on because I'm afraid something might happen.'* One of the migrant families in Makassar Urban Slum has been going home more often, even though their village is located on a different island, because the mother of the wife has been ill. People also shared with us that they sometimes feel bad knowing that their parents might feel lonely such as a migrant



This woman, a former migrant, has built a kiosk and bought a car with the earnings saved. While she operates the kiosk, her husband uses the car as a driver. They don't have any farmland and shared it is otherwise difficult to earn money in the village without your own land. She would like to go back to Malaysia because of the money she can earn there, but that she doesn't not want to leave her daughters in the village. (South Sulawesi Village)

woman we met in Makassar Urban Slum who told us she worries that her mother does not have anyone to talk to ever since she was away. Others told us they are somewhat consoled by the fact that their migrant work supports their elderly parents financially *'I wish I can give much more to my parents but I couldn't,'* (factory worker, Tangerang Urban Industrial).

When talking about leaving their *kampung* behind, **people also talked to us about their concern of their land that is now abandoned or being managed by others.** Most usually ask their relatives to take care of the land including their elderly parents who might not be fully physically capable to do this. Tensions often arise when decisions need to be made about the land. 'Our' mother (Makassar Urban Periphery) avoids conflict by allowing her relatives to make the decision, *'As long as they give me some share.'* Sharing a percentage of the profits is also how a laundry worker (Medan Urban Slum) manages her village land that is currently being taken care of by a cousin.

Despite seeing migration as helpful to the financial situation of the family, **many family members shared with us the emotional struggle they face because of their loved ones being away.** We mostly heard from those who miss those who have migrated. Mothers in Makassar Urban Periphery whose children are away either to pursue higher education or to work, told us that they constantly miss them as well as their grandchildren who were



This neighbour spent half of his life outside of the village as a migrant, going from Batam to Palembang, Kalimantan and Ambon. However, he said he was *'forced'* to return back to the village because of his parent's wishes. They want him to take care of them and their land. He didn't want to return but said it must be *'God's destiny.'* Now he looks to his children's futures and is encouraging them to look for opportunities outside of the village especially for education so that they could help the family.

sometimes also brought along by the parents. One mother told us. *'I'm okay that all my sons in [the city] rather than in the village where they would not be working. I feel a bit lonely but I'm okay.'* A different mother told us she misses her daughter who is in university but visits every month allowing her to experience the city too. One grandmother said she was lucky that her daughter lives in a city that is only two to three hours away so she could visit every two to three months whenever she missed her grandchildren.

'We need the money more.'

(Wife of a migrant, West Java Village, despite missing her migrant husband)

Wives of migrant workers in Nusa Tenggara Village told us **they phone their husbands regularly** to mitigate loneliness. 'Our' mother (West Java Village) expected 'our' father to call home every day saying she would be worried sick if he did not. She often 'miss calls' him and hopes he will phone her back. Others said to us that they call up to three times daily. To overcome loneliness, the wives of migrants in Central Java Village told us they keep busy with home-based-piecework assembling false eyelashes or tailoring. They shared that they



To make extra cash and alleviate loneliness, some of the wives of migrants in Central Java Village do home-based- assembling of false eyelashes or tailoring.

had got used to this way of life, indicated that they actually quite like it when the men are away.

How easy is it to build social capital in locations where migrants live?

People in the urban study areas usually use the term 'old timers' (e.g. *dedengkot* or *orang lama*) and 'newcomers' (*pendatang baru*) to **differentiate between old residents and those who recently moved in** (less than five years). People also refer to *orang lama* as '*orang lokal*' (local people). This includes people who were born in the city or who have spent decades living in the city since they first migrated. **Most *orang lama* told us that they do not mind having newcomers quite frequently coming to stay in the area.** Some feel they hardly notice newcomers, especially those who stay in rented rooms who tend to keep to themselves, going to work early and then coming back to their rented rooms in the evening. In Makassar Urban Periphery, some people who are better off often try to help newcomers to the area by sending food and used clothes, even sometimes giving them money. In Tangerang Urban Industrial, some locals actively help newcomers, especially when they are just settling in, by allowing them to buy goods on credit. Landlords also sometimes lower the price of their rooms in order to help those who just came to the area. One owner told us, '*I was once a newcomer too. It must be very confusing not having anyone.*'

People generally told us that **as long as the**

newcomers do not cause any trouble, (by which they mean not consuming excessive alcohol or illegal drugs) they are pretty much welcome. Some were more positive particularly kiosk owners and landlords, because the **newcomers bring in income**. One bone of contention expressed was that newcomers may benefit from social assistance particularly those initiated by private entities such as universities or banks. '*Sometimes newcomers also get this help. But it's better if everything is only for those who are recorded as living here. Because if not, there will be more people coming here to get the help,*' (kiosk owner, Jakarta Urban Slum).

In Medan Urban Slum, local people's perspectives towards migrants are quite different compared to the rest of the urban study locations. Despite not having any open tension between different ethnic groups, local people shared their misgivings of migrants, not just the newcomers, in their area. Some see them as more prosperous than they are, '*The incomers are more successful than us. They can sell anything to us and we will buy it. Even if they are selling poison, we will buy it,*' (local woman resident). A local man living next door said ruefully, '*they got the profit we get the trash,*' but he understood that they came to the area to make money. Some are more forthright and point to the migrants (who are usually of different ethnic group and religion to them) as the source of what they consider problematic behaviours. They mentioned how children now adopt bad language from the migrants and that there are more problems with crime, gambling and drugs in the area, '*We are overrun now,*' (local resident). The migrants here realize that they need to foster good relationships with locals and put effort into doing so. '*You need to be nice to everyone,*' (rubbish trader) but he guarantees this by paying protection money to *preman*. A different rubbish trader told us, '*One way to help build relationship with locals is by employing locals,*' a strategy he himself uses in his business.

Newcomers in Tangerang Urban Industrial told us that **they understand the importance of maintaining good relations with locals and with each other**. A vegetable seller, herself a migrant, explained to us, '*A newcomer needs*

to be able to carry themselves well. People are all the same no matter where they are from.' A barber, also a migrant, put his own twist on one well-known Indonesian saying, 'Sesama migran dilarang saling mendahului (a migrant should not try to overtake another migrant).' Some told us that in addition to good behaviour **they try to use their local language with others.** Even though many are comfortable using Bahasa Indonesia, some told us they lack the confidence in using the language on a daily basis, preferring their mother tongue whenever possible. 'It feels like home,' (airport staff, Tangerang Urban Industrial). **In all the urban study locations, we observed people default to using any language they feel most comfortable with.** After a while living in urban areas, most people pick up Bahasa Indonesia and speak it fluently but still often choose to speak their mother language with people who they know speak it too. **We noticed a blending of languages and liberal use of non-native languages.** This is widespread in Jakarta Urban Slum where Javanese people would converse in Sundanese and Sundanese people would chat in Javanese fluently with one another. This is also the situation in Makassar Urban Periphery where some use each other's mother tongue or speak Bahasa Indonesia in the accent of the person they are speaking with, which is acknowledged as a way to forge better relations.

The constant influx of newcomers every year to each of the study urban locations has, people told us, changed social attitudes. Migrants in Jakarta Urban Slum told us that unlike in villages, in urban communities there are no 'elders' and that without such 'thought shapers' they have become more accepting of diversity. Others felt that this was less about becoming more open minded but more about caring less about these kinds of issue. For example, people in Jakarta Urban Slum said, 'Life in 'kolong' is hard enough already. Your business is your business'. Many told us this attitude has led to people being more individualistic, which is exacerbated by more people living in a 'kost' (single rented room) and shutting themselves off from the rest of the community. People appreciate it more when newcomers mingle with local residents and value how neighbours can be close to each other by hanging out chatting in the afternoon

in front of their houses.

People in Makassar Urban Periphery **also noted how complex their community has become, attributing it to many migrants coming from outside of the area and even from different islands.** Some men from Nusa Tenggara Village have married Muslim women and brought the wives back to live in a village that is majority Christian. They told us that no one is giving them a hard time. They said that people in the village now have become more tolerant because they have experienced mingling with people from other backgrounds. Students in Makassar Urban Periphery told us that they like having friends of various ethnicities and cultural backgrounds. People consider the diversity they now have in their community positive although they told us that it is impossible to get to know everybody well the way they used to.

Study implication 12: Rental housing needs to encourage better integration

On the whole newcomers and diversity are welcomed in the urban communities we visited. Incoming migrants do not cause tensions in their adopted communities but may be scapegoated for any problems and maybe a source of some mild jealousy among original residents but are not actively discriminated against. The nature of rented accommodation in the community (e.g. single rooms) may limit integration and undermines the value put on belonging (collectivism versus individualism) by both newcomers and original residents.

Economic and Financial Capital - minimising costs, not maximizing income

The urban environments we stayed in predominantly accommodated low income workers and for them **being able to minimize expenses is the most important aspect of economic capital rather than maximizing income.** This section examines this preoccupation and how it affects accommodation, food and work choices.



This young woman said she decided to rent a room in Makassar after getting sick because of the long commute she had been making from Takalar in her first two weeks with her new job as a tailor.

Minimizing transport costs - key in work choices

Across all urban study locations, we learned that people prefer to live close to their workplace. This is often because they have deliberately chosen to stay near their work or intentionally took up local jobs. **Many people are able to walk to their place of work** as most lived within 15 minute-walk (see [Table 7](#)). The preference to walk to their work is regarded as a significant saving on transportation. **Those who have longer journeys almost all use motorbikes** and all but a few have less than 15 minute journeys (maximum 25-30 minutes). They estimate these cost them IDR 7,000-IDR 10,000 per week, with the exception of Jakarta Urban Slum where people can spend around IDR 25,000. Some factory workers in Medan Urban Slum take *angkot* to work, costing them IDR 2,000 for the 5-minute ride. Those with longer motorbike journeys are typically shop assistants whose

place of work is in commercial areas or 'follow the money' migrants (Type 3), especially goods or food sellers, who have to travel around to do their selling. Most migrants using motorbikes we met own their own motorbikes with a few using the services of *ojek* (motorbike taxis).

Study implication 13: Further study needed on people's preferences to use own transport vs. public

There is a clear preference to walk or use own motorbike to places of work as a means to save costs. Other reasons, beyond cost, why people may prefer their own transport compared to public transport may need to be further studied. For example, to what extent does this represent convenience as much as cost? Trip-chaining (i.e. making several stops on the way, for example to drop off children at school, pick up food, drop off friends, etc.) may be a significant factor in this preference where public transport is unreliable, not available or not suitable for these needs. This may also explain why people prefer to buy motorbikes and pay monthly credit costs rather than use public transport.

'Food is our major cost'

Although able to save on transport costs, **people in the urban locations told us that their biggest expenses are for food**. Many told us they buy most of their food, either from

Table 7: Getting to the Workplace in Study Urban Areas

Location	Typical Time to get to work (mins)	Majority costs (IDR/day)	Few go further Time to get to work (mins)	Costs (IDR/day)
Jakarta Urban Slum	15-20 (walking)	2,000 (ferry crossing)	30 (motorbike)	3,300
Tangerang Urban Industrial	10 (walking) 5-15 (motorbike)	0 1,000	30 (motorbike)	appx. 2,000
Medan Urban Slum	15 (walking)	0	5 (angkot)	4,000
Makassar Urban Periphery	5-15 (motorbike)	Less than 1,000	25 (motorbike)	appx. 1,000
Makassar Urban Slum	5-10 (walking)	0	10-15 (motorbike) 20 (bicycle)	1,000 0



Crossing the river in Jakarta Urban Slum via *eretan* costs IDR 2000. Generally, people shared that they like to live close to their jobs to minimize transport costs.

warung nasi (food stalls selling cooked meals) or from food peddlers. Staying with migrants, nearly all of the researchers ate cooked food from vendors along with those they stayed with. Some do cook, but they told us that they tend to only cook 'simple food', mostly consisting of rice (typically cooked and kept warm in electric rice cookers), usually tofu or tempeh, commonly lightly fried, and/or leafy vegetables, such as spinach or *kangkong* which are easily prepared on a single stove²³.

Most workers we met eat lunch at their workplace. For many, this meal is provided by their employer, especially waged workers (Type 4) working in factories. When lunch is not provided, some people bring food to work to save money while others buy food from nearby *warung nasi*. Many food vendors extend credit to customers and expect payment after wages have been paid. For example, a young automotive factory worker (West Java Village) takes lunch at different food stalls near his place of work and pays after receiving his wage. While we were with him he had an outstanding debt of around IDR 100,000. Construction workers (West Java Village) shared with us that they usually spend IDR 15,000 to IDR 20,000 per meal and usually eat two to three meals per day costing up to IDR 60,000 daily. Their *mandor* (supervisor) may pay off their debts and deduct these costs from their wages.

²³ The RCA study on household finances (2016):26 notes that 'RCA studies conducted previously in Indonesia with over 250 families over the last two years... [indicate] that families spend between IDR 10-20,000/day to feed the family. This data was mostly based on rural families; urban families will spend more, usually around 50% more but sometimes double this.



Many migrants in the city say they prefer to buy their meals from food sellers like this. Here, five members of this family are choosing their lunch for the day.

Lunch cost is a significant factor in choosing work. A swallow nest factory worker (Jakarta Urban Slum) turned down work as a shop assistant because she would have to pay for her own lunch. 'Commuter' migrants (Type 2) shared with us that they tried to spend 'as little as possible' on food, to maximize what they can take back home. For many, this means resorting to convenience food that is easy to prepare and cheap, such as instant noodles, costing IDR 2,000 per packet. **Table 8** summarises the typical meals taken by migrant workers by category. It illustrates how cooking for oneself is a feature of those with family (e.g. long stay migrants) and the importance and convenience of buying cooked food.

People felt that food in the city is expensive and compared how easy it is to eat well in the village. Echoing others, one of 'our' neighbours in Jakarta Urban Slum said, 'I can just take it from my mom's garden,' referring to the ease of gathering vegetables in the village. The daughter in law of one of 'our' families in Makassar Urban Periphery said that in the village all you need to buy is fish because rice and vegetables are grown for home consumption, but acknowledged that sometimes even the fish is free to catch in the river. The cost of other ingredients in the village is often said to be lot lower than in the city as well. 'All we need is oil, sugar and salt and the rest we can get easily and much cheaper,' (parents, Makassar Urban Periphery). They shared they were surprised on realizing that in big cities, 'you have to buy everything.' **Many shared this concern for high prices and that a significant portion of their income goes for food expenses and find**

Table 8: Meal sources for different types of migrants

Migrant type	Typical meal source				
	Buying cooked	Cooking self	Provided by employer	Convenience food e.g. instant noodles	Sharing
Type 1: Casual cash worker, long stay	yes	no	no	no	no
Type 2: Casual cash worker, commuter	yes	Simple cooking	no	yes	no
Type 3: Casual cash worker, 'follow the money'	yes	no	yes	no	yes
Type 4: Formal waged	yes	no	yes	no	yes
Type 5: Salaried and/or education	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
Type 6: Self-employed informal	yes	no	no	yes	no

■ yes ■ no

managing their cashflow to meet these costs is challenging. When we stayed in this area in 2015 for an insight study on slum areas in Jakarta, people shared a number of **strategies to ease this including buying fresh food in the evening when it is less expensive and arranging credit with vegetable sellers.**

'In the kampung, IDR 30,000 is enough for everyone. Here [in the city] IDR 100,000 has no trace.'

(woman factory worker (35), Tangerang Urban Industrial)

People shared with us that a typical low income family of four usually spends around IDR 1 million per month for daily meals with some spending up to IDR 1.5 million. The estimates are a little difficult to compare as many but not all **people we met include snacks within their total food expenses which for many is a significant cost.** Snack costs are at least half of daily meals expenses (around IDR 500,000 monthly/family) while for some, it is much more.

Study implication 14:

Our concerns re: the type and quality of food consumed by low income families

This section of the report concentrated on the cost and convenience considerations of food consumption for migrant workers because this was what mattered to them. Our observations and experiences living with them suggest that what people eat is just as important. The heavy reliance on street food and lack of fresh food, even the unavailability of fresh food in their work and home neighbourhoods has potential health implications.

Housing costs are also a major expense

Housing costs, including utilities, are also considered high in the city. We heard stories from all study locations of the struggle people go through to pay monthly rents. In Tangerang Urban Industrial, for example, a single 3m x 5m room could cost between IDR 450,000 to IDR 1.5 million per month and this constitutes the smallest rental property. Many of the people renting these rooms are factory workers, earning the minimum wage of IDR 3.3 million, making housing cost alone potentially almost half of their expenses monthly. Often high rents

mean families with children will downsize so that they can pay education costs, a practice widespread in Tangerang Urban Industrial.

Young people, especially single men but increasingly single women too, often choose to live in a *kost* (e.g. usually costing upwards IDR 300,000-500,000/month in Jakarta Urban Slum) rather than a house or apartment. Many factory workers in Jakarta Urban Slum, both men and women, choose to do this because these rooms are near to the factories and staying there avoids transport costs. Although for some and as indicated above too, living in rented rooms may be isolating as exemplified by one of 'our' fathers in Nusa Tenggara Village who told us that how he used to go out only for work and then come home to catch some sleep, missing out on socializing with other people.

Provision of accommodation as part of the job in the context of high rents is key for many making work choices. For example, many domestic workers we met, usually women, live in accommodation provided by their employer. Typical of many others, a 15-year-old nanny (West Java Village) stayed at the house of the police officer she works for in a 4 square-meter bedroom allocated for her. These arrangements work for women who are prepared to live in but some domestic workers told us that increasingly they choose to only do part time or hourly work and live in their own homes as exemplified by one of 'our' mothers in Jakarta Urban Slum who does laundry and other domestic work from



Cheaper *kost/kontrakan* are often unfurnished and have shared toilets. After seeing some of the migrant women staying here outside wearing nice clothes and makeup, one researcher noted that they didn't quite expect the dark and simple rooms they were staying in. (Tangerang Urban Industrial)

early morning until the afternoon for one family before returning to her rented house in the slum in the evening. Others, such as some factory workers in Tangerang Urban Industrial live in compounds specifically dedicated for workers often referred to as *mess*. Young people from one of our rural locations (West Java Village) who work in the garment factories (typically young women) and the automobile industries (typically young men) told us that they stay in such compounds in the city.

To save on accommodation cost, many stay at work sites. This is typical for construction workers who stay in somewhat makeshift accommodation on site during construction. Some construction workers felt that **the living conditions is less than ideal**. For example, construction workers we met in one rural site (Central Java Village) shared that when working in town, they often had to live in a *bedeng*, a makeshift shack made out of plywood with iron sheet roof. They either sleep on the provided tarpaulin or brought their own mattresses. Sometimes, the *mandor* (supervisor) would provide them with a TV as entertainment in the evenings. Construction workers complained that it is really hot inside a *bedeng* and there are usually many mosquitoes. Water is also often in short supply. Yet, they told us that what is even worse than living in a *bedeng* is to live in a container, as provided by some construction companies. Road workers told us they often stay on site living under makeshift tents. **Drivers, particularly truck drivers but also drivers of long distance public transport, chose to sleep overnight in their vehicle to save money** and it is less hassle than renting a room. There are areas in Jakarta Urban Slum and Medan Urban Slum where trucks usually park with several kiosks and in some cases, public bathrooms, nearby for drivers to eat and wash. Others told us of staying overnight in shops or business premises, where they work during the day, ostensibly as unpaid security in exchange for free accommodation.

Study implication 15: Need for range of housing needs including combined residential and work properties

There is a need for low cost rental properties meeting a range of needs from singles to couples and families. Provision of decent accommodation close to workplaces as part of contract terms is appreciated by migrant workers, especially those who are single. Further, people indicated that the nature of their work often had accommodation implications. Many use their homes as workshops and places where they trade and offer services. They also prefer to keep their means of production at home for convenience, cost savings and security reasons.

Other expenses

The RCA study on household financial management (2016) noted that households frequently spend as much as one third of their income on cigarettes (p.26), reflecting findings from the earlier RCA study on hygiene and nutrition (2015) which indicated that families with smokers spend about 30% of their daily expenses on cigarettes (p.67) so it is unsurprising that migrants shared that this was a major expense. People shared that their expenses for cigarettes could amount to a third of their daily meals (around IDR 300,000 a month) and could be as much as IDR 1 million per month. As many male migrants live and work in groups of other men (e.g. construction workers, transport providers) they are subject to peer pressure and a culture of sharing cigarettes as a social norm. This may also extend to consumption of alcohol, gambling, and payment for commercial sex.

Communication costs, particularly mobile phone credit, is another common cost all types of migrant share while for some, buying clothes and/or cosmetics are important monthly expenses they try to afford.

All types of migrants with school age children we spoke with send their children to school and incur costs for this but only the salaried migrants (Type 5) said they specifically saved money for their children's education. They are



This perfume seller, who goes around the different factories in Tangerang Urban Industrial, also sells his goods on credit, requiring weekly repayments.

also the only group that told us they need to pay mortgages and set aside money for leisure activities. For self-employed migrants (Type 6) many of the additional costs are business related including entertaining or money for bribes, both to ensure the smooth running of their business.

Many migrants told us that they have some debt that they need to pay off monthly. For self-employed migrants (Type 6) this is loan capital to start their business. For others, the most frequent debt is the installment payments for their motorbike. Migrants in Tangerang Urban Industrial told us they buy a range of other goods (electronics, perfume, furniture and even clothing), not just motorbikes on credit. Those involved in selling such goods on credit shared with us that they may sell the goods at almost twice the original price. One argued that this is the only way they can make profit since people are paying little each month. When we stayed near Jakarta Urban Slum in 2015 people told us they often bought goods from house-to-house traders on credit and knew that they pay twice the cost buying this way. They disparaged these traders for their big profits with comments like *'the one who sells will get scabies,'* (woman,

Jakarta Urban Slum) but nevertheless used them regularly.

Many migrants we met aim to send money back to the village regularly. While people did not see this as an obligation (except those supporting siblings), many tried to do this at least once a month while others do it only when they have money to spare. For example, the daughter in law of one of 'our' families in Jakarta Urban Slum told us that she used to send around IDR 100,000 every month to her grandmother which was what she felt she could spare from her IDR 1.7 million wage as a swallow nest factory worker but since having a young baby she has stopped sending money home. People in Tangerang Urban Industrial told us that remittance is a significant part of their expenses monthly with some sending back home up to 50% of their earnings. Parents who have their children living in the village tend to send money more regularly and send more than the amount it would have cost them if their children were still living with them. For example, parents in Jakarta Urban Slum send between IDR 300,000 to IDR 500,000 every month (around a third to half their monthly food costs). **Some people send money home specifically to pay for education costs of family members,** typically younger siblings.



Particularly in Medan Urban Slum and Tangerang Urban Industrial, many people take out loans for purchasing electronics, utensils, clothes, and getting cash from small providers like this one, who collect cash daily from people. Interest can be up to 50-100% of the original cost repaid over 3 - 12 months in installments.



This box contains inheritance from this migrant's parents and grandparents. Like this family, most of the people we met in this study prefer to keep money at home rather than using banks.

For example, a teacher (Jakarta Urban Slum) sends money regularly to help his parents pay for his eight siblings who are still currently at school. **Some others send money back in order to build or renovate their house in the village,** either for their elderly parents or in the hope to one day go back when they are older. A food seller in Makassar Urban Slum shared with us that she has been saving up for 20 years in order to build a house in the village. A neighbour in Jakarta Urban Slum explained that their monthly remittance is being used partly to renovate their house in the village while one of 'our' families in Jakarta Urban Slum told us that they are no longer sending money back to their *kampung* as they have completed the construction of their house.

To send money home, people told us that they prefer to either carry the money themselves or entrust the money to someone they know, usually a relative, who is going back to the village soon. Construction workers from Central Java Village often carry as much as IDR 4 million in cash with them when traveling back home after doing commuter migration (Type 2). They told us that they are not worried about carrying these considerable sums of cash. The preference for this is based entirely on trust. **The second most preferred method is using kiosk services provided by minimarket or banks,** particularly by BRI (*Bank Rakyat Indonesia*-People's Bank of Indonesia) as people told us that is easier to find a branch of BRI in villages compared to other banks. They told us this was a simple process whereby they 'hand over cash

to the BRI teller and their relatives can then pick up the money at the BRI kiosk in the village'. A similar process can be done through a particular minimarket chain whereby people making the transfer are provided with a unique pin number on their mobile phone which enables the receiver in the village to withdraw the money. **People found both methods convenient as it does not require them to open a bank account** which is regarded as *ribet* (a hassle). Those who do have bank accounts are few and often only have them because wages are paid directly by bank transfer. For example, one of 'our' mothers in Jakarta Urban Slum is paid as a park cleaner by the city government in this way.

Some others have a bank account because they are recipients of a social assistance programme which makes direct transfers. As noted in the 2016 RCA study on household finances (p. 57), very rarely did anyone share with us that they have a bank account in order to save money as most still prefer to keep their money at home.

People see limited opportunities to increase income

The subsequent section on human capital makes the point that many of the migrant workers we met are low skilled and consequently low paid. They have little choice of jobs because of their



Some migrants send weekly remittance for their families in their villages through ATMs or at the many minimarkets. Some men said that the 'bank is far and only open on weekdays.'



The owner of this kiosk has become a BRILink Agent. She said she was interested to join to help people pay for their electricity, but that few were using it so far.

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Warteg is profitable

The daughter of the head of RT in the area opened her own *warteg* the second day we were staying in the location. She shared with us that she opened it for her parents to have extra income as they are less mobile nowadays. It was only the first day the *warteg* was in operation but there were already plenty of customers stopping by. The daughter told us that the area is always busy as there are many factory workers living nearby and a constant influx of commuter migrants (type 2), usually long-haul drivers, staying for a while. The fact that there are always new people coming to the area, who are likely in need of a ready meal, is another reason why people in Jakarta Urban Slum considers owning a kiosk or a *warteg* to be a good income earning source.

Field notes, Jakarta Urban Slum

lower skills base but also, as noted above, they lack the necessary connections (bridging social capital) to explore wider opportunities, even without further skills. It was rare for people to share with us ambitions to radically change the nature of the work they were engaged with. An exception was a *warung kopi* (coffee stall) owner we met in Tangerang Urban Industrial told us that he hopes to make IDR 100 million, enough to construct a house back home in the village and could only do this by leaving his current work to work as a sailor in international shipping. He said, *'I don't want that when I'm old and I'm still selling. I want to go back to kampung.'* **More frequently the only option for better income envisaged was setting up their own business.** Echoing others, one of 'our' mothers in Jakarta Urban Slum currently working as a park cleaner hopes to open her own *warteg* (a food stall selling cooked meals) someday. Having a kiosk or a *warteg* is considered profitable by those living in Jakarta Urban Slum as, noted above, people buy cooked meals rather than cook themselves.

However, people mentioned to us that the challenge in being a kiosk owner is there is a significant amount of capital needed to start. Competition is high, especially to find good locations to sell. Echoing others across all study locations, goods and food sellers in Makassar Urban Slum told us that it is hard nowadays to find a spot in the market to sell your items.

We met a number of young migrants who have exploited the growing market for online services and goods, either buying and selling online, buying online to trade more traditionally and offering app-based services such as ojek.

Study implication 16: Need to provide financial and internet education for small traders

While migrants we met were motivated to move to the city to earn more cash than they could in the village, they are mostly accepting of low paid work with little opportunity for advancement. Their preoccupation becomes one of reducing their outgoings rather than increasing their income, which is often seen as only being possible through starting a small enterprise. Whilst there is considerable scope to do this to serve the urban working population (food, transport, goods and services), these are small scale and often risky in terms of capital outlay and competition. Our interactions and observations suggest that access to financial education, especially around savings and credit is important. The growing market for internet-based services and goods is providing new opportunities.

Human Capital - the most important aspect for people is education and skills

While this capital covers a range of assets including skills, knowledge, labour, and capacity to work, the aspect most talked about by migrants was education and skills and is discussed first. This is followed by a discussion on the next priority of migrants: their personal wellbeing, including what they do in their leisure time and emotional struggles they face during migration.

Education or certificates?

Education is seen by many migrants to be

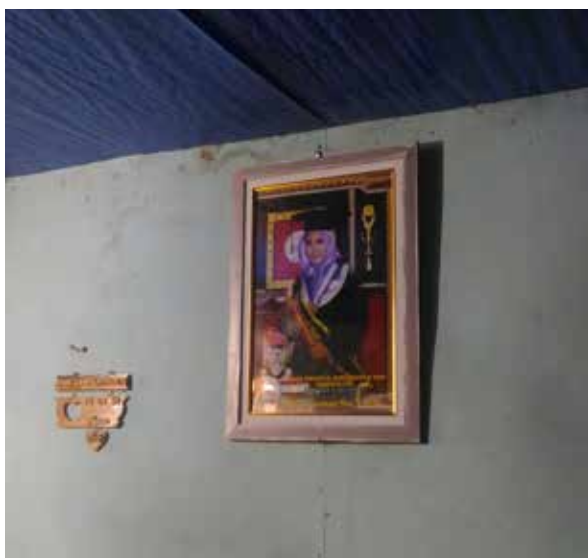
25

Proper job is salaried office work

The eldest daughter in the family I stayed with in West Java Village worked for two years in the Jakarta based Yamaha factory with a good wage, health insurance, and good working conditions but she failed the highly competitive test for permanent employment. While I was staying, she was actively seeking a new job, looking particularly for one with an international company. Unlike other girls in her village who usually get married after graduating from senior high school or junior high school, she wants to continue her education in order 'to get a proper job.' She believes that a proper job would change her life. For her, a proper work is office work with regular salary and requires moving to Jakarta. She is aware that to get such work, she needs higher education. Her education had been curtailed in high school when her parents became heavily in debt. She is anxious to continue her education. Staying at the family house, I never saw her interact with other villagers even the neighbours. She says she does not mix with others because they do not consider education important and are not open minded.

Field notes, West Java Village

an important asset. Parents aspire for their children be educated at least to a level which could lead to formal and secure jobs (see Box 25). The greatest importance is given to having **school certificates which in recent years have become increasingly required to get work outside of the informal sector.** Waged migrants from North Sumatra Village shared with us that a certificate of senior high school (SMA) completion is essential for work in 'good' factories. Since factory work is frequently for



Graduation photos like these are a source of pride for families in rural areas that are able to send their children to higher education. School certificates are important for getting waged and/or salaried employment.

young women, we met many young men who had not bothered to bring their SMA certificates with them, although they conceded that more and more jobs nowadays require this, such as working as security guards. They nevertheless pointed out that fake certificates were easy to buy for around IDR 500,000 or, in Jakarta Urban Slum, people told us that a *Kartu Keluarga* (Family Card) can be altered to indicate a higher school qualification for about IDR 30,000.

'Certificate is good.'

(Migrants who only completed primary school, Tangerang Urban Industrial, on how school certificates lead to better, formal and more secure jobs)

Such is competition for work some factories in Tangerang Urban Industrial require not only senior high school certificate but also university certificate before considering a candidate for a position. A university certificate is also needed for work as an administrative staff or a school teacher. **More and more migrants recognize the importance of having a university degree to get work.** For example, daily labourers in Medan Urban Slum who graduated from senior high school told us they realize they need either S1 or D3 certificates to get better jobs. As found in the RCA study on research culture in universities (2017), the certificate matters more than the subject of the course and people often choose universities and courses that are easy to complete.

Nevertheless, many young people still choose to leave school without certification and we heard often from older migrants who regretted not continuing with school. Echoing others, a 45-year-old neighbour (North Sumatra Village) said he regretted that he did not get his SMA certificate and compared himself negatively to his two brothers, who work in an automotive company and as police officer, as well as his sister who earns 'so much more than me.'

Young people who aspire to continue with higher education are usually those who have a role model, particularly in the family, who has achieved success through continuing being in school. In Nusa Tenggara Village, we came across many examples of younger siblings following the example of their older siblings. For example, one young woman told

us she would go to the city to pursue higher education and to learn English because her sister had been successful doing this. One family in South Sulawesi Village told us about their daughter who won a scholarship to study in a big city in Java and now works as a lecturer in a university and serves as a role model for younger children in the family. But other young people in this community told us that they would rather become tomato or chili farmers with some aspiring to be in the military or the police force.

The next most **common challenge in finding work is not having the necessary skills**. People told us there are ways around this, such as shadowing a person who is already long in the profession (barber, Tangerang Urban Industrial), learning from someone 'more senior' (tailor, Medan Urban Slum and *ketopak* seller, Jakarta Urban Slum), or doing an apprenticeship (small scale factory or home industry workers, Jakarta Urban Slum). *'As long as you want to work, it doesn't matter if you don't have the skills,'* (garment home industry worker, Jakarta Urban Slum). One employer (Jakarta Urban Slum), a supervisor at a toothpaste assembly small industry, even told us that she is willing to personally show people how to do the work well as new workers sometimes do not do a good job.



This migrant trash reseller is calculating how much money he will make in the week. He buys used steel for IDR 3–3,300/kg and sells it for around IDR 3,600/kg. (Medan Urban Slum)



This migrant shoe factory worker sometimes brings home this thread which she can roll for getting additional income. The rolls will be used at the factory and she can earn IDR 30,000 for 12 bundles of the thread. (Tangerang Urban Industrial)

'What can you do? You'd end up working only in terminals.'

(migrants (Medan Urban Slum) on what those who choose not to migrate warn them before going)

However, people do recognize that there are many jobs that are closed to them if they do not have the necessary skills, especially jobs requiring good numeracy skills. **Commuter migrants (Type 2) must have skills because most only migrate for a short period of time, they do not have the possibility to do apprenticeship or to learn the skills on the job.** Salaried migrants (Type 5) and sometimes waged migrants (Type 4) shared with us that being able to speak English and conduct a good interview are important for them to secure work.

Study implication 17: Improve universal skills and competence certification

Certification rather than education per se has become a requirement to get jobs anywhere other than within the informal sector. Other RCA studies have noted that this has led to a proliferation of certificate-oriented educational institutions where quality of education has become secondary. It is easy to forge certificates and with the emphasis on connections to get work these sorts of requirement are easy to circumvent. This suggests a need to improve the regulation and accreditation of such institutions and centres providing training and unify certification standards.

The importance of leisure time

People shared that an important part of job choice and well-being is leisure time. **Most workers said they enjoyed leisure time late afternoon or evening after work**, hanging out with neighbours outside their houses. Men migrant workers in Tangerang Urban Industrial shared that they also spend their evenings drinking alcohol or smoking. Weekends are spent on recreational activities such as visiting the mall, the beach or entertainment centres. However waged workers (Type 4), particularly factory workers, usually missed these opportunities for social time as they finish work late and mostly stay in their rooms watching TV and often are required to do overtime at weekends. The long shifts also made them feel that they have no life outside of working.

For some, the weekend can also be used to visit their home village with people in Jakarta Urban Slum and Tangerang Urban Industrial telling us they visit home quite regularly, trying to do it at least once a month, since their *kampung* can be as close as 1.5 hours bus ride away, costing them only IDR 30,000 one way. **Across all study locations, Muslim migrants indicated that they try to go to the village to spend Eid al-Fitr while Christians aim to visit their *kampung* during Christmas; meaning most migrants go back to their villages at least once a year.** The exception was in Medan Urban Slum where they told us they only go to the village in case of *kemalangan* (misfortune) such as a death in the family. By contrast, people in Makassar Urban Periphery go to the village for a range of festivities, including family member weddings. Those who migrated to a different island go home less often than those whose *kampung* is only hours away because of high transport costs (sea tickets may cost as much as IDR 400,000 and air tickets IDR 15-20 million).

Most of the people who work as casual cash workers (Type 1, 2, and 3) told us their work was flexible enough to be able to take a day off when needed as this only mean they would forfeit earnings that day, although some bosses or supervisors could also be strict about workers' time off. Even waged migrants (Type 4) felt able to do this although missing one day



At night in Tangerang Urban Industrial, it was common for informal sellers (men) and local youth in particular to drink in the evenings to relax. This is often accompanied by playing cards, guitar, and texting/calling partners or love interests and may not end until the early morning.

of work might mean losing up to 15% of their monthly income due to them missing out on weekly or monthly bonuses. Except for kiosk owners, most self-employed migrants (Type 6) also seemed relaxed about taking time off and simply sacrificing the day's earnings.

For some migrants, homesickness is a challenge they have to face from being away from their *kampung*. This is usually the case for those who are still new to migration, often only within their first year of moving out of the village. For example, migrants we met in North Sumatra Village said to us the desire to be come back to the village is very strong. They said they miss the celebrations and the beautiful environment and told us, '*We always talk about going home for Christmas,*' even if in reality they could not because of financial reasons. **Yet for many, homesickness is never a problem.** People in Jakarta Urban Slum who are mostly long stay migrant (Type 1) did not talk to us about being homesick. They shared with us that as long as they can go back to the village once a year, they are content, recognising that their motivation is to earn '*as much as they can*' in the city and it has become common practice here for adult children to live separately from their parents.

Loneliness is another factor mentioned by migrants. As noted above, those who are accompanying others (Type 7) particularly feel lonely if they do not work themselves. Many also feel particularly isolated. *'It is emotionally draining,'* said a *'pukis'* (traditional snack) seller in Makassar Urban Periphery. He told us that if not for the encouragement from his friends back home when he went back after only spending three months in the city, he would not have considered migrating again. Factory workers who work long hours and stay in dormitories as well as those living in *kost* also shared they may feel lonely and separated from the community they reside in. **Migrants who socialize with their surroundings told us that they do not feel isolated living in urban areas.** They know their neighbours and often have family members or relatives also living nearby. Some, such as migrants in Medan Urban Slum, told us that it is only the first few years that are hard. After that, people tend to bring their family along with them to live in the urban area which keeps them from being lonely. Some marry within the urban community partly in order to have companionship.

Study implication 18: Migrants social lives are as important as their working lives

Urban planning to encourage migrants to settle and contribute to economic growth needs to recognise the importance that migrants attach to leisure and social interaction. This means ensuring reasonable working hours, adequate holidays, and providing physical space to encourage social interaction.

Physical and Environmental Capital - convenience and money saving are key

In this section we will look at facilities available in the cities which are considered assets by migrants.

Importance of access to market, health and education facilities

People shared with us that **they appreciate how facilities are often nearby in the city and they are usually of better quality than in villages.**

Health facilities (government and private hospitals and clinics as well as local pharmacies) are the most often mentioned as an important service to have close by. For example, one of 'our' families in Makassar Urban Slum is grateful that their house is a 10 minute *angkot* ride to the *puskesmas*, costing IDR 10,000 return as both mother and father have respiratory and rheumatic problems. Another woman shared she is glad that her mother in law lives in town (Jakarta Urban Slum) nearby hospitals and clinics as the village where she currently resides is far from what she considers a decent health facility. When her six-year-old son suffered from high fever, she decided to take him straight to the city to stay with her mother-in-law.

Being near markets is also considered an asset for both buyers and tradespeople. For example, one of 'our' neighbours in Jakarta Urban Slum told us how she values having the market nearby her house in the city as she was far from markets in the village, making it difficult for her to buy items she needed.

Parents are also glad that schools tend to be located nearby and for some, the schools are considered good alternatives to those in the village. *'In the kampung, school is not good,'* (parents, Medan Urban Slum). Students in Makassar Urban Periphery also told us that they consider schools in the city better and the students smarter. For parents in Jakarta Urban Slum, sending their children to school in the city is cost-saving as school fee is free due to the KJP (*Kartu Jakarta Pintar*-Smart Jakarta Card) social assistance while in the village they might still have to pay.

Access to technology

As rural electrification has become widespread and mobile telephone masts are situated throughout Indonesia, these technological advantages previously valued by those migrating to urban centres are less pronounced. Nevertheless, the use of technology may be more sophisticated. For example, from different study locations we learned that some students now engage in online trading such as the case

Table 9: Access to water, school, and health facilities in slum areas

Location	Water	Health	Education
Jakarta Urban Slum	Bathing area generally outside homes. People collect water near house. People pay those who has access to government water to share. Water access not constant (a few hours daily).	20 minute-walk. Still using traditional birth assistant.	30 minute-walk away.
Medan Urban Slum	Toilets attached or inside. Some has piped water others use wells.	Puskesmas nearby, close to the sub-district office.	Many schools, good access.
Makassar Urban Slum	Piped water access at home but some need to go to communal tap if they need more water during the day. Toilets/bathing inside. Common complaints about water availability (often only works at night).	10min with <i>angkot</i> .	10-15 min walk, good access.

of a young woman in Makassar Urban Periphery who started the business to help pay her way through university. She buys goods online such as bags and make-up and resells them to the people in her community. She told us she can get up to 30% profit and explained that it is only possible for her to do online trading in the city as it is possible for delivery services to easily find people's addresses in the city. Others shared how they are using mobile phones to provide services e.g. transport and food. More and more young migrants also consider taking up work as online transport providers and consider this a good source of income. For example, a newly hired swallow nest factory worker in Jakarta Urban Slum said her boyfriend is looking to propose soon because he has been making good money this way.

Living in a slum: trade-offs

Among the five urban locations RCA researchers stayed in for this study, three were described



An empty space in Jakarta Urban Slum being used for trash

by residents themselves as slums or having slum areas (*daerah kumuh* literally translated as dirty place): Jakarta Urban Slum, Medan Urban Slum, and Makassar Urban Slum. These are usually typified by dense illegal non-permanent houses, built very close to one another. Many shared with us that they often first settle in to these areas simply because it was possible to stay and build or rent a house there. Some also moved in because their relatives already lived there or because they heard there were job opportunities for them nearby (and they could exploit connections to get this work).

People shared with us that they are very much aware that their living condition in the slum is not ideal. There is constant fear of eviction



In Jakarta Urban Slum, some residents need to use public toilets as they don't have one of their own, or running water. This public toilet in the area was made in 2012 and is owned by one of the long-term migrants. Prices are IDR 1,000 for using the toilet, 2,000 for taking a bath, and 3,000-5,000 for taking water in buckets. The owner said he has a connection with the municipal water supply company. He has three public toilets around the community and says that in a month he can earn IDR 3-4 million.



Many residents in Medan Urban Slum, where people live on government land, have been told they will be evicted soon as new development in the area commences.



Part of the community in Medan Urban Slum.



The canal in Makassar Urban Slum.



A back entrance to the traditional market nearby Makassar Urban Slum.



One area of the Jakarta Urban Slum community.



A makeshift home in Jakarta Urban Slum. This family has lived in the community for more than 30 years.

(in Medan Urban Slum and Jakarta Urban Slum) (see Vulnerability section below) and they themselves consider the area crowded, unclean and sometimes unsafe. **Constant access to water continues to be a problem** in these areas. In Medan Urban Slum, people told us that they *'can't stand the water,'* as it is often murky, especially when they pumped it from wells. In Makassar Urban Slum, people often have to make use of the communal tap during the day as their home connections often only work in the evenings. In Jakarta Urban Slum, people pay a middleman (*'the owner of the water'*) for access to a tap for a few hours each day from which they fill as many water containers as possible. In 2015 when we stayed in this area this middleman was charging families IDR 40,000/month for a tap inside their home but most bought water from him at IDR 700/gallon but only used this for cooking and bathing. They buy bottled water in gallons for drinking (IDR 5000/gallon). Only three of the 70+ rooms in one area of the community had a toilet while others use a communal toilet for which they pay IDR 1000 per use. The same middleman supplies electricity to each home at IDR 40,000 per month. Speaking with residents in 2015, they felt that the payment of various charges to this middleman provided a form of security as he had a stake in ensuring they were not evicted. **Table 9** provides a summary of access to water, school and health facilities in the three slum areas.

Despite the living conditions, people indicated that they made an active choice to



With many homes down small alleys or along the canal, children often play alongside, and in, the busy canal area (Makassar Urban Slum)

stay in the slum. The main reason is financial, *'The slum is cheap,'* (various people, Jakarta Urban Slum). Rents in the slum may be only half of what they would have to pay for a rented room elsewhere. Some Type 5 migrants such as some university students we met in Makassar Urban Slum also choose to live in *kost* in or near the slum area to save on rent. In Jakarta Urban Slum, renting a 2m by 3m room with an outside kitchen and washing area costs between IDR 175,000 to IDR 300,000/month compared to the equivalent (or often smaller) in formal settlements which cost IDR 300,000 to IDR 500,000/month. As typical wage and earnings in Jakarta Urban Slum are around IDR 1.7 million to IDR 2 million, rent in the slum amounts to 10% to 15% of income. In 2015 residents told us they had been offered *'rusun'* (cheap apartments) with the first three months rent free. Although they were told rent would be IDR 400,000/month they were concerned that there were other running costs (utilities, insurance, security, cleaning) they would be required to pay. They told of people who had *'sold their rights to the rusun'* and knew of *'many people who return from rusun because they couldn't afford it'*. By contrast to the cheap rents in the Jakarta Urban Slum, in Tangerang Urban Industrial, mostly an industrial area where migrants live in permanent rented rooms and houses, the cost of housing is nearly half of people's monthly income.

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Re-housing is not the answer

Bu Adi lives in a rented house in a slum area but has experienced eviction many times here. Last time it happened, they were offered an apartment. *'It was especially allocated for us, that rumah susun (apartment).'* But she declined to move because *'The place is really far from our work!'* Her husband works as a trash recycler, collecting plastic bottles around the slum area. Her two daughters both work at a swallow nest factory and can walk to their jobs every day, taking a short ferry crossing for IDR 2,000 return. She was dismissive of the promise that the apartment would be *'free'* as it actually meant they were absolved of paying rent only for the first two months. After that, not only would they have to pay full rent, they would also have to pay management fees, electricity and water bill. Furthermore, she calculated that they would have to pay five times as much for transportation to work than they did currently. *'How can we afford that?'*

Field notes, Jakarta Urban Slum

Many own a house in the slum and it is this ownership that is important for them as it is considered better than renting. *'No matter how dirty, no matter how messy, we own our house,'* was a sentiment shared by many in Medan Urban Slum. *'Even if our life is like this, at least we don't have to pay rent,'* (mother, Jakarta Urban Slum). She also pointed out that those living in more permanent locations also face water shortages so *'what is the advantage?'*

Slum residents frequently shared that **savings on accommodation frees up money to pay for other things that are considered more important, such as their children's education.** For example, a kiosk owner (Jakarta Urban Slum) we met, like others, actively made the decision to live in the slum because she could make and save enough to afford for her children's schooling. But a few we met in this area in 2015 said they preferred to *'spend on appearance'* (mother) or said things along the lines of, *'If get more money I will colour my hair not spend on education'* (young mother) and there are many house to house vendors selling clothes, underwear and make-up. All migrants we stayed with had phones, TVs and other electronic devices. All with children spent large sums daily on snacks for the children (IDR 20,000 per child per day).

People also live in slums because of the proximity to their place of work and this saves on transport costs. For example, one of 'our' mothers in Jakarta Urban Slum works as a cleaner in a park adjacent to her house. *'Can you imagine if I move? I would have to pay for transportation!'* This contrasts with the situation in Makassar where factories have been built on the outskirts of the city and people have to commute. **The location of slums on the other hand provide for thriving micro-economies,** including factory work, home industries, recycling, petty trade and food vending and there is little need to leave the area. Some easily claim 'un-opened' land and put up simple accommodation to rent out.

'We've been here a long time, we won't consider moving'

(people living in Makassar Urban Slum)

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To move out of the slum or not?

Rumours suggest that most people in this area will be evicted very soon. People speculate this will happen after the election for Governor in June 2018. Mak Emah (65) was concerned about this. She is currently living alone in the slum, working as a traditional masseuse and midwife. Her four children live elsewhere in Batam and Medan. One daughter has suggested she lives with her in Batam but Mak Emah says *'I can still work and I have friends here, and I enjoy living in this neighbourhood.'* But some parts of the slum have been abandoned already, *'They must have gone somewhere... maybe back to the village or have moved to other cities.'* The rail development project is getting closer to her neighbourhood and she feels she may well have to take up her daughter's offer to move to Batam.

Field notes, Medan Urban Slum

Many people living in all three study slum areas have lived there for decades and **they feel it is home and do not see any reason to leave.** *'This is where we've been, why would we move?'* (young mother, Makassar Urban Slum) was a common comment in Makassar Urban Slum but nevertheless people aspired for better housing or to renovate their current home within the slum. The main reason given are the opportunities to socialize with one another. People tend to know their neighbours and we observed them chatting each afternoon in front of their houses. This, they say makes them feel they belong in a community and similar to their lives in the village.

The long time residents feel they have become used to slum living conditions and



Although people in Jakarta Urban Slum said that people generally *'mind their own business,'* they like the opportunity to chat and socialize with their neighbours and say this is one of the reasons they like to stay here.



This migrant said that after working for 15 years he has been able to buy his own house, paying for it in installments (Makassar Urban Periphery)

are not too bothered by it anymore, compared to when they first arrived in the area. They say they are used to the abundance of trash, the high temperatures and abundant mosquitoes. RCA researchers who lived in these slums were surprised by how by the second or third day, they stopped noticing the trash and the smells.

Nevertheless, we met a few who did aspire to move out of the slum. For example, a 48-year-old goods seller (Medan Urban Slum) shared he considered himself a successful migrant when he could finally move out from the slum area. *'I lived all my life in the slum. That was hell,'* and feels that *'the dream to get out of the place is in everyone's head.'* Some, having made enough money, have moved out of the slum but mostly to return to the village where there is *'a better environment'*, a place with less criminal activities and drug use. Some others in Medan Urban Slum told us that they are waiting for their children to finish senior high school before deciding to move.

When staying around the Jakarta Urban Slum area in 2015, we found another reason why people preferred living in the slums typified by the comment *'if we live in formal place people will gossip,'* (woman, Jakarta Urban Slum). There was a strong sense of social support but combined with the notion not to pry into people's history. The area has a history of criminal activity and people have adopted a code of silence making it easy, people shared, to get on with life under the radar.

Study implication 19:

Slum re-housing schemes must meet social capital needs and not increase costs

The reasons people like to live in slums mirror their view of perceived assets. The slum provides either a village feel to community or a haven for those involved with less socially acceptable activities. The social capital created in such communities is critical in people's choice to stay there. The other key reason is economy; these are cheap places to stay, close to income earning opportunities, and fulfil the other key element for migrants of enabling them to maximize the profits made. People will put up with the downsides if it means they can make money and enjoy leisure time. Moving people to housing developments may fracture social capital and entail extra costs.

Political Capital - 'too little information and too much hassle'

Political capital covers legal and political aspects of migrants' lives including the need for documentation. This section also looks at the range of institutions offering support to migrant workers.

Legal and Institutional Requirements for Living in Urban Areas

Migrants are expected to fulfill legal requirements for residence in urban areas and are required to have updated the following documentation:

- The *Kartu Tanda Penduduk* (KTP, Indonesian Identity Card) - needed to prove residence and access some government services,
- *Kartu keluarga* (Family card) confirms identity and relationship of those residing in one house together.

A KTP is issued at the RW/RT level where a person resides. The latest nationwide e-KTP contains a microchip, carries biometric data, and is used to apply for a range of Government services. Despite the launch of the national KTP in 2004 and e-KTP in 2011, most people we



This migrant in Makassar Urban Slum says that his blood donor card is more useful than his KTP, as he often donates blood and the card can also be used for identification

met only have the pre-2004 regional KTP. **Long stay migrants in Jakarta Urban Slum told us that they updated these when they first came to the city as proof of residence but then had not bothered to update when they moved within the city.** They generally felt this was not a problem as long as the KTP indicated they lived in the city and only faced a problem when extending the expiry of the card (every five years) and were required to return to the city office where they first registered.

Some others had not bothered to update their 'village' KTP as they saw no value in having a 'city' KTP and finding the administrative processes 'a hassle'. However, many waged migrants (Type 4) find that they have to update their KTP as **some companies, such as factories in Jakarta Urban Slum and Tangerang Urban Industrial, require their applicants to be able to prove city residence.** Some people told us that they meet this requirement by having two KTPs; one for their village and another indicating city residence. As noted above, migrants in Tangerang Urban Industrial noted this as a good reason to have 'inside connections' to circumvent these requirements when applying for work in factories. The administrative 'hassle' requires a *Surat Pindah* (Relocation Notification) and *Surat Pengantar* (Cover Letter), issued by one's origin Village Office. Submission of a *Surat Pindah* has become a requirement for everyone who resides in some neighbourhoods (e.g. Medan Urban Slum) as a security measure as places have become over-crowded and crime is increasing. To illustrate this, a rickshaw driver (Medan Urban Slum) described how his neighbour had to return to his village on a different island in order to get the necessary

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Documentation needed to apply for jobs

Migrants in Tangerang Urban Industrial shared with us the typical required administration process when applying for a job. They have to provide an application letter, an SKCK (Police Clearance), a resume, and sometimes, they are even asked for a yellow card (a job applicant card) issued by the *Menaker* (Ministry of Manpower) or an NPWP (taxpayer card), especially if they are applying for office work at the airport. Some of these documents have to be prepared by going to the *kelurahan* in their village. Waged migrants (type 4) from West Java Village also talked to us about what are usually required of them when applying for a position. They need to submit a copy of their KTP and work resume, which is typically 2 pages, stating their name, their birth date, and their education level. The resume needs to be prepared using a computer which is only available at computer shops near the sub district level office; no one in the village owns a laptop or a computer. They also need to submit a copy of their school certificates which will then be sent by post. They told us that all of these administrative requirements 'cost us a small fortune' and constitutes a significant barrier for some who hope to migrate for better and more secure income sources.

Compilation from field notes

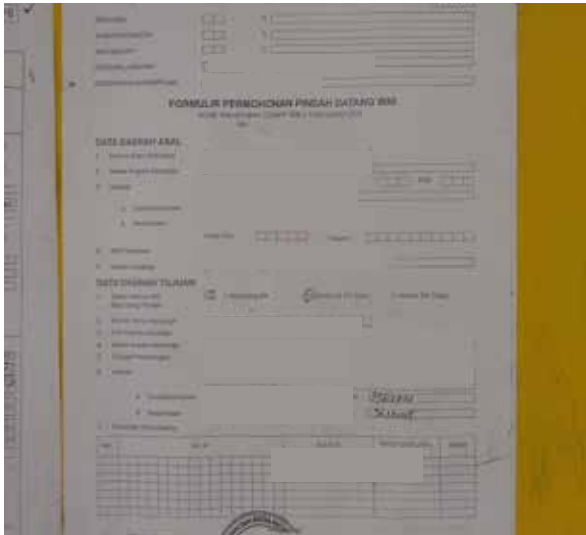
Surat Pindah.

The photos on page 71 are notes from two *kelurahan* in Jakarta detailing requirements for getting a KTP and birth certificate. All were noted by officials to be free of charge. A breakdown of the requirements for getting a KTP, KK, and birth certificate are provided in **Table 10**. The purpose and functionality of each document is based on the information shared with us by people during the study.

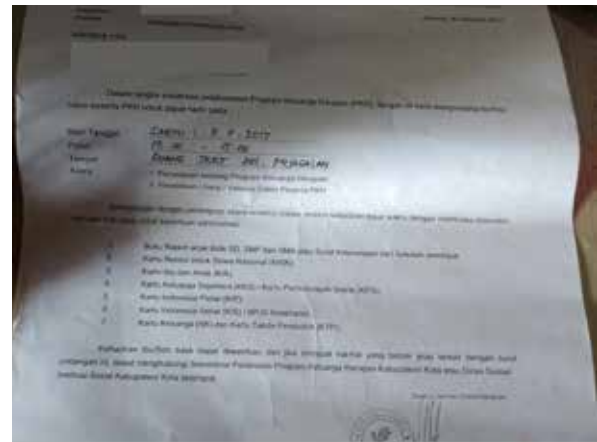
We were informed by some officials that these requirements are standardized across Indonesia although we found that some *kelurahan* might add additional requirements in addition to those listed in Table 10. For example, in order for newcomers to make a KTP in two *kelurahan* we visited in South Jakarta, people are also required to submit a confirmation of residence letter from an existing local resident or the management of an apartment complex confirming that the applicant is residing in the area, along with a marriage certificate (if applicable) and school and birth certificates.

For a birth certificate, some *kelurahan*, e.g. several different ones in South and North

Jakarta, specify that the KTP and KK of the parents need to be issued within the city where that *kelurahan* is located. The length of time needed for the issuance of these three documents/certificates varied (at the *kelurahan* we visited) between one day (if the person moves in from a different *kelurahan* but within Jakarta) to 14 working days (more or less three weeks in total).



A *Surat Pindah* (relocation letter) is an important document for being able to update one's identity card and family documents to reflect new addresses in a city. However, the document needs to be obtained from one's home village leaving many to forego updating their identity card altogether, or paying IDR 500-800,000 to *nembak* the document.



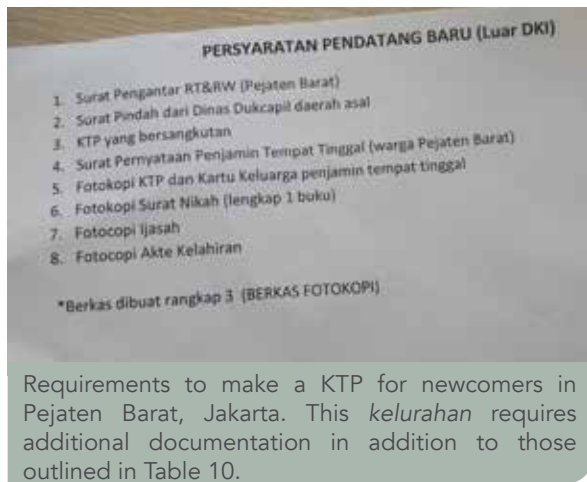
For receiving one of the social assistance programs, people are asked to show a variety of documentation including, among others, Kartu Keluarga, KTP, Kartu Indonesia Sehat/BJPS, and Kartu Indonesia Pintar.

Many people told us they use *nembak* (speed money/bribes) to circumvent administrative requirements for KTP and document like the *Surah Pindah*. *Kelurahan* officials confirmed that although KTP application is free, many people still choose to pay 'a person who can help'. People in Jakarta Urban Slum told us that they pay between IDR 300,000 to IDR 800,000 but not without risk as some shared they had been scammed. 'I spent around 300 to 400 thousand, but it's just gone,' a trash collector shared. In 2015 we heard that the RT would help renew KTP for residents in Jakarta Urban Slum for IDR 150,000 as people were 'afraid to go to the (*Kelurahan*) office as you have to be clean,

Table 10: Requirements for KTP, KK, and birth certificates

Document	Issuing authority	Requirements	Purpose/functionality
KTP	Kecamatan office	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cover letter from RT/RW Copy of KK Copy of (village) KTP Relocation letter from place of origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Applying for work To qualify for social assistance To be eligible for community or citywide support such as free immunization or subsidized fuel
KK	Kecamatan office	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cover letter from RT/RW and <i>kelurahan</i> Copy of birth notification/birth certificate, marriage certificate, or divorce certificate A letter indicating intent to stay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To qualify for social assistance
Birth Certificate	Disdukcapil office	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Birth notification from hospital or certified midwife Copy of KTP Copy of KK (the name of the individual should have been included in the KK) Copy of marriage certificate, and/or divorce certificate including copy of divorce decision from a religious court Copy of KTP of two witnesses who are family members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To be eligible for BPJS and school assistance programmes

Note: All of these documents may require additional documents as requested by individual offices, as shared with us by people during the study and evidenced by visits to various *kelurahan* in Jakarta and Bandung.



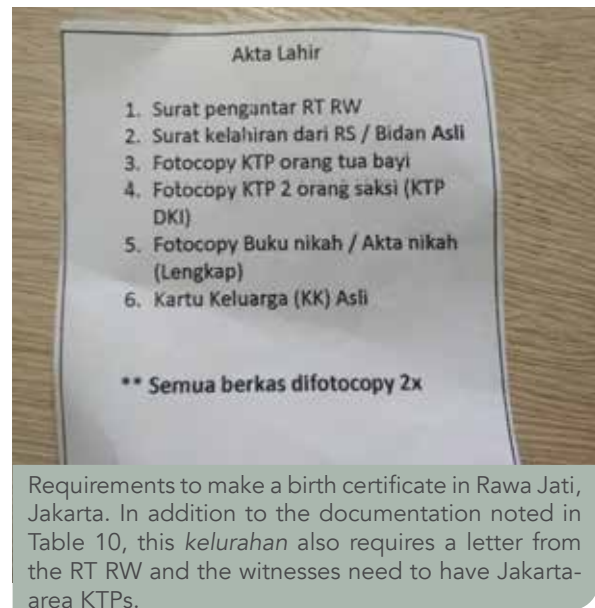
Requirements to make a KTP for newcomers in Pejaten Barat, Jakarta. This *kelurahan* requires additional documentation in addition to those outlined in Table 10.

they ask lots of questions, too complicated, (man, Jakarta Urban Slum).

In Makassar Urban Periphery, people told us that even if they had a *Surat Pindah*, they still pay around IDR 100,000 'thank you money' usually to the head of the RT to process the KTP. People in Makassar Urban Periphery told us that many tried unsuccessfully to get the e-KTP but there have been no forms available for the past three years. Instead people have been issued with a *Surat Keterangan* (official letter) explaining that the KTP is under process and confirming city residence. This *Surat Keterangan* has to be renewed every six months.

Kartu Keluarga (Family Card) is supposed to be updated as well and details all family residing together. Migrants moving in with family already residing in town add their name to their KK making this another reason why migrants choose to live with their relatives for a while especially when they just arrive in the city. Families in Makassar Urban Slum felt they had not had the right information from the *kelurahan* office and their children missed out on school grants because their children's names were not included on their KK.

Birth certification is important to migrants whilst many in rural areas have not bothered with this. Parents in Jakarta Urban Slum indicated that a priority on moving to the city was to get birth certificates for their children and are active in registering newborns in order for their children to be eligible for BPJS and school assistance programmes. The majority of migrants we met in Medan Urban Slum told us that they do not have birth certificates for



Requirements to make a birth certificate in Rawa Jati, Jakarta. In addition to the documentation noted in Table 10, this *kelurahan* also requires a letter from the RT RW and the witnesses need to have Jakarta-area KTPs.



This sign is posted on the wall of a *Disdukcapil* office in Bandung and reads, 'There is no cost in receiving public service. Complaints can be directed to the mayor's desk.' It then gives a number where a SMS message may be sent.

themselves or their children. Although state hospitals offer automatic birth registration, those who give birth elsewhere have to register births at the sub-district office where the baby was born on presentation of a *Surat Lahir* (Birth Notification) they should receive when the baby is born.

Although many we met did not see much benefit from updating the residence status of their documents **others saw an advantage in having a 'city' KTP, up to date KK and birth certificates. A KTP is often the basis of eligibility of different social assistance.** One of 'our' families in Medan Urban Slum told us their children do not get education social assistance because their father does not have a 'city' KTP as he regularly moves for work. Being a 'follow the money' migrant (Type 3), he has been moving around quite a lot on a yearly

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Unregulated factory work – avoiding need for documentation

I met Joko (19) on my third day staying in the kost. He had been ill and he still did not look well, 'I have to go to work today as Saturday is pay day'. He loads trucks at a factory which produces prefabricated walls. 'I want to cry when I hear the truck arrives... it means I will have lower back pain for several days from loading the prefabricated walls. I get IDR 75,000 per day excluding overtime. I want to move from this factory, the work is too hard for a skinny person like me.' He then showed me his skinny arm. 'I heard the socks company is recruiting, but the pay is low, maybe I will wait for another factory to open. The glue company pay workers good money. I heard they pay IDR 95,000 per day only to put glue into containers- this is better than lifting prefabricated walls.' None of the many factories are operating legally in this area. After the 1998 Jakarta riots a lot of factory owners moved here to this abandoned warehouse area but officially they should be used as warehouses not converted to factories. Young people without school certificates are attracted to this area 'as long as you are below 30, healthy and want to work, you can apply. But it is better if you know someone in the factory that can guarantee you to the boss, you will get accepted quicker'.

Field notes, Tangerang Urban Industrial

basis. 'The government doesn't really pay attention to people like us,' he complained on the difficulty of updating KTP when constantly changing workplaces.

Migrants from West Java Village told us they are only eligible for BPJS (National Health Insurance) if they have 'city' KTP. Some people had used *nembak* to get their BPJS but most informal sector workers had not taken up BPJS citing 'hassle' and not seeing a need for health insurance as the main reasons for non up-take. Specifically, for people in Makassar Urban Periphery, having a 'city' KTP means access to free immunization for children and access to subsidized liquid petroleum (LPG) (IDR 5,000 to IDR 8,000 less than normal price). Another important reason given by slum residents is to prove entitlement for compensation if evicted otherwise 'the police might dump you back in the village,' (Jakarta Urban Slum).

When staying in the area of Jakarta Urban Slum in 2015, we found that in some parts of the slum only about 10% had city KTP. They told us this was because they have no official address and, at that time, no RT. For some, this had led them

to borrow KTP cards from neighbours (for a small fee) in order to get work and claim wages.

Study implication 20: Acquiring needed documentation for employment needs to be simplified

Those without documentation because of costs, 'hassle', lack of official address (or, as other RCA studies have pointed out, administrative errors) face increasing problems securing work, especially in the formal sector, as well as missing out on entitlements such as health and education assistance. There is a need to provide more information and to simplify the administrative processes, such as through a 'one stop' local and accessible system.

Key institutions supporting migrants

The institutions that are most important to migrants we met are all local, namely RT, *paguyubans* and religious organisations. Migrants make efforts to connect with their RTs and work through them to access information from the *kelurahan* level. *Paguyuban* are cultural or profession-based organisations which offer local support to members. Local religious organisations also provide support. Only in Tangerang Urban Industrial were any private organisations apparent in helping migrants.

The RT

The Head of RT is often the first person migrants would interact with for any administrative needs and some build a close relationship with their Head of RT who offers help in getting KTP and social assistance entitlements. For example, one of 'our' neighbours in Jakarta Urban Slum recently found out from other neighbours that she is eligible for Raskin (Rice for the Poor assistance), handed over her KPS card (*Kartu Perlindungan Sosial-Social Assistance Card*) to the Head of RT in order for her to collect the rice on her behalf, 'I'll just do it for you. I'm going that direction anyway and you don't know where it is right? I'll explain to you where it is the next time.' But the Head of RT shared she often does not have the information about recipients and cannot help as much as she would like to.

People in Makassar Urban Slum also told us that the most important thing for a migrant is to know the Head of RT who can help navigate administrative issues at the *kelurahan* level including getting approval to build your house.

Paguyuban

Paguyuban (literally translates as 'the community') are informal organisations comprising members, usually with shared origins but also professions. In Makassar Urban Periphery, Makassar Urban Slum, and Medan Urban Slum, the *paguyuban* is seen as a very useful source of information. Members share with each other information on where to stay, where to find jobs, and provide general advice about living in the city. **People told us these organisations provide them with the sense of community, connect them with people from their home location, often share news from home, and help them in not feeling alone.** *Paguyuban* often provide support to members needing help, such as ill health or funeral expenses. *Paguyuban* usually meet once a month and sometimes hold events during special occasions. The membership is usually free although some do charge a monthly fee.

In Makassar Urban Periphery, *paguyuban* may be job-based, for example the *pete-pete drivers* helps members in need and ensures that they can work safely. A driver told us that the *paguyuban* intervenes in problems, including when the police confiscates licenses. *'They're my family here,'* said a *pete-pete* driver, talking about the importance of their *paguyuban*. Meatball sellers (Makassar Urban Periphery) also have a *paguyuban* which organized donations to help victims of the earthquake in Yogyakarta because many of their members were from the area. University students in Makassar Urban Periphery have a *paguyuban* as well where they build network and receive information on job opportunities. They keep up with each other through Whatsapp and also have a routine meet up with members.

Some people opt out from being in *paguyuban*. For example, some people we met in Medan Urban Slum shared they are uncomfortable with the strong religious ethos of some *paguyuban*



Many migrants have simple smartphones and use apps like WhatsApp and Facebook to connect with other migrants and family and friends back home.

which require adherence to (such as going to church together at Christmas). *'It's too religious and too strict with culture.'*

Religious organisations

Others, both men and women, sought out religious institutions to make connection with others. **Some religious institutions provide help for migrants especially when they first arrive.** Across urban study locations but especially Tangerang Urban Industrial and Makassar Urban Periphery, **people talked to us about *pengajian* (Koran recitation group) and how they could always go there to seek emotional and spiritual support.** People we met in Makassar Urban Periphery know the *ustadz* (religious teacher) of the *pengajian* well and often come to him to ask questions, particularly in relation to religion or morality. In Tangerang Urban Industrial, *pengajian* is attended by young migrants and those who run the *pengajian* told us that they did specifically encourage young migrants to attend in the hope that they can ensure that these young migrants are 'being good.'

Church is also a place where some migrants meet each other and forge a connection. In Medan Urban Slum, 200 families from the same home area are part of the congregation of one church providing a platform for networking and friendship but no material support. Two years ago, another charismatic church in Medan Urban Slum opened a shelter for new migrants before they find their own place, but faces criticism that it indoctrinates the young migrants.

Private sector institutions

In Tangerang Urban Industrial, **several private institutions provide help for migrants in job seeking**. These fall into two categories: training centres which link trainees to job opportunities and private job placement enterprises or 'foundations'. The latter requires a IDR 250,000 registration fee and a work finding fee of IDR 2 million. The foundation will cover wages if one is sacked and between jobs. Many companies in Tangerang Urban Industrial also use this foundation to link with job seekers which are already vetted by the foundation. We did not come across anything similar in the other urban study locations.

Study implication 21: Provide needed settlement information through RT and trusted local organisations

Information for migrants will be most efficiently channelled at the local level though the RT and existing local organisations such as *paguyuban* and religious organisations, all of which are known and trusted.

Vulnerability

As part of the Livelihoods Analysis, we examined critical trends as well as risks, uncertainty, shocks and seasonality, over which people have limited or no control. In this context we looked particularly at the capacity of households or

individuals to prevent, mitigate or cope with risk.

Risk of eviction

People we talked with in two of the slums we stayed in are aware that they are living on government owned land which made them illegal squatters. They shared they have no certificate to prove the ownership of either their house or the land they built on yet they may have lived in the area for decades. Many of them have experienced evictions numerous times during that period of time. But some are newcomers, living in rented rooms built by long term residents and work around the area, mostly in factories, at the port or terminals.

Those who have lived in the slum for years often shared stories of evictions they had experienced. In Jakarta Urban Slum; there have been around five evictions since 2005. People told us that the evictions used to be largely 'tokenistic'. '*Pemda*' (*pemerintah daerah*, regional government) would come, take photos, and then they would tear down the houses. But they would be gone within half an hour and the residents could then easily rebuild the houses. '*They know we're here. This is only to humour them that we got evicted.*' But the last eviction in 2015 was seen by people as the 'real' one because the *Pemda* didn't leave after they have dismantled the houses. People then scrambled to find a new 'spot' to re-assemble their salvaged partitions or to rent a place to stay



People in many areas of Medan Urban Slum say they face a near constant threat of eviction.



While some people in Medan Urban Slum are trying to fight the evictions happening in the area (this anti-eviction banner is titled, 'the cry of people's sufferings'), overall people told us that they understand that this is government land and know that at some point they will be forced to move.

People in Medan Urban Slum told us that they have accepted the fact that they have had to move around quite often following forced evictions, an inherent risk of living illegally on government-owned land. They are anticipating eviction at the end of the year (2017) as some people have already received notification letters. Usually they receive three warning letters before eviction happens. Despite some protest most accept the tenet of the eviction notice and are already scouting for the next place to re-locate or securing lease for their new place of business. They have been promised IDR 1.5 million compensation but feel this is paltry considering monthly rents could be up to IDR 1 million, especially if one also uses the space for a kiosk. They referred to this compensation money as 'uang paku' (money for nails, i.e. just enough to buy the nails for a



The owner of this coconut beverage stall has received three letters warning her that her stall will be demolished. She said she is now just waiting for the day to arrive.

new house).

Some lost significant livelihood on eviction.

One of 'our' neighbours in Medan Urban Slum told us she cried during the eviction and remains very angry about what happened. A *bengkel* (small car workshop) owner in Jakarta Urban Slum suffered a significant setback when he was evicted a few years ago. At that time, he had a steady income from rented out rooms and plans to open a permanent automotive workshop but lost all his investment and received only small compensation for the loss of the physical structures only. *'I've lived here for so many years. Why was not that recognized? I understand I live illegally but doesn't it account for something that I've been here for so long?'*

Occupational risks

Occupational risks were generally downplayed as people shared that they were used to them, accepted them and indicated it was the nature of the work available. Those having to walk or take motorbikes on crowded streets invariably mentioned the possibility of road accidents and the informal self-employed street vendors and transport providers we met mostly did not have any form of insurance. For example, a *ketoprak* seller in Jakarta Urban Slum shared that, like others, he is increasingly worried about driving his loaded motorbike on busy roads with large trucks. In Makassar Urban Periphery, drivers admitted that they themselves were the problem, often driving too fast and ignoring traffic signs to earn as much money as possible.

Those we met in Medan Urban Slum and Tangerang Urban Industrial who worked on



The vendors near the rail track in Medan Urban Slum did not think there was a risk - 'We are used to this, when we hear the train coming we just move our stuff off the tracks.'

construction sites talked about back pain and muscle strain from carrying heavy loads, especially among those who were in their 50s. Construction workers also indicated that there were many accidents on construction sites. Their descriptions and our observations indicated that there was very little use of safety equipment such as helmets, visors, gloves and boots unless *'working for a good company because we get fined IDR 100,000 if we don't work safely,'* (Makassar Urban Periphery). While some construction workers have insurance, **casual workers we met on the whole did not have insurance and seemed unsure how to access it.**

Those working in non-registered factories often established in warehouses or garages also downplayed the risks, often because they felt this was the only work they could get because they were under-age, above recruitment age or did not have school certificates. Concerns about the conditions were only shared with us by those not working in these factories. Some places banned pregnant women from working in them, for example a latex glove factory in Medan Urban Slum because of fumes. But others provided little protection from occupational hazards and those working in unregistered factories have little opportunity for recourse and worry that if they complain the Department of Labour might close down their source of livelihood.

Out of sixty workers in a range of jobs including cleaners, drivers, food vendors, factory workers,

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Risks working in swallow nest factories

Young women told us that it is easy to get work in the swallow nest factories (mostly supplying the Chinese market) as you don't need to show ID or have high school certificates. They also shared that it is easy to quit whenever you want to. But former workers told us that the bright lights that they had to work under to clean the nests had affected their eyesight. For example, one who had worked there three years shared that her eyes were *'always blurry since working there'*. Current young workers told us *'after a day working our eyes are blurred'* because of the bright light. Furthermore, chemicals are used to help clean the nests and the women workers don't know what these are but worry about inhaling them. They feel they have little say in the working conditions as this work is easy to get.

Field notes, Jakarta Urban Slum

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Increased competition leads to fights

The *pete-pete* drivers in Makassar Urban Periphery have established a *paguyuban* (association) of drivers to foster greater respect between drivers following increased physical fighting over competition for routes and passengers. One driver shared how he had fought with another driver who constantly harassed him. *Pedi-cab* drivers also shared that fights break out over who carries goods for whom.

Field notes, Makassar Urban Periphery

and store assistants we chatted to about health insurance **only five had BPJS and these had it provided by their employers including state and private employers.** Some shared that they did not *'believe in health insurance'* or thought it was a waste of money. *'We don't plan to be ill and are rarely ill... so it is easier to pay IDR 15,000 when you are sick rather than insurance,'* (Tangerang Urban Industrial). This reflects findings from other RCA studies which have shown that people may be confused by, or reluctant to use, health insurance. Some of these reasons include how people have used medical care in the past (with many self-medicating and/or using traditional medicine); and a common belief that private providers give better medicine (influenced by a perception that *'free'* usually means lower quality and by experiences where *puskesmas* have been out of medicine or said to always just provide something *'generic'* regardless of the illness).²⁴ **Self-employed, casually employed or those working for small or unregistered factories did not have health insurance.** For example, a *pete-pete* driver in Makassar shared how he took good care of his health and has *'even given up palm wine'* because, like many other self-employed workers we met, he does not have BPJS and worries about the costs of medical care without this insurance.

We came across many migrants working in unregistered enterprises, some operating openly while others more clandestinely (e.g.

²⁴ Reality Check Approach. (2016 March). *Insights Paper: People's perspectives on the national health insurance scheme.* Jakarta, Indonesia.

²⁵ The Indonesian word *'janda,'* while most often translated as *'widow,'* can also mean *'divorcee'* and informally it is often used interchangeably to refer to any single or separated mother, or for older women who are living on their own.

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No insurance

A construction materials pick-up driver shared that not only had he suffered a serious road accident a few years ago but he had also, on another occasion, damaged the pick-up he was driving. He was told he was liable for the cost as it was deemed his fault and because he had no money at the time he had to spend a night in custody. The driver felt aggrieved that his employer insisted he should pay for the damage.

Field notes, Makassar Urban Periphery

in unmarked warehouse in Tangerang Urban Industrial). *Pukis* sellers in Makassar Urban Periphery told us that they assumed their boss was not operating legally to avoid tax and, as a result, was very secretive about his business and the employment and accommodation arrangements he made for his employees.

In addition to these unregistered enterprises, **we also met those who were involved in entirely illegal activities such as drug trading, theft of oil and trade in other stolen goods.** People shared that they felt teenage boys in Makassar Urban Slum were at risk of becoming involved in the drug trade, especially seeing peers leaving school and making 'easy money'. Primary school age boys here are recruited as drug runners and introduced to glue sniffing. One of 'our' mothers here indicated that boys felt forced to get involved. A recent teen arrival shared that he avoided hanging out with kids from this area 'because there are many bad people here' and decided to maintain friendship with school friends from where he used to live. We observed those involved in siphoning off oil from tankers in Medan Urban Slum taking huge risks clambering over the trucks and seemed totally unconcerned about smoking among inflammable materials or inhaling vehicle fumes (while our researchers developed coughs from this exposure).

'If I behave well with the authorities, then it will be OK.'

(Recycling business man, explaining how to continue with illegal activities in Medan Urban Slum)

Trash collectors in Jakarta Urban Slum told us that initially the stench had been unbearable but that they 'got used to it'. Others in Makassar Urban Periphery felt that the vest and

gloves provided for this work were inadequate protection. The money that can be made to some is felt to be worth the discomfort. For example, a woman (Jakarta Urban Slum) shared, 'Many people don't want to do this work because it is dirty and smelly but I can make up to IDR 100,000 per day. I'm very happy about that.' Those we met cleaning drains in Makassar Urban Slum described filthy work and a fear of disease.

Study implication 22:

More information required by migrants on employers responsibility and liability

While unregistered and unregulated businesses continue to operate, workers are especially vulnerable to occupational risks. Information about risks and employers' responsibility and liability needs to be readily available through the informal and local channels noted above. Those most at risk are often those with low education and minimal documentation.

Environmental risk

The ponds behind our community in Medan Urban Slum have become a dumping ground for waste for the oil palm industry and water used to wash down the oil trucks. People also talked to us about the crowdedness of where they live. 'Like pigs. How did I manage to live there for years?' said 'our' brother in North Sumatra Village referring to how people live in very small spaces with a dense population. People, particularly those in Makassar Urban Periphery but also some in the three slum areas, also pointed out to us that in order to accommodate so many new people, houses are built very close to one another nowadays with no one having any space for a garden or even a porch. Not only that it makes people feel the area becoming too crowded, they are also concerned of the trash situation and how the drains have increasingly turned murky, becoming sources of mosquitos. Some others are weary of the constant influx of newcomers because of a different reason. People in Jakarta Urban Slum told us that they are concerned of the fast growth of the slum because the more people coming in, the more visible they

became and the more frequent evictions are going to happen.

Crime and security

People also noted how **the slum where they live is often regarded by others as a dangerous area, a sentiment they themselves share.** They told us that there are crimes and drug dealings around the area which made them sometimes feeling unsafe. Some parents are wary that their teenagers might experience 'bad influence' from other youngsters. For example, a mother in Jakarta Urban Slum decided to send her youngest child to a boarding school in the village when he started to come home late, hanging out with his friends. *'They might be into drugs,'* she worried.

Some areas in the slum are considered 'worse' than others. In Jakarta Urban Slum, the locations directly under the bridge are seen to be worse. *'I'm lucky living in the park rather than under the bridge, it's too crowded there,'* (food vendor, Jakarta Urban Slum). One of our researchers in Jakarta Urban Slum was often asked by others, *'You're not afraid living under the bridge?'* an area renowned for *jambret* (bag snatching) and robberies. In Makassar Urban Slum and Medan Urban Slum, particular streets are singled out as areas with drug problems. Many women living in Makassar Urban Slum are have husbands who are currently in jail. They often openly discuss this situation with us during our stay. *'My husband is in jail because of jewelry fraud,'* (see **Box 33**).

Some areas we stayed in were regarded as 'gang areas' and we were advised to stay inside at night. These areas were well known as such. Women in one such area in the Makassar Urban Slum location were more likely to talk about feeling unsafe and were strict in ensuring children were inside the house by 9pm. The daughter of 'our' family who lives in Makassar Urban Slum confirmed this. She lives in an area where drunken men often make a scene in the evening and fights break out between gangs. She also told us she is uncomfortable that there is a brothel nearby her house. *'There are bad girls there.'* In Makassar Urban Periphery, people referred to Makassar Urban Slum as dangerous and an area where there was much

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'Semuanya janda²⁵ di sini (all of us are 'single' here)'

Most evenings before bed I would hang out by the canal chatting with a mixed group of about ten women including young mothers and grandmothers. This was their usual spot to gather to chat after eating, with some staying for some time and others coming and going. Chatting among themselves one woman was asked how long her husband was going to be gone. She said she didn't know. *'Where is he?'* I asked. *'He's in prison,'* the woman replied, and immediately the oldest in the group started rocking back and forth in her chair laughing. I looked back at the woman, afraid she might look embarrassed or sad, but she just smiled and after scolding the old grandmother, explained that he had been arrested by the police just last week for selling drugs. *'Have there been many arrests here?'* I asked. *'Oh, many, can't you see?'* she asked, *'All of us are 'single' here. The men have either run off or been arrested.'*

Field notes, Makassar Urban Slum

drug related activity. They advised the team staying in Makassar Urban Periphery not to go to Makassar Urban Slum and confessed they would not go there themselves either. The Medan Urban Slum location was dubbed *'the most dangerous place in Sumatra'* and those who walk out at night routinely carry small knives to defend themselves.

In Makassar Urban Periphery itself there were mixed feelings about whether it was safer or less safe, with people in one neighbourhood indicating that they feel relatively safe nowadays and blamed outsiders for any crime. In another neighbourhood here people indicated that thieves riding motorbikes who snatch phones and bags are becoming a problem as is sexual harassment of women riding motorbikes at night. By contrast, with the first neighbourhood, people attributed the crime to local unemployed youth not migrants *'who work hard and are willing to do any job.'* In support of this assertion we were told some local boys had been arrested for dealing in *sabu-sabu* just before we arrived in the area. In Medan Urban Slum people feel teen boys are especially at risk of getting involved in drugs and we met mothers who had sent their sons out of the area to protect them but kept their daughters with them at home, because they felt they could control them better.

'Everywhere we went people repeated 'hati, hati' (be careful)'

(Researcher, Medan Urban Slum)

Across all the locations, people acknowledge that they feel less safe living in town than in villages with the exception of some young women who shared how they feel unsafe walking in villages without light. People living in some of the communities considered locally to have a bad reputation (e.g. parts of Jakarta Urban Slum, Makassar Urban Slum, Medan Urban Slum) themselves often felt relative personal safety but nevertheless locked doors whenever they left the house, even if it was only to go next door (Jakarta Urban Slum) and hang out in front of the alley or other key vantage points to check on who comes in and out (Makassar Urban Slum). In Jakarta Urban Slum, we were told 'you will not do something bad to the person you know' so they did not expect to be the victim of theft, 'only newcomers lose TVs and electronics.' In Jakarta Urban Slum there is a 'live and let live' accommodation of the various illegal businesses that flourish in and around the flyover - 'we mind our own business... keep away from trouble.' Here more than other slums we stayed in, the population is diverse and ever-changing. There is no resident RW or RT and KTP cards are not registered. In Makassar Urban Slum, people also shared that they don't report illegal activity to the police because the perpetrators might be relatives or friends of relatives.

(To be safe here) 'Build a high fence around the house so people can't get inside easily'

(Old woman, Makassar Urban Periphery)

In what was regarded as **the three least secure areas, there was little to no police presence.** In Jakarta Urban Slum there was no regular policing; in MED, there was no police presence as the *preman* control the area and in the gang area of Makassar Urban Slum people told us that police avoid this area as they are afraid to get involved because, 'the gangs are not afraid of the police.' But elsewhere in Makassar Urban Slum area, drug raids seem to have increased. People talked about being suspicious of outsiders who might be working for the police

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Lock up when you go out

I lived with a scrap trader in his shop. He worries about security in the area. Every time we went out he always said "hati-hati" (be careful), and didn't let me go out at night without him. He told me to watch my pockets, 'It's a very dangerous neighbourhood.' He doesn't have a kitchen or any cooking equipment so goes out every night to get dinner. As we went to take dinner together from a *warung*, he bolts up the shop, puts his stereo on low volume and leaves the lights on. He explained this is to make people think he is still there so they won't rob him.

Field notes, Medan Urban Slum

undercover and did not feel that this sort of police approach to the drugs problem in their area was very helpful, with some mothers describing that the police 'just take the men and boys away for some time'. Here there is no collaboration between the police and the local neighbourhood watch which patrols nightly and people feel ambivalent about trusting the police ('We trust but don't trust'). Like other areas, people here shared that if there were problems they would rather report it to the RT than the police.

'We trust but don't trust.'

(Feelings expressed about the police and lack of collaboration and information in Makassar Urban Slum)

By contrast in what people regarded as safer neighbourhoods (Makassar Urban Periphery and Tangerang Urban Industrial) **people talked about having strong and effective Head of RT.** In Tangerang, we were told that landlords



'Memet [a person's name] is the thug here' - Many migrants selling goods/operating small businesses said they need to pay some money to *preman* or other officials to ensure security.

work together with the RT and RW to protect the *kontrakan* and newcomers usually are accepted only with a recommendation from existing residents. Here they requested visitors to report to the RT so that it would be clear who was coming in and out of the community. When entering smaller alleys, we were often asked where we were going and on entering *kontrakan* were greeted and questioned, suggesting that there was constant vigilance. Here there is a small police post but it was always empty and people indicated that they would always prefer to ask RT or RW for help than involve the police. There is also an active branch of Forum Betawi Rempug (regarded as a strongly Islamic ethnic-cultural solidarity movement that campaigns for the political and economic rights of Betawi people) which is influential in maintaining law and order. For example, they had acted on a report of *sabu-sabu* users by instructing the landlords to 'kick them out'. Similarly, they banished young women who had sneaked boyfriends overnight into their *kontrakan*. In Makassar Urban Periphery, the head of RT is connected to the police via a Whatsapp group but, even here others indicated that they did not really want the police in the community because they would be expected to pay them to take any action. Yet, a few others pointed to 'honest' police living in the community whom they respected and sought advice from.

Illegal drugs

'It's not a good place to have kids.'

(Man, Medan Urban Slum, noting especially the problem with drugs)

In all but the Tangerang Urban Industrial location, people in the urban locations told us that they feel **drug use is rising and shared a particular concern for their children**. When teens 'hang out' it is often associated with drinking alcohol and drug taking (Jakarta Urban Slum) and mothers expressed much concern about this. In particular, people talked about the increased use of and trade in *sabu-sabu* (crystal meth)²⁶ and concomitant with this an increase

²⁶ Minimum sentence of four years in prison (additional fines may apply) if caught in possession. However, if the user voluntarily reports himself/herself to the police, or is reported by his/her family, the charges will be

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Paying off thugs

The barber I stayed with said in another place he paid money for protection (around IDR 10,000/week), 'which is okay.' But in another place (Bandung), the thugs (he described them as young unemployed men) keep coming everyday asking for cash of IDR 10,000 to IDR 20,000 'for cigarette money.' One day he did not have cash but the thugs were insistent, so he asked them to fight, 'I'm not scared of people like you!' He reported this to the landlord and decided to move.

Field notes, Tangerang Urban Industrial

in petty theft, especially of mobile phones to raise money for drugs. While *sabu-sabu* use has increased, marijuana use has declined, they say because it is less readily available and can be expensive²⁷. In Medan Urban Slum, people shared that they were shocked by the increase in *sabu-sabu* use over the last ten years and talked about it a lot. They felt it is directly correlated with an increase in theft and prostitution²⁸. By contrast, people living in the *kontrakan* area in Tangerang Urban Industrial did not mention drugs as their biggest concern but rather excessive alcohol consumption and youth fighting. Here we came across a little personal use of marijuana but not hard drugs.

Security measures

As noted above, few indicated that the police provided a supportive role or information but rather were only involved in raids. Security is instead provided by local security patrols organised at RT or RW level, by associations or by racketeer bands. Money for security is raised by donations either way. Only Jakarta Urban Slum had no security system working and shared that they prefer to solve issues themselves and only if this cannot be achieved will request help from the head of the RT.

dropped in accordance to 2009 Narcotics Act, article 24 paragraph 2, 3, 4.

²⁷ Both marijuana and crystal meth are categorised as Class 1 drug in Indonesia.

²⁸ According to the Indonesia Penal Code (KUHP Indonesia) article 296 prostitution is illegal. This is the legal basis for various kinds of regional anti-prostitution laws.

Security money, protection money, 'taxes' and commission money

'Migrants have to smile and learn the local dialect to fit in.'

(Navigating the gang control of the dock area in Medan Urban Slum)

Both protecting one's business and securing a particular location in which to operate often requires payment of monthly, weekly or, in some cases, daily fees to officials, brokers, racketeers or *preman*. This diverse range of official to informal collectors represents an issue as there is no paperwork to prove legitimacy of payments and no recourse for complaints. These diverse collectors also apply a range of sanctions for failure to pay leading to responses from payees ranging from simple acceptance to high anxiety. Failure to pay for a *ketoprak* seller in Jakarta Urban Slum means your '*spot will be given to someone else*' but having worked in many locations this particular seller said this practice is '*the same everywhere*.' Market sellers (Medan Urban Slum) pay daily IDR 1,500 to IDR 2,000 to put the stall in front of people's houses and a similar amount for '*operating in a public space*' but have a grace period if they cannot pay. *Pete-pete* drivers in Makassar Urban Periphery are required to pay IDR 2,000 for waiting in certain places for passengers while a vegetable wholesaler has to pay off *preman* who operate in the market.



This vegetables seller pays IDR 15,000/month to *preman* to use this space along the road for selling (Tangerang Urban Industrial)

In Tangerang Urban Industrial vendors shared irritation that unemployed youth will sometimes demand cash. At the other end of the spectrum those operating illegally in the dock area in Medan Urban Slum shared that there are gangs who will harass and steal goods from you '*and you don't mess with them*.' The trader in scrap we stayed with here had to pay the *preman* '*however much you can afford*' in order to keep good relations with the '*authorities*'.

In Makassar Urban Periphery, local informal street sellers shared that they had experienced online fraud when purchasing goods to sell online. Having transferred money, they never received the goods.

Street lighting has helped with security in some parts of Makassar Urban Periphery and was a much appreciated special programme of the mayor in Makassar Urban Periphery in response to RTs proposals.

Study implication 23: Support trusted local community security arrangements

People neither trust the police nor feel they are effective and often resent paying for their services. This has led to a preference for neighbourhood solutions to security often led by the Head of the RT and paid for by residents and businesses in the area. Where illegal activity is rife, this authority may be substituted by *preman* gangs and paid for through protection money.

3.4 THEME FOUR: PEOPLE'S VIEWS ON THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

Individual Impacts

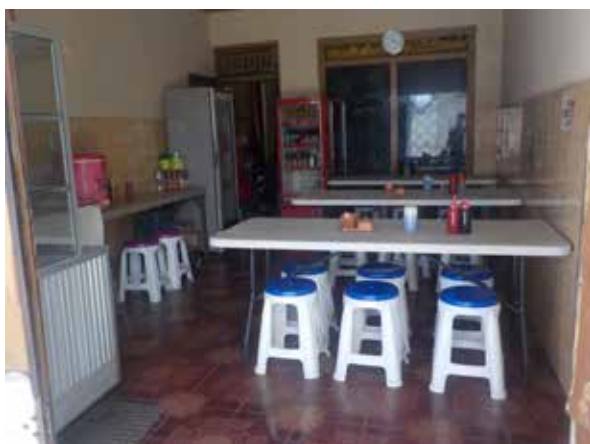
In this section we will look at the impact of migration on personal life of migrants as they shared with us. We will start by discussing whether or not they consider their expectations were met and explore what personal changes they see themselves experiencing.



Many migrants hope to be able to purchase a good motorbike

Meeting individual expectations

Overall, migrants we met are positive about their own migration experience. Very rarely did we hear anyone regret their decision to migrate and most see their expectations to have been met one way or another. **Casual cash long term migrants (Type 1), have normalized their move to the city and no longer have any special expectations,** telling us that their life has been *'begini-begini aja' (nothing out of the ordinary).* Those who hoped for adventure, such as many commuter migrants (Type 2), were satisfied with *'the big city experience.'* Those who moved for a better market to sell their goods, usually 'follow the money' migrants (Type 3) or self-employed migrants (Type 6), universally said they achieved satisfactory increases in their earnings. Waged migrants (Type 4) and salaried migrants (Type 5) more often than not ended up with the type of job they wished to have, even if for type 5 it may have taken longer to find the preferred job with



The owner of this meatball shop came to Makassar from Java in 1995 and started out by selling meatballs with a mobile cart. In the last few years he has been able to open up this permanent shop at his home and has another stall in a university canteen. He said he can make around IDR 2.5 million in a day.

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Gifts for everyone

One family in Jakarta Urban Slum shared with us how significant their migrant daughter's contribution to the family has been. The daughter sends her elderly parents IDR 500,000 regularly each month from which IDR 300,000 is saved by the parents for health emergencies. On top of the money, she has also sent TV, fridge, and other household items. She told her parents to ask her if they ever need anything else. The daughter, and her husband whom she met in migration, also contributed to buy land for mango and for the cost of a motorbike. The house, the motorbike, and the land are all registered in the daughter's name. On top of all of these expenses, the young couple also contributed IDR 75 million for a hospital cost when the father needed a surgery. Even the extended family members benefit from her remittance. When the daughter visited home, she brought money for her cousins, giving them IDR 50,000 each. She also sent shoes, jackets, and other clothing items for them.

Field notes, Jakarta Urban Slum

periods of unemployment and taking on lesser jobs in the meantime.

For many, successful migration means improving one's financial situation, i.e. earning more money than in the village or being able to buy a house or a car. Others are more specific, stating that owning a business or working in an office is an indicator of successful migration. For some, successful migration is to have enough money to be able to treat other people who are not immediate family members. This is exemplified by the daughter in law of one of 'our' families in Makassar Urban Periphery who did not consider herself yet to be successful because she and her husband have not earned enough to buy others in the village gifts when they go home for a visit.

Personal changes experienced by migrants

Migrants shared with us that they realize they have personally experienced change often as a result of increased disposable income. People buy cooked food more often. Some men (Medan Urban Slum) complained that their wives do not cook anymore while others consider being able to afford to eat outside as a form of pride or feeling of status. For example, a successful meat ball seller in Makassar Urban Periphery shared that his family now eats at 'an expensive restaurant every month' costing him at least IDR 1 million. Those who have returned



One of 'our' fathers in Nusa Tenggara Village used to work for a NGO in Dili, East Timor before conflict with Indonesia escalated in 1999 and he was forced to return. He says this photo with his friends there is one of the only memories he has left from that experience.

to the village (Central Java Village) told us that the urban habit of buying food is hard to shake off now and they still prefer to buy cooked food rather than cooking themselves.

Many told us they have become more consumptive partially because entertainment and commercial centres, such as malls, are within reach; making it easier for **people to spend money 'buying stuff' but also to 'keep up appearance.'** Young migrants in Tangerang Urban Industrial described competition among their friends to have expensive items such as a motorbike, a TV or a 'magic jar' (a sophisticated rice cooker). A laundry worker in Medan Urban Slum shared that she recently bought a TV she does not need fearing the neighbours might talk about her if she did not. Now, she is saving up to buy speakers for the TV. People in Nusa Tenggara Village said that there are a lot of young men who come back from migration broke, often claiming they '*lost the money on ship,*' while in reality they have spent all their money in the town. **For others, 'keeping up appearances' literally means taking care of how they look.** For example, a young woman in Medan Urban Slum plans to cut and straighten her hair, uses lotions, perfumes and tonic in hair to achieve the 'city look' she wants. Young male migrants in Tangerang Urban Industrial coloured their hair, bought nicer clothes and the women made sure they wear make up whenever they go to factories or when hanging out, a habit they adopted living in the

urban area. In rural study areas it was easy to pick out those who had spent time in the city by their hair and clothes. For example, young men in Central Java Village with dyed hair were those who had '*just came back from Jakarta*' and '*look cool.*' Many farmers in North Sumatra Village wear clothes and sporting hairstyles that emulate being '*quite urban.*' At weddings here, people told us you could spot men who had migrated as they '*dressed like Jakarta Batak,*' wearing suits and ties rather than traditional sarong and put on jackets if cold.

Many shared that they felt migration had made them '*naughtier*' referring mostly to becoming less religious. Young men in Tangerang Urban Industrial shared that they read the Koran less and they also drank alcohol more, blaming '*bad influence*' from peers and the many temptations in the urban areas. A young garbage trader in Medan Urban Slum said he felt he has been going down the wrong path, spending a lot of money on prostitutes. Some parents noted the '*bad influence of peers*' to explain why their children are less motivated to go to school compared to when they were in the village. For example, in Makassar Urban Slum, a mother of two primary school children blamed the '*bad influence*' of their cousins who has lived in the city for a long time on her children's '*laziness*' to go to school.

Family Impacts

Across all study locations, we also met and got to know family members of migrants. In the urban areas, these are people who migrated mainly to accompany their relatives (Type 7). In the rural areas, we talked with family members who stayed behind, including parents, spouses, siblings, and children of the migrants.

Childcare burdens on the family left behind

People often shared that an impact of migration is the burden of childcare for those left behind, particularly when divorce happens, but also simply because one parent, usually the mother, has to shoulder all the responsibilities when the other one is away. For example, one of 'our' mothers in West Java Village shared how tiring it was to take care of the children on her own and insists when her husband is



People said that this playground in Medan Urban Slum hasn't been maintained since the death of the supposed 'owner' and that many pieces of equipment are now broken.

home he takes care of the children to give her some time off, which she uses to go around the village selling food. Another mother here said that she feels she has two roles, *'I was a father when my husband is not here. I had to shoo away young men who came to talk to my daughter.'* She highlighted the unfairness of the perception of the father as the loving one who brings presents from town while she is seen as angry one.

In North Sumatra Village, it is sometimes the wives who migrated leaving husbands to look after the children. The fathers explained they only go to cultivate once per week to enable them to take care of the children and we observed many junior high school girls looking after the neighbours' babies. As we have noted in other RCA studies, **it is also not uncommon for grandparents to be ones who take care of young children when the parents migrate.** For example, in Nusa Tenggara Village we met a widow in her 60s taking care of a seven-year-old grandchild as her parents had travelled to a different island to work. It is also quite common in the village for families to have informally 'adopted children', often siblings' children who have migrated.

Since it is still mostly men who left for migration, **some people told us that they are concerned that children are growing without a father**

figure. For example, one of 'our' mothers in Nusa Tenggara Village felt that the father being away was like abandonment. One of 'our' fathers in Medan Urban Slum is a truck driver and often away from home. He himself did not have a father figure when he was growing up and worries about his own son but feels in time they will join him. A woman in Tangerang Urban Industrial shared with us her story that as a child of 11 she was left alone with her brother under the care of grandparents and felt very sad growing up without her parents even though her mother sent regular remittances for school costs.

Dealing with separation

Wives of migrant workers in Central Java Village shared with us that **they started to be concerned if their husbands stayed in migration for too long.** *'A man is not that strong. Not physically... they are not strong without a wife,'* referring to how they felt men easily cheat when they are away. A young mother in West Java Village forces her husband to come home every two weeks because she is afraid that he will have an affair like her neighbour. A woman from we met in Central Java Village checks up on her husband if he is away for long. Other women in the same location told us that they



Being away from one's partner is a common source of worry and tension for migrants. Some mothers like this one say they cope with their loneliness by talking to their partner every day (usually in the evening). One day while we were there, the dad didn't call and the mom said that she was worried. He called the following day and said he had ran out of mobile phone credit. (West Java Village)

have their own system to make sure that their husbands are not cheating on them, *'We have spies there [in the city].'*

Some wives of migrant workers shared they had discovered infidelity. Most commonly these end in divorce and we were told divorce rates are high among migrants. Some (West Java Village) turned a blind eye, *'As long as I don't see the affair and he still sends money to me.'* Others take action such as one of our neighbours in Jakarta Urban Slum who moved to the city to stop the affair she accidentally uncovered by picking up a call from her husband's lover. Some women told us that not being able to handle the emotional toll of separation from their husbands, either from the worry of infidelity or simply from missing them, was the main reason why they decided to migrate to the city to join them.

In Central Java Village, we heard frequently how **divorce rate is high** in the area. We met many people who are currently married to their second or third spouse, hearing stories such as a restaurant worker who found out that her husband had an affair with a Sundanese woman while she was away, divorced him, returned home and remarried. An SMK girl told us that she has not seen her father for the last five years because he remarried while working away. She remembered how he came home one day with a bike as a gift for her and cried when he said goodbye. Only later did she realize that he had a wife and children in the city.

Community Impacts

In addition to reflecting back at their own experiences, people we met also shared with us their thoughts on how migration has impacted the area they live in, whether in the originating village or in the receiving urban location.

How things have changed in the urban areas

Long stay cash casual migrants (Type 1) in the urban areas shared with us how things have changed since they first settled in the area especially noting **the area is more crowded, with more newcomers constantly coming in.** People in Makassar Urban Periphery shared



This warehouse is labeled as being for sale and 'ready to use' when in fact it is an active underground factory.

with us how the area was mostly swampland 20-30 years ago which now has turned into a bustling city location. Slum and non-slum locations have grown differently. Jakarta Urban Slum has gradually turned into the crowded busy slum it is today with approximately 1000 households living in the area²⁹. People told us **more people bring more work to the area, which then open more opportunities and attracts more employers to set up their business there.** Most jobs in Jakarta Urban Slum are informal, done by type 1 migrants and commuter migrants (Type 2), with waged migrants (Type 4) working in illegal factories or home-based industries. Employers looking for workers to work in informal jobs know they can easily find them in the Jakarta Urban Slum. The workers themselves, who mostly heard of the opportunities through family and friends, come to the area because there are plenty of possible work. Traders and sellers in Jakarta Urban

²⁹ Numbers are obtained from people themselves and then triangulated with the head of RT or with *kelurahan*.



To meet the demand of the constant influx of newcomers, food stalls like this one continue to proliferate in Jakarta Urban Slum

Slum, who are mostly self-employed migrants (Type 6) and 'follow the money' migrants (Type 3) told us they are there because there are always newcomers settling which means more customers. They noticed **there were more and more warung each year and more and more rented rooms are built** to house factory workers and other informal job seekers.

The situation is quite similar in the Medan Urban Slum slum where more and more migrants are coming into the area every year. As of now there are approximately 6,000 households in the area housing close to 28,000 migrants³⁰. The growth of the area was quite rapid as people built their houses there without permits. People told us that **they feel it is easier to earn money in the area than ever before**. They said there are so many sources of income within 'the grey area', referring to works that are not entirely legal such as smuggling goods or selling stolen oil. People also specifically mentioned that in the past two years, due to the development of a new port building, they noticed there are even more migrants settling in the area.

Casual cash long stay migrants (Type 1) and locals alike in Makassar Urban Slum slum said to us that they definitely notice that the economy is getting better. They pointed out lots of new construction in the area as there are more and more people renovating their houses. They also told us that **the betterment in the economy brings betterments to the infrastructure in the community as well**. The road alongside the canal near their residence was recently re-surfaced and the drains are getting covers.

In Makassar Urban Periphery, a low cost housing area, people told us that the last five years have seen the area grow exponentially due to many business centres being built nearby. Nowadays, they estimated around 70% of those who reside in the area are migrants³¹. People say that **without migrants settling in the area, certain jobs and services would not have existed**. People particularly referred to *pete-pete* and *angkot* transport in the city that are mostly driven by migrants. They, especially those in Makassar Urban Periphery, also attributed the increase in food sellers to migrants coming in



Signs like this promoting tourism are scattered around North Sumatra Village but people say it's useless as no tourists actually make it to the village given the poor access

to the area - 'Before, we have to walk outside of the community to buy food. Because of those migrants, we have food peddlers.' Migrants in Tangerang Urban Industrial, also a low cost housing area, told us the story of the time the nearby airport was first open, bringing in the first wave of migrations which later was followed with the building of factories that in turn, also brought in many migrants to the area.

How things have changed in the rural areas

As much as things have changed in the urban areas, people in the rural areas also shared with us how they see their villages transformed over the years, influenced by migration. Except for in Central Java Village, **people from the other rural areas told us that they either see their village staying the same as it has always been or slowly emptying with more and more young people opting to go outside**. People in West Java Village told us that there is now



In this social map prepared by a family in Nusa Tenggara Village, houses marked with red stars are farming households. A yellow mark 'X' means the house is empty because the inhabitants have migrated to another village or outside of the area. A green check means there is one of the occupants of the house doing work/school/higher education outside of the area.

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Ibid



Though most migrants from Central Java Village are seasonal migrants now, the owners of this home in the village are long-term migrants currently living in Jakarta. We were told that they have kept the house as they still plan to return to the village at some point in the future.

a shortage of local labour for farming. In Nusa Tenggara Village, more and more students are leaving the village to pursue education outside. Villages in South Sulawesi Village, like in Nusa Tenggara Village, are small and mostly quiet with no one going out at night or hanging out at each others' houses. There is no coffee house or food stalls, places where people usually gather in other villages. People think that the situation will remain the same in the future and there is not much ambition to change anything in the village.

Migrants do send money back home and many build or renovate their houses in the village with an expectation to return some day. But other than that, they do not contribute much else to the community, except sometimes contributing to building the mosque or church. It is not uncommon to find abandoned houses or simply left behind with a caretaker to look after not only their houses, but also their land and sometimes their elderly parents. In West Java Village, people told us that what they observed happening more and more often now is **outsiders buying up land in their community** for investment but also for retirement by, among others, military officers. For example, one army officer has acquired 500 hectares of land in West Java Village which he has planted with citrus trees as investment. People shared concern that when land is owned by outsiders it will be bequeathed or sold to outsiders on their death and villagers will be excluded. People in one village in Nusa Tenggara Village are a bit more optimistic about outsiders constructing

new brick houses as it brings other development such as new roads and new job opportunities.

We rarely heard about how migration is considered to enrich the local area, and only in Central Java Village did people talk about it bringing specific knowledge for the community. People here shared that the only upside of migration (which they described as hard work and 'not cool') was that **those who migrated sometimes brought new knowledge to the village,** particularly of farming techniques they observed away; such as intercropping, an agricultural practice involving growing different types of plant on the same land, and covering the soil with plastic to stop weeds which helps with water retention and minimizes weeding. The head of the village learned about tourism while he was away and suggested opening some tourism spots for mountain hiking where villagers offer their services as porters and guides, rent out gear, and open food kiosks during the weekend.

Retirement

Moving back home is often an aspiration that people keep at the back of their mind. Casual cash long stay migrants (Type 1) in Jakarta Urban Slum told us, for them, **they will return to the village if they are no longer able to work for one reason or another.** *'If the park no longer employs people,'* said one of 'our' mothers who is a park cleaner. Many shared that returning would happen when they are older, although they did not really specify



Each family has their own family tomb to which the bones of paternal ancestors are moved after burial. This tradition also involves hosting a big and costly celebration. (North Sumatra Village)



An abandoned house left by a family who migrated around 5 years ago. The relative of the house owner, who still lives in the village, sometimes uses the house to keep coffee or rice paddy harvests. (Central Java Village)

what age particularly but implied this would be when they are no longer physically able to work. Construction workers in Makassar Urban Periphery shared the same view saying they would consider going back to their *kampung* if they were no longer strong enough to do the labour.

We further learned that **it is also more likely for those who still have families and/or assets in the village to consider going back.** People who have been gradually building or renovating their house in their *kampung* tend to look forward to finally moving back home as exemplified by a drink seller (Makassar Urban Slum) who plans to go back home in 10 years when she hopes to retire to the house she has been building. Others consider living in their own house in the village appealing, as for many, they are only renting when they are in the city. Those with families back home, a spouse and/or children, also think of going back, especially if it is not possible for them to bring their family with them to the city.

People explained to us that **those who bring their family to the urban areas with them are often ones who do not have assets, particularly land, in the home village.** Some people in Tangerang Urban Industrial who still own land in their *kampung* told us that it is not possible for them to bring their entire family

along because they need someone to take care of their assets.

'Those whose families live in kampung are those with paddy fields. Those whose entire family moved to the city are those who do not own anything.'

(a migrant worker whose family joined her in to live in Tangerang Urban Industrial)

We also learned that migrants who visit home often tend to be more inclined to consider going back. Migrants who rarely come home, once a year or even less, are less likely to return.

Family reasons are often the motivation for many to go back home, either for short period of time or for good. Migrants in Medan Urban Slum shared with us that if their family experience *kemalangan* (misfortune) such as if there is a death or illness in the family, they will go back home and stay for a while to lend support. For some, they ended up being in the village for an extended period of time during which they decide to stay although people told us that the intention is always to come back to the city.

For some, going back home is never an option. This is particularly true for the people with the tradition of migrating as a way to make one's fortune, such as those from North Sumatra Village. For example, one man (Medan Urban Slum) told us he would not even consider going home to his *kampung*. He told us that in his village, most people think going home means that you've failed. 'People will say, 'Ah, gagal di perantauan (failed in migration),' he said and added that the *kampung* is just a place 'to bury parents.'

Study implication 24:

As migration increases expect and plan for aging populations in rural areas

The slums and low cost housing areas we stayed in are growing at speed. Meanwhile the villages we stayed in (with the exception of Central Java Village) are losing young people, often depleted of labour, and

are mostly undeveloped. Many villages have houses which are abandoned or new construction which likewise is unlivable. Often a single member of the family remains to look after elderly relatives and family assets. Aspirations to retire back to the village often remain aspirations as people share they get used to urban life and delay this decision. This means that people shared a fear that many villages where migration is prevalent will become homes to elderly and relics of family history.

GENDER LENS ON MIGRATION

Throughout the report, we have highlighted findings that are relevant to understanding the gender dynamic in rural to urban migration in Indonesia. This section is intended to provide a summary of the issue by pulling together findings already discussed together with additional insights.

Typical work for men and women in urban and rural locations

Both in urban and rural locations, people shared with us typical jobs that are available for them in the area. Some of these jobs are more commonly done by men or women with many equally done by both. Both in urban and rural locations, **jobs that are physically demanding, such as road or building construction work, drainage work, kuli (portering) or trash collection are almost exclusively done by men.** Similarly, jobs that are related to vehicles, automotive, or mechanics, such as *angkot*, *pete-pete*, or *becak* drivers, long haul drivers, car mechanic or parking attendants, are also mostly done by men. **Women, on the other hand, tend to do more care and domestic work**, including nanny, babysitting, providing care for the elderly, house maid or domestic workers. Cleaning work is also often done by women, particularly laundry but also cleaning collected plastic bottles and cups from trash collectors. Jobs that require nimble handwork such as garment or assembly work (e.g. toothpaste, fake eye lashes, and others) tend to be done by women. Similarly, **when it comes**



There are a lot of Javanese selling *pecel* and *jamu* in Makassar. This woman is from Klaten. She uses a bike to travel around to do her selling.

to home industry as well as factory work, the employers prefer to employ mostly women.

Many jobs are done by both men and women with selling as the most common.

This includes being food peddlers to owning a stall or a kiosk to being a sales person at a store. Nevertheless, sales persons in department stores tend to be a woman while a sales person in automotive stores tend to be a man. When it comes to selling food, **those who are peddlers tend to be men while stall owners can also be women**, except for *pecel* and *jamu* that have always been customarily sold in Indonesia by women, both in stall and by peddling. We also met more female kiosk owners than male kiosk owners while *warteg* are equally operated by both.

Other jobs that are available to either men or women include salaried or office jobs such as teaching, civil servant, and administrative assistants. While being a civil servant is equally done by men and women, there are more men holding the position of authority, such as head of *kelurahan*, head of RT, and others. For a complete list of typical jobs in urban and rural areas, please see **Table 11**.

Table 11: Available work based on gender in urban and rural areas

Location	Men	Women	Men and Women
Jakarta Urban Slum	Scavenger Ketoprak seller Daily labour	Swallow nest factory worker Washing laundry Toothpaste assembly Jamu seller Garment worker from their own home	Park cleaner
Tangerang Urban Industrial	Construction worker Online motorbike taxi Services (barber)	Factory worker Full time domestic worker Part time domestic worker 5-days a week domestic worker	Food seller Food seller with stall Airport/private sector
Medan Urban Slum	Rubbish collectors/traders Illegal oil Construction work Ojek driver Angkot driver Middleman Operator Mechanic Bentor driver	Washing cloth	Trading goods Fish seller Vegetable seller
Makassar Urban Periphery	Pete-pete driver Building material storekeeper Pukis seller Construction worker Trash collector Parking attendant in a restaurant	Juice seller Kiosk owner Pecel and jamu seller Vihara cleaner	Foundation teacher for packet A.B.C Traders Kebab seller Restaurant employee
Makassar Urban Slum	Distribution with company Logistic distributor Becak/bentor driver Drainage worker Clothes seller		Management staff of clinic
West Java Village	Preparing land Security and technical work	Weeding Kiosk owner	Onion picking Farming on rented land Village officer
Central Java Village	Contract farming Chicken manure collection Truck drivers Daily labour (<i>kuli</i>) Porter	Vegetable work Make false eyelashes at home	Vegetable seller at market Rearing chicken Village official Contract teacher Teacher Vehicle rental for travel
North Sumatra Village	Construction worker	Selling palm wine Onions farming Trading in weekly market	Paddy farming Coffee farming
South Sulawesi Village	Car driver (from village to Makassar) Angkot driver (from village to sub district) Village official Mechanic Palm oil*	Kiosk owner Food seller at cafeteria Traditional food maker Midwife	PNS teacher Non contract teacher Seller (vegetables, clothes, etc.) Paddy farming
Nusa Tenggara Village	Coffee farming Selling chicken	Potting sapling	Cashew/candlenut farming Daily farm labour Unskilled hospital worker Skilled hospital worker Construction work, carrying stones

*Palm oil farmers are migrants who have moved from a rural area to another rural area. There is no palm oil in the area of South Sulawesi Village.

Wage range for women and men

There are more jobs that are typically done by women that are in the lower scale of the pay.

This is particularly worthy of note as **women are more likely to be employed on a fixed wage or 'paid job'** such as home industries, domestic work, but also in factories **while low income jobs for men are those that depend on 'luck of the day' sales of good and services** such as *pete-pete* or *bentor* drivers, parking attendants or food peddlers. Men employed on wage basis such a *kuli* and building materials storekeepers earn more than employed women; e.g. a female factory worker makes IDR 225,000 per week while a male logistical distributor is paid IDR 250,000 weekly. **Annex 6** provides an indication of wage range, based on information of over 100 migrant workers.

Migration and other life choices for men and women

We heard more often how men tend to be the ones who leave for migration while women stay behind to take care of children, parents, house, and/or land. In places such as Central Java Village and West Java Village, where commuter migration (Type 2) is very typical, it is mostly men who go out of the village to work temporarily in the city. It is also usually mothers who are discouraged to migrate out, particularly when the children are still young. **Parents are also more concerned about their daughters being away and feel more comfortable when a relative can act as a semi-guardian in the city.** It is therefore more common for young women to stay with family members when they first came to the city while young men can usually directly live alone. *'We will find somewhere to stay... on the street... whatever,'* said young men in West Java Village.

When it comes to migrating for education, across study locations, young men take advantage of the possibility more than young women although there are clear cultural differences comparing locations. In South Sulawesi Village, it is rarely that a young woman migrates out to further her education, usually due to cost but also because women tend to marry young. Girls in Central Java Village are

keen to get married and willing to leave school to do so. In the class of 30 students in one SMK, seven girls already decided to quit to marry. They told us, *'If you don't get married, you will be an old virgin,'* choosing to marry when they are 16 to 18 years old and regarding spinsterhood at 25 as a problem. In Central Java Village, parents perceive good marriage to mean that they have done a good job in raising their children and that their responsibility over them is completed. A married person is then seen to be responsible for their own family and to earn on their own from then on. In contrast, a highly educated daughter in North Sumatra Village is the source of pride of the family, with many young women from the village migrated out to study in university and chose to marry later in their late 20s. Ironically, being favoured by the family to continue education is considered to be 'forcing their hands' by some young women in Nusa Tenggara Village. They say they would rather have the same choice as given to the young men who can decide for themselves whether or not they want to migrate to study in university.

Challenges faced by men and women in the context of migration

Because women are still mostly the ones left behind, they are the ones that usually deal with the emotional struggle including missing their spouse and being concerned about infidelity. Women are also the ones that more often have the responsibility of caring for children. Many told us they need support in raising their children, especially when the children are still very young. Because of this, some women prefer to live with family members or in-laws when husbands are away including when they are pregnant.

The burden of childcare is also usually faced more by women when they are migrants. As a result, many women either decide to quit their job or delay their plans until their children are old enough to be left alone. Women with young children told us that they aspire to go back to work and often look forward to their children turning primary school age, about seven-years-old, when they consider the child to be old enough to take care of themselves.

It is still typically not expected of men to provide constant child care although we did observe men in the village altering their work schedule when it is their wives who are away. In migration as well as in the village, teenage girls, even those as young as ten, are sometimes required to look after their younger siblings or neighbours, a task that they often consider burdensome³².

Pregnancy is a significant challenge for migrating women, this is especially true if they are waged workers (Type 4), particularly in factories. Missing work because of pregnancy, as well as delivery, could amount to a cut of 15% of their monthly salary due to the nature of the work that typically demands workers to meet daily targets in order to be paid.

For men, the challenges faced in migration is typically due to lifestyle choice and the physical demand of their work. Men regularly smoke cigarettes and alcohol use is high among men. Illness associated with prolonged use of these recreational substances tend to be almost exclusively suffered by men. In Jakarta Urban Slum, people told us stories of men passing away suddenly after engaging in hard labor, such as cutting down trees or rebuilding an evicted house. They said to us these men suffered from '*angin duduk*' but described symptoms implying heart attack or ailments associated with cigarette consumption and eating excessive sugar and oil, exacerbated by physically demanding work.

Other than illness, men are also more inclined to engage in risky activities, such as selling stolen goods or consuming and/or dealing illegal drugs. Young men are typically those who would be involved, to the concern of many in the community. Parents often take precautions in order for their sons to not participate. This ranges from making sure their sons do not hang out with the wrong crowd to sending their sons to a different school to choosing to even leaving their sons in *kampung* which many parents consider safer.

³² Similar findings were also reported in the RCA study on child poverty (2016).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

A number of clear themes emerge from this study. Most notable is that most rural to urban migration is motivated by the need to earn cash and that these mostly low income migrants tend to have low aspirations and maximise their incomes by minimising their costs. Not only are ambitions among low income migrant workers modest but there seems to be a high level of acceptance of sub-standard housing, working conditions and environment. Another factor which emerges strongly is the desire to live in what are to all intents and purposes villages within the cities thereby retaining the social capital people find so important to their migration experience. These 'urban villages' have become discrete self-serving micro-economic centres with little interface with the wider economy.

The study implications noted throughout the report have mostly emerged from the issues migrants and their families most often raised in conversations and fall into particular themes; housing, provision of information and the strong need for social life were the most significant and frequently mentioned themes. People choose to live in slums because they meet the desired social capital needs first and foremost but they also enable those on low incomes (or, in the case of students, no incomes) to live economically. These areas can be thriving, largely self-serving micro-economies providing the customer base needed for many home-based enterprises (food stalls, mechanics, laundry, hair-cutting etc). Re-housing poses a number of challenges as employed people like to walk or take easy and short motorbike rides to work, self-employed use their homes as workplaces and all pay low rents or no rent. This study and other RCA

studies indicate that people would not want to live in high rise flats as they could not combine their work with their living arrangements and want to maintain the ease of village-style social interaction. The dearth of affordable housing which meets these requirements outside of slums is chronic and there is an urgent need for new housing solutions for a range of needs including temporary migrants, students, young professionals and families. Where low cost housing is being planned this must include access to shared space for recreation and support collective social activities which this study found were crucial to people's feelings of wellbeing. The lack of affordable and convenient childcare facilities in urban areas for low income working mothers results in families being split up with parents living apart or children being cared for by others than their parents (often in the village), neglect and reduced family incomes due to childcare responsibilities also needs to be addressed.

The lack of ambition among low income migrants is at least in part due to reliance on the prevailing culture of getting work and somewhere to live through family or friend contacts. This limits exposure to alternatives and choice. However, the increasing use of social media and the internet opens up potential for this as a source of information about work opportunities as well as information about skills enhancement and workers' rights. There is increasing use of the internet as a medium to trade or offer services (e.g. transport, food delivery, construction services) which will inevitably lead to new opportunities for income generation and a greater savviness with the internet. This, in turn, suggests that access to electricity and wifi will

become essential prerequisites for many in the low income economy.

Low income employed workers are at risk because much of their employment is in unregulated factories, in the unregulated informal sector or in illegal trade. Provision of easily-accessed and user-friendly information about work conditions, advantages of and means to acquire documentation and certification as well as help-lines to navigate situations of exploitation or uncertainty and legal issues would raise the importance of such issues and contribute to reducing the vulnerability of many migrants. Two streams for this kind of information emerge as potential; the internet and social media and/or local trusted sources within communities.

Future urban studies need to be cognisant of the different categories of migrant worker, their different motivations, their different cash-seeking and use behaviours and very different needs. Further studies also need to examine in more detail the reluctance of small entrepreneurs to formalise and expand their businesses, the preference and implications of personal ownership of motorbikes and the impediments to moving from accessing work based on who you know to what you know.

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ANNEX 1: STUDY TEAM

Team Leader

Sherria Ayuandini

Team Co-Leader

Steven Ellis

Technical Advisor

Dee Jupp

Study Team Members

Jakarta Urban Slum & West Java Village

Sherria Ayuandini
Iqbal Abisaputra
Elizabeth Napitupulu
Thalia Shelyndra

Tangerang Urban Industrial & Central Java Village

Debora Tobing
Rizqan Adhima
Tasnim Yusuf
Zakiyah Derajat

Medan Urban Slum & North Sumatra Village

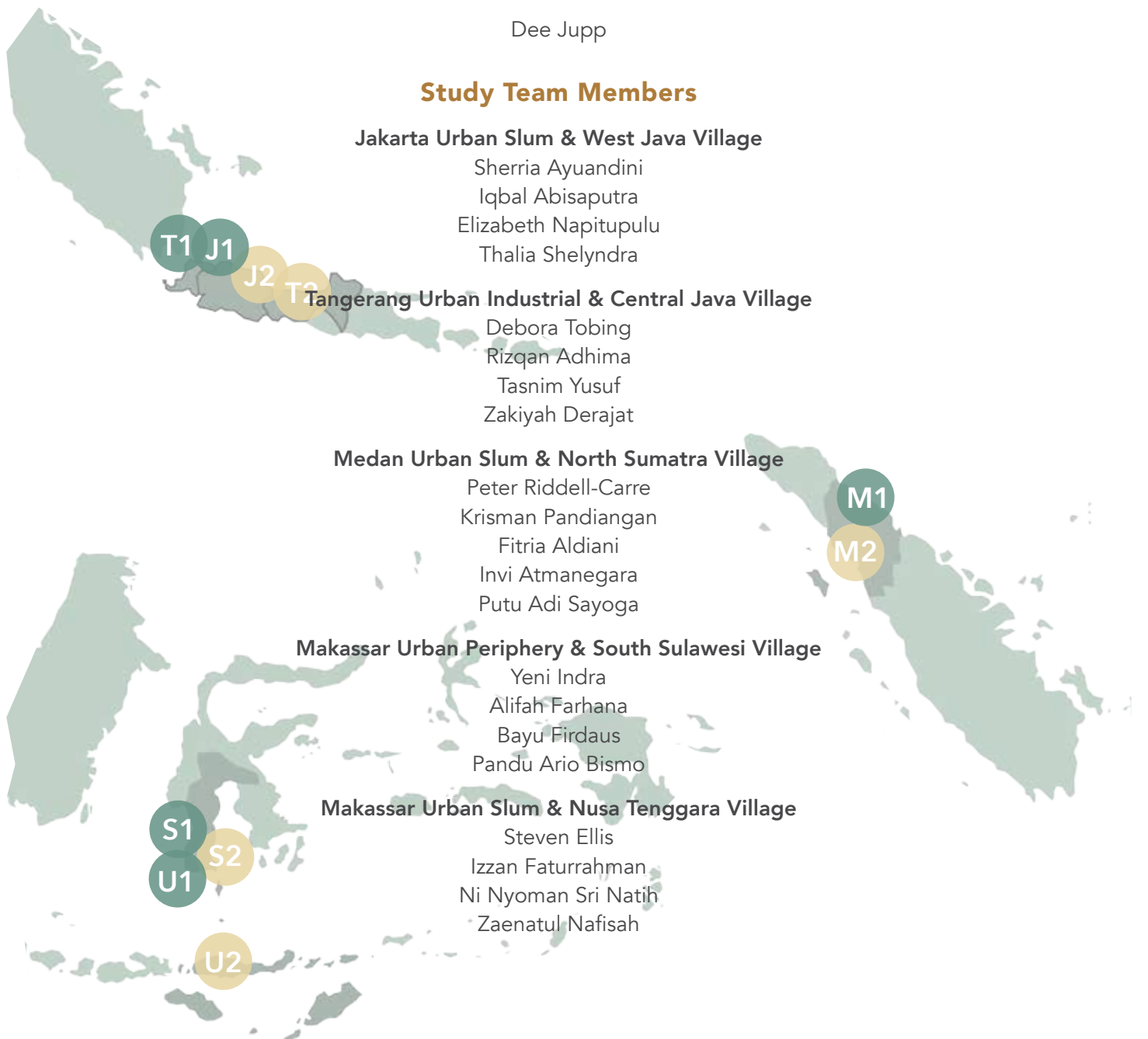
Peter Riddell-Carre
Krisman Pandiangan
Fitria Aldiani
Invi Atmanegara
Putu Adi Sayoga

Makassar Urban Periphery & South Sulawesi Village

Yeni Indra
Alifah Farhana
Bayu Firdaus
Pandu Ario Bismo

Makassar Urban Slum & Nusa Tenggara Village

Steven Ellis
Izzan Faturrahman
Ni Nyoman Sri Natih
Zaenatul Nafisah



Areas of Conversation - World Bank Urban Poverty / Rural to Urban Migration Round 2

Motivations to migrate/hot migrate

Local work opportunities, availability of alternatives, comparisons (e.g. domestic vs international migration); Other opportunities to support migration (access to education for children, public facilities)

If not migrating: have jobs, family reasons, marital, childcare, elderly parents, take care of land, housing, costs, skills, knowledge, network, transportation/access, regulations, subjective/affective factors (attachment to land).

If migrating: own choice, expected, forced, culture, no choice, family/peer pressure/changes, change of circumstances (widowed, divorced, separated), escape, 'way to leave school', financial/'to get out of poverty', environmental reasons (conflict), more opportunities at urban, media/role models, subjective/affective reasons (e.g. culture).

'One off'/regular/'way of life'/seasonal migrant work; Choice of destinations/work/employer; Choice of specific areas, slums/non-slums, specifically; The views of slum dwellers in general.

Expectations: income, better work, work experience, adventure, skills, connections; Different types of migrants or migration they identify

Context-Community

Urban/rural/peri-urban, slum/non-slum;

Remoteness/topography/physical access; Size of community; Main livelihoods (prevalence of migrant work); Culture/religion; Access to facilities (esp. related to reasons for migration); Social capital (groups)

Context-Household

Profile of the migrant worker: age, education, gender, culture, religion, skills, dependents, nature of migrant work, duration/ frequency, what type of migrants they see themselves; Family (family tree), ages, gender, education, livelihoods; House: location, building materials, layout, toilet/drinking water facilities, key assets (land, livestock, work related equipment, electrical equipment, phones, etc.) Leisure or entertainment expenses

Aspirations of the family of migrants

Lessons learned and applications of lessons learned; Encourage/recommend to others (migrating or not); Recognition and acceptance, documentation; Next plan: future dreams for themselves and children (jobs economic, identity, lifestyle, social), expectations. Aspirations of young people, children, and new migrants.

Work experience

Work: conditions, contract, regulations/restrictions, hours, leave, wages (amount/regularity), benefits, nature of work, supervision, insurance, risks (health & safety), noncontract demands, freedom of movement/communication, harassment; changes in work/jobs over time. Skills development.

Living conditions, how long; distance from work, time/costs getting to work, rent/provided/other, amenities, arrangements for cooking, washing, sleeping, leisure (range).

If migrating: Story of migration: frequency, lessons learned, new experiences, memorable moments. Relationship with place of origin; Story of return to origin: forced, voluntary, end of contract/curtailed.

Barriers/challenges in migration: leaving family reasons, marital, childcare, elderly parents, take care of land, housing, costs, skills, knowledge, network, culture, transportation/access, regulations, subjective/affective factors; Extortion.

Financial: costs/expenses/spending, savings.

If return migrant: Follow up programmes; e.g. training, credit, re-integration;

Peer relations: support, harassment, bullying, language/culture/skills barriers.

Psychology: feelings about work, living away, frequency/nature of contact with home, homesickness, loneliness, isolation.

Consequences to originating communities

Childcare burdens; Health, education; Affect to human capital (skill, knowledge, related to economy); influences. Remittance (how, challenges, prevalence of mobile money); Economy/development of community, housing; Changes to occupation, education, abandonment of agriculture; Views of migrants and migration; Tensions; Explore their projection about the future on who child would do well or might do so well, including a look upon their own situation. Items they didn't have before.

Consequences to migrants themselves

Change (personal): lifestyle, economic, saving patterns, assets, status/identity, attitudes/behaviours; increased/new found independence; Psychological and health/nutrition impacts; Family changes; investment in education, social (e.g. friendship, marriage, culture), assets, business/enterprise; Impacts on relationships; changed roles/expectations, hostility, impact of extra marital affairs, reintegration issues; Birth spacing; Perception on the experience; Use of health insurance; Crime

Migrant family's experience

Changes made to accommodate migration: moving, selling to raise capital, selling off liabilities, debt, 'unconventional gender roles', security, child care, documentation.

Feelings: whole family (partner/spouse, parents, children) level of support for/involvement in decision, anticipated benefits; how long willing to support. Coping mechanisms. Changing perspectives.

While away: worry, loneliness, unable to do things, relationship concerns, affairs.

Child-parent relations.

Level of support from family/community Contact with migrant worker; means, frequency, costs & satisfaction (use of facebook, skype, etc.)

Cash flow, regularity/accessibility of remittances, use of remittances.

Informal/formal cash transfer mechanisms. In kind/cash support.

Networks and information for migrating

Source of information (potential opportunities, wages, conditions, word of mouth, etc.);

Reliability, level of influence, extent/sufficiency of information; Effect of media representation of migration; Role of social media; Decisions around formal/informal route to migrate; Ability to make informed decisions; Networks/connections (family, local, past migrants, role models, commercial, other); Community based organisations; Help/support/training available/accessed before migration; Knowledge and access to training, specific programmes, health insurance. Conditions in training compounds; Costs (opportunity/financial, overt/covert), sources of finance, debt owed;

Nature of relationship with 'broker', 'agency', bosses, and perception of relationship; Knowledge of legal requirements, rights, 'bending the rules'; Other institutions relevant to provision of information/support; *ikatan, paguyuban*, NGOs, government institutions, religious institutions, private sectors

ANNEX 3: METHODOLOGY NOTES

Details on Location Selection

The urban locations were chosen to ensure the study covers patterns of migration in the western, central, and eastern regions of Indonesia and the specific cities selected were those with the highest migration rates based on various surveys previously conducted by the World Bank. Data from the World Bank included a breakdown by district/city level of i. the proportion of individuals (aged 5+) that were living in a different district/city from the one in which they currently live and ii. the proportion of individuals (aged 5+) that were born in a different district/city from the one in which they currently live. This information was pulled from SUSENAS data. The second database provided, taken from the program KOTAKU1 (Cities without Slums, Kota Tanpa Kumuh), notes the 'slum level' (tingkat kumuh) for each kelurahan (designated by 'light', 'medium', and 'heavy') for the selected provinces. Each of the five sub-team leaders for the study cross-checked those kelurahan in their city designated as 'heavy slums' with available local government data and using Google Maps. Local government data the teams consulted included documents such as Medan and Makassar's 'Plan for the Prevention and Increase in Quality of Urban Slum Settlements' (Rencana Pencegahan dan Peningkatan Kualitas Permukiman Kumuh Perkotaan, RP2KPKP) for the KOTAKU program, which included Slum Settlement Profiles² for the cities.

Pulse Lab Analysis

Specifically, the privacy-protecting mobile network data processing for the months of August to November 2017 involved the following steps:

1. Define the 'home cell tower' of an anonymous user as the most frequent tower

used by the subscriber between midnight and 5am over the course of a month;

2. Process the anonymised network activity records to create a user home tower database, with variables including: anonymised user, year, month, home cell tower;
3. Map cell tower locations to kelurahan/desa;
4. Filter the anonymised user home tower database for anonymised users that have spent at least the past month in the city of interest;
5. Filter the city-specific anonymised user home tower database for anonymised users that have had home cell towers outside of the city of interest during the time frame and create a new data set with variables including: anonymised user, desa (origin), kelurahan (destination);
6. Sum the edge list to produce an origins matrix for the city of interest, then normalise;
7. Share the normalised list of migrant source communities to the city of interest with the qualitative research team to inform the selection of rural locations for further research.

Tools used in a RCA

- **Informal conversations – one-on-one and group conversations**

As researchers participate in daily activities and go around communities, both on their own and accompanying others, they are able to have conversations with different people throughout the day in a variety of situations. For example, a researcher might accompany a migrant to a warung to buy some salt and have a coffee. While having coffee, the researcher asks the migrant about the differences between their life in the village compared to the

¹ http://kotaku.pu.go.id/web_kotaku/public/

² Medan: <http://kotakusumut.com/pustaka/rp2kpkp/bab3.pdf> and Makassar: <http://www.slideshare.net/bogesi/slum-improvement-action-plan-siap-nusp2-kota-makassar>

city. During the discussion, neighbours also visiting the warung might join in on the discussion and then describe their experiences in different cities they have lived in. describe how these work, when , with whom

- **Facilitating debates – asking informal gatherings to discuss an issue**
For example while hanging out in front of a home with a group of young men, a researcher asks if they would talk about how they perceive work opportunities in Makassar compared to their hometowns.
- **Listening in to conversations**
For example while helping their host mother and a neighbour prepare fried snacks for selling, a researcher might hear about concerns they have related to their husbands working outside of the village for long periods. Later on, the researcher explores these concerns further with their host mother.
- **Observing**
RCA Researchers try to take in the small, contextual details that provoke further discussions/interactions and understanding. For example, after noticing that a child in their host family returns to the home carrying snacks multiple times throughout the day, the researcher might talk to one of the parents about their regular expenses.
- **Experiencing daily life**
A researcher in Jakarta accompanies their host mother to the park where she works to understand better what the journey and work is like.
- **Following up on conversations**
For example, after hearing about a SMK in a variety of conversations in Central Java Village, one of the researchers visited the school, chatting with students and a teacher at the school and looking at flyers on the notice boards to see about opportunities to find out about jobs.
- **Using visuals to aid conversation and provoke discussion**
As one of the researchers in Jakarta began to hear more stories about the all of the different places their host family

has lived and the different jobs they've done, the research asked the family if she could make a timeline with them to better understand the changes in their lives over time.

Study Team

All team members have completed a full five-day Level 1 RCA training on RCA core principles and techniques. This training includes two days of classroom training which emphasise researcher awareness and behaviour, maintaining informality, enabling team members to recognise and reduce biases, to mitigate power distance and to build a good practice of reflexivity vital to promoting rigour in the execution of a study. The classroom training is followed by a two-night immersion where new researchers apply this learning. This pilot immersion is followed by a day of reflection and internalisation of lessons learned.

The five sub-teams for this study were led by experienced RCA practitioners who have also gone through (at least) a Level 2 training which prepares Level 1 researchers to assume a leadership position during fieldwork. A majority of the RCA researchers for this study have participated in more than six previous RCA studies.

RCA researchers are predominantly enthusiastic 'people persons' from a broad range of academic backgrounds including: anthropology, development studies, journalism, law, political sciences, and sociology.

Household Selection Notes

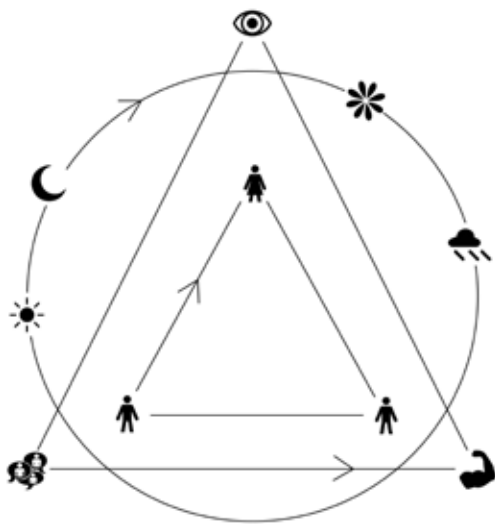
Note that it is not uncommon for researchers to be offered a 'home' or place to stay before the researchers broach this topic themselves. In such cases, researchers gauge the appropriateness of the household as it pertains to the study (i.e. does the household/migrant fit with the selection criteria) and factor in other considerations such as respecting the relationships they have already begun to develop in the community. For example, if a particular family insists that a researcher stays with them but do not seem to meet the selection criteria to the same extent as a neighbouring family, the researcher may agree to stay with the offering family but then

spend a large portion of their time with the neighbouring family as well.

Quality Assurance and Rigour in RCA studies

Although the RCA method is a flexible approach to research, we believe in the rigour of the method and the quality of the findings because of the purposive process with which we train all RCA researchers, the multiple levels of quality control that are employed and the structured process used for analysing study findings.

During the immersion process, the RCA draws on extensive opportunities for triangulation as researchers work in small teams and use multiple methods (conversation, observation, experience, visuals) over days and nights, interacting with a range of people in different locations. The principle of triangulation is to examine the same issue through different lenses, using different methods and multiple observers to increase confidence in the findings.



In the above graphic, the inner triangle represents triangulation with people: various study participants, with researchers in a sub-team and between sub-teams.

The outer triangle represents triangulation with methods: researchers use observation, experience and conversation in gathering insights and learnings.

The circle represents iteration that all types of triangulation can be performed with, during morning, afternoon and evenings as well as during different seasons.

Part of the quality control for RCA studies results from the team structure for a study, with individual team members being part of small sub-teams. Particularly during the sub-team debriefings, team members have the opportunity to collaborate and triangulate each other's findings along with critically examine outliers and deviance. Debriefings are led by the study leader (sometimes by the study co-leader or quality assurance leader depending on a study's timeline and sequencing) who will begin to probe the findings and ask follow-up questions. For example, if one of the team members shares that the primary school was closed during their time in a village, the debriefer may ask questions like, 'Who did you talk to this about?', 'Did you talk to others about this as well?', 'Did you go to the school and see that it was closed for yourself? Did people give reasons for the school being closed?', 'Did people say this was often the case?' and then also check with other team members to see if they saw or heard something about the primary school. As the study enters the sensemaking and analysis phases, the study co-lead and quality assurance leader continue to provide support and quality assurance to and for the study leader. For more on the steps in the analysis process, please see below.

How does RCA address issues of bias

Research can be affected by bias from both respondents and researchers themselves. Some of the common biases which can affect research, and qualitative studies in particular, include:

- bias to interact with certain group (e.g. gender bias, age bias, wealth bias, comfort bias and location bias),
- 'bias from being researched' - change of behaviour or information being filtered for the researcher,
- bias from researcher's own values and opinions
- bias due to respondents' lack of understanding about what is being asked.

RCA researchers are trained to identify the common biases that need to be considered and addressed during their field work³. The RCA level 1 training also includes a module on conversations which involves simulations and praxis to help researchers to think through how questions can be thoughtfully posed. Other parts of the training emphasise how we need to challenge assumptions, suspend judgement and always be reflexive about our own actions, attitudes and behaviours. The approach highlights the importance of using many ways to get a deeper understanding of phenomena.

The low key and unobtrusive nature of RCA helps to in particular minimise bias from being researched, and we believe this is one of RCA's key comparative advantages. Considerable effort and time is put in by RCA team members to ensure the families they stay with feel comfortable and at ease so they can tell their own stories, explain their reality on their terms and in their own way.

Conversations enable iteration, asking questions in different ways, at different times and using the environment to stimulate questions. When such conversations are combined with observation and direct experience this provides a good basis for mitigating both respondent and researcher bias. Being able to approach topics from many angles and in a conversational style may dilute possibilities for misinterpretation by respondents. RCA researchers are also encouraged to actively meet and have conversation with all people, and put extra effort to talk with people who may seem left out of many group conversations or those who would likely not attend more formal research.

Another mechanism to reduce both individual researcher bias and bias from being research is by creating distance between the researcher and the project/organisation the research is being conducted for. While RCA studies are often used as part of a particular project, RCA researchers themselves are independent. RCA researchers explain this independence to communities and that their presence is not linked to any particular resource allocation.

As participants learn that RCA researchers are not visiting in a purely 'evaluative' role, independence can enhance the credibility of findings by reducing possible response bias on the part of intended beneficiaries interviewed. It also reduces the potential influence of prior views researchers may already have about the project.

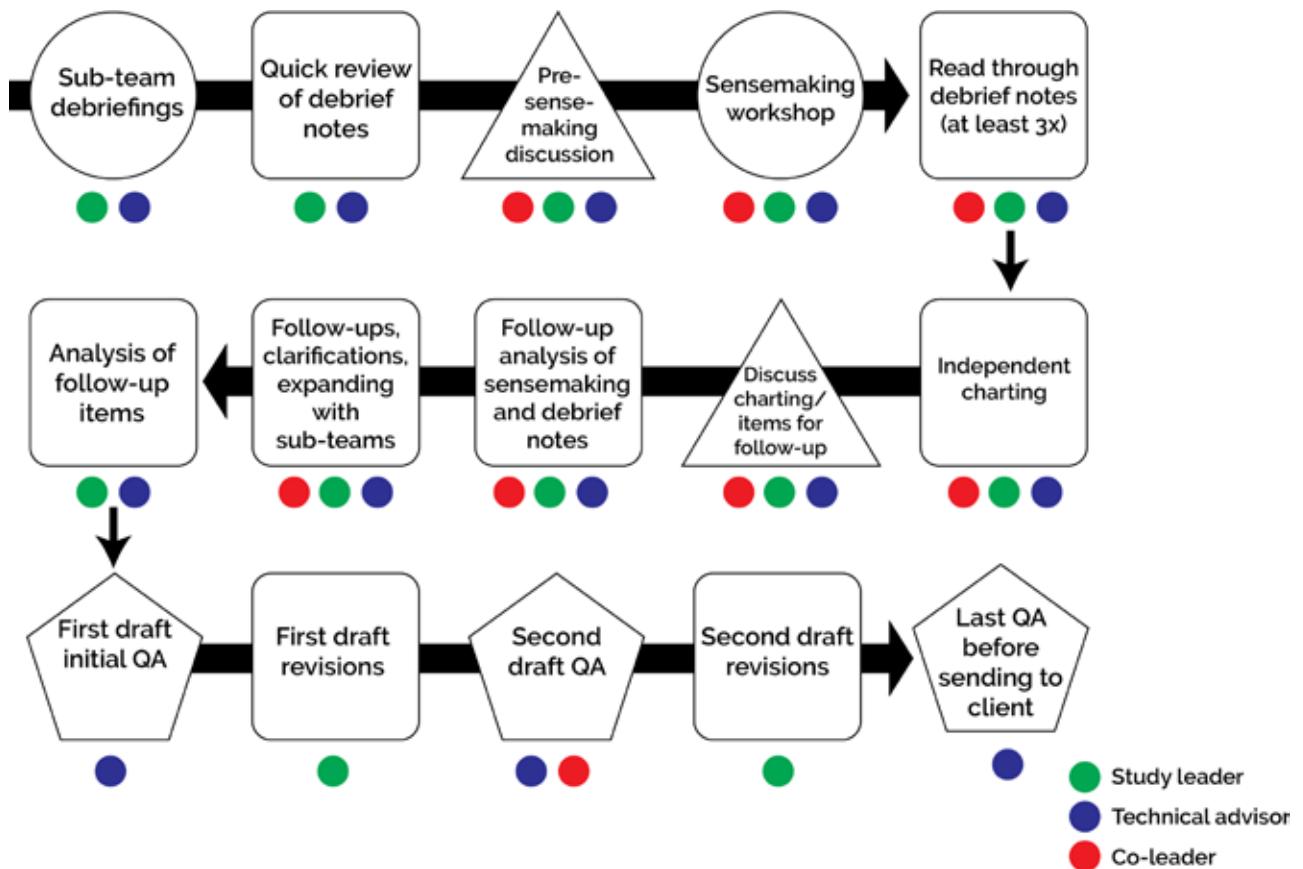
In order to further mitigate researcher's own biases, a minimum of three researchers go to a particular location but work independently of each other, allowing for a corroboration of insights. Sub-teams are composed of men and women, older and younger researchers and, where it may be important, researchers with different religious/ethnic backgrounds. Immediately after the completion of field work / immersion, each sub-team undergoes a day long de-briefing to review and triangulate findings to enable a high level of interrogation of the observations, experiences and responses and reduce the possibility of biases and/or misinterpretation.

Research questions themselves may suffer from normative bias as they are generally prepared externally and often by people who have never been to or experienced life in the environments of interest. Partly to help combat normative bias but also to promote a grounded theory approach to analysing findings, the RCA team uses a broader thematic list of Areas of Conversation to help guide researchers interactions in the field. These 'areas' act as a more flexible and accommodating context of curiosity, providing the basis for conversation topics but without prescribing specific questions. Team members then have the flexibility to engage with family members and others at appropriate times on these issues and topics e.g. while cooking a meal, there may be opportunities to discuss what the parents and children usually eat, when and who takes what; accompanying children to school provides opportunity to talk about children's challenges and aspirations.

Along with the emphasis given to bias and reflexivity in RCA trainings and the intrinsic triangulation possibilities immersion studies provide, the combining of insights at analysis stages means that there are multiple layers where we can question bias.

³ The RCA Level 1 training contains separate modules on 'Suspending Judgment', 'Power', 'Challenging Assumptions', and 'Bias'.

Figure: RCA Analysis Process, noting the involvement of the study leader, technical advisor and co-leader for each part of the process



Analysis of Findings

The above graphic provides an overview of the steps involved in the process for analysing RCA findings.

Following completion of the fieldwork and all sub-team debriefing sessions, the study team leader performs an initial review of the debriefing notes to prepare for the team-wide sense-making workshop. These workshops are attended by research team members from all study locations and are used to further triangulate study findings, to explore or clarify insights, and to ensure that the emerging findings are consistent with the reality that the team observed and experienced in the field. Following the sense-making workshop, the study team leader and at least two other senior researchers use the following framework analysis process to examine the findings: (i) familiarisation of data, involving immersion in the debriefing notes, archiving documents, and sense-making workshop notes; (ii) identification of thematic framework, involving identifying key issues and themes emerging from the

familiarisation phase; and (iii) charting or categorization of summaries of views shared by the study participants. This three-person review team reads through the debriefing notes multiple times and make initial framework and charting notes independently to test if the same themes would emerge. This is a key part of the analysis to add credibility and rigour (i.e. different researchers come to the same themes from the same written material). During the report writing process, we also typically use multiple writers to add another layer of quality assurance, with the study leader writing the main findings section and the other two members of the review team splitting up the tasks of writing the summary and the concluding remarks. The quality assurance leader provides both an initial quality check to a draft report and gives the approval for the final report.

ANNEX 4: LIST OF PEOPLE MET

	Female	Male	Totals
Migrant Workers	108	197	305
Family members (HHH)	78	68	146
Neighbour households	186	167	353
Service providers	10	7	17
Community leaders	4	19	23
Community members	206	224	430
Totals	592	682	1274

ANNEX 5:

INTERNAL MIGRATION IN INDONESIA: INSIGHTS FROM MOBILE NETWORK DATA

Pulse Lab Jakarta

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INTRODUCTION

The main objective of qualitative study on rural to urban migration was to be able to identify the major needs of rural to urban migrants and potential migrants in order to provide the government with possible options for mitigating the constraints migrants and their families face in urban and rural areas. As highlighted by the earlier chapters, the qualitative research team has done this in magisterial fashion.

Analysis of anonymised mobile network data was included to enhance the qualitative study by offering insights on the origins of migrants to each of the four destination cities of interest, namely DKI Jakarta, Medan, Tangerang, and Makassar. By understanding the distribution and relative rank of source communities of migrants to the cities of interest, the qualitative research team was able to sample the locations for its rural fieldwork with more confidence. Further to the sampling of qualitative fieldwork, the analysis of anonymised mobile network data was intended to develop a sense of the distribution of source communities of migrants to, and the relative draw of each of the four destination cities. The insights were also intended to add context to existing data sources on the extent of rural to urban migration in Indonesia, such as from the National Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas).

Based on the inception meeting with the World Bank project team, the research was also intended to differentiate between long-term and seasonal migrants, and based on the terms of reference for the project, the World Bank defined four types of migrants:

- Long term migrants: The person has stayed for 5 years or more in the same place since s/he first migrated and has not moved within that period;
- Recent migrants: The person has lived in same place of birth until 5 years ago and moved within the past 5 years;
- Seasonal migrants: If the person frequently migrates to urban areas for employment and then returns to one's birthplace, then the person is a seasonal migrant;
- Returned migrants: The person has moved to a place different than one's birthplace and returned to the birth place.

Anonymised mobile network data was chosen as it contains information about population movements, density, location, social patterns, finances and even ambient environmental conditions. As this data is uniquely detailed and tractable, it can capture information not easily found from other sources at a scale that would be difficult to recreate through other means (UN Global Pulse & GSMA, 2017). Once anonymized and aggregated to appropriate levels, mobile network data can provide a variety of insights with tremendous value for development partners, including (UN Global Pulse, 2013):

- Mobility: As calls and messages are sent and received through the cell towers of a mobile network, records are produced that can reveal community or population-level movements. This data has particular relevance in the wake of natural disasters or disease outbreaks, but it is also useful for tracking migration and for urban planning.
- Social Interaction: Information about how groups of individuals engage with their social community, including who they call, how often they speak with these contacts, and how long they speak with them, can be used to understand behaviour and socio-economic trends.
- Economic Activity: Monthly airtime top-up patterns, consumption of value-added services, and the use of mobile financial services can be used to extrapolate insights about the economic health and resilience of a community.

Building on previous work analysing seasonal mobility patterns using mobile network data (Zufiria et al., 2015) UN Global Pulse Lab Jakarta worked with two mobile network operators to develop granular insights on population flows from rural areas across Indonesia to the destination cities of interest, the results of which are described in this chapter. The remainder of the chapter is structured as follows: the methodology section described in detail the approach to processing the data and building the network of source communities of migrants, the results section presents relevant data tables and visualisations which capture the new knowledge generated by the analysis, the discussion section interprets the results in the context of existing data on internal migration and the findings of qualitative research described in previous chapters as well as addresses potential sources of bias and other limitations of the analysis, and the conclusions section reflects on how the mobile network data analysis could be extended and improved as longer time frame of data becomes available.

METHODOLOGY

As suggested in the terms of reference for the assignment and in the earlier chapters of this report, the selection of rural locations for further qualitative research occurred after the first phase of the fieldwork and was based on (i) researchers own interactions with migrants in the first phase who discussed their origin villages/communities as well as, where possible, (ii) insights from anonymised mobile network data. Due to the sequencing of the analysis, the project was able to provide insights on the source communities of migrants to DKI Jakarta and Tangerang in time for the selection of communities for the second phase of fieldwork.

The analysis examined anonymised mobile network activity records with a view to identifying migrant origins based on activity patterns for all cities highlighted in the Results section below. Specifically, the privacy-protecting mobile network data processing for the months of August to November 2017 involved the following steps:

- Define the 'home cell tower' of an anonymous user as the most frequent tower used by the subscriber between midnight and 5am over the course of a month;
- Process the anonymised network activity records to create a user home tower database, with variables including: anonymised user, year, month, home cell tower;
- Map cell tower locations to kelurahan/desa;
- Filter the anonymised user home tower database for anonymised users that have spent at least the past month in the city of interest;
- Filter the city-specific anonymised user home tower database for anonymised users that have had home cell towers outside of the city of interest during the time frame and create a new data set with variables including: anonymised user, desa (origin), kelurahan (destination);
- Sum the edge list to produce an origins matrix for the city of interest, then scale the matrix to sum to one;
- Share the scaled matrix of migrant source communities to the city of interest with the qualitative research team to inform the selection of rural locations for further research.

For the mobile network analysis, the authors worked with a market leading mobile network operator in the Jakarta metropolitan area, with 93 percent coverage of populated areas nationwide. As well as with a market leading mobile network operator at the national level, which had the best coverage of cities located outside of the Jakarta metropolitan area, and 99 percent coverage of populated areas nationwide. The insights were uncovered by working in partnership with the analytics teams at both mobile network operators and in examining data spanning August to November 2017. The analysis used datasets covering 19,588,177 anonymous mobile network subscribers, representing

74 percent of the population of the cities covered by the mobile network data analysis according to the 2010 census.

To position the insights from privacy-protecting mobile network data analysis in the context of existing knowledge about the extent of internal migration, we examine data from the National Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas) conducted in 2016, from which insights on the following migrant profiles can be gained:

- Non-migrants – district of birth, district of five years ago, and current district are all the same;
- Recent migrants – district of birth and district of five years ago are the same, but not the same as the current district;
- Frequent migrants – district of birth, district of five years ago, and current district are all different;
- Return migrants – district of birth and current district are the same, but this differs from the district of five years ago;
- Lifetime migrant – district of five years ago and current district are the same, but this differs from the district of birth.

It should be noted that as the National Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas) uses a five year time frame as a basis for analysis, a direct comparison with the time frame of the mobile network data analysis, namely four months, is not particularly illuminating. Based on the insights from the qualitative research, described in earlier chapters, it should also be noted that many migrants will not self-identify with the Susenas classifications, but they remain useful for contextualising the insights from the mobile network data. It is likely that the migration articulated in the mobile network analysis captures small fractions of the types of migrants described by Susenas, as well as entirely different migrant profiles such as short-term or seasonal migrants, but not those whose migration cycles are shorter than two weeks.

The insights from all the sources for each city displayed in table 2 are scaled to sum to one. Also the insights from mobile network data are annualised, by multiplying the figure for the percent of subscribers identified as migrants by three. This assumes that the migration captured by the mobile network data is absent of seasonal effects, which may not hold due to agricultural and industrial production cycles impacting the supply of and demand for labour.

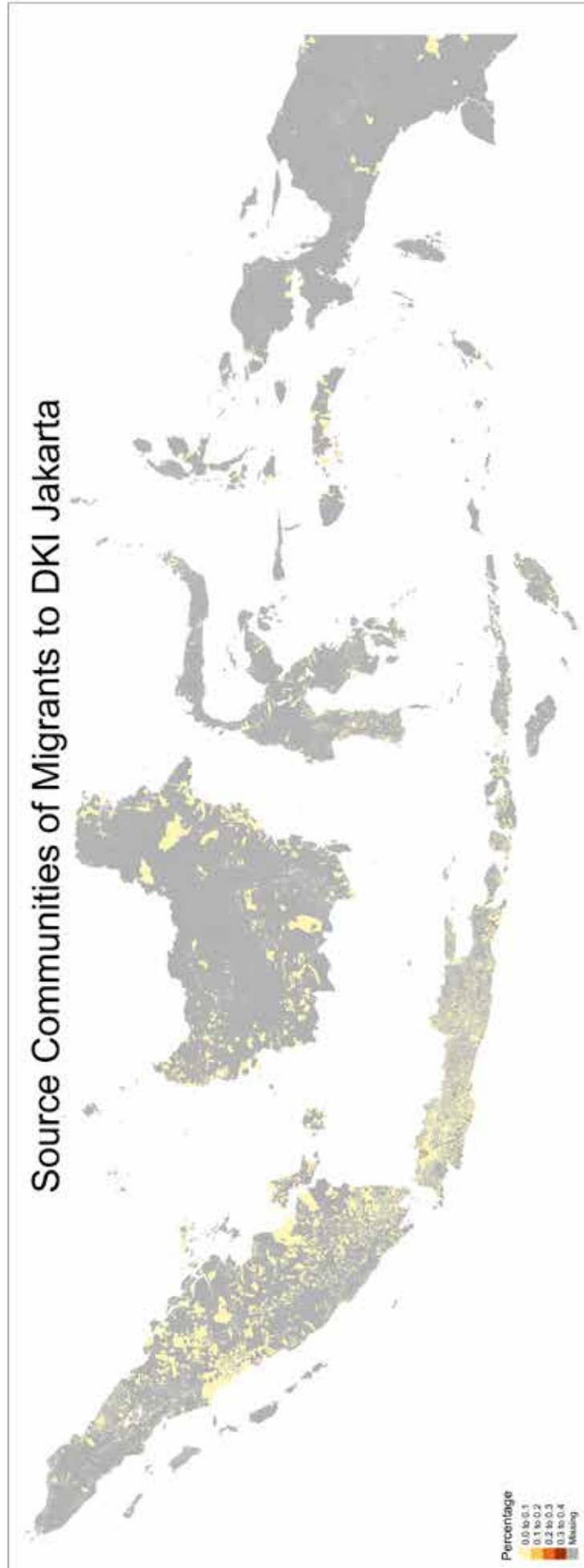
RESULTS

Under the research project, Pulse Lab Jakarta was contracted to provide insights on migrant origins to Tangerang, Makassar, and Medan. As the project evolved to include DKI Jakarta, the analysts included this city, as well as extended the research to include Balikpapan, Bandung and Surabaya, based on interest.

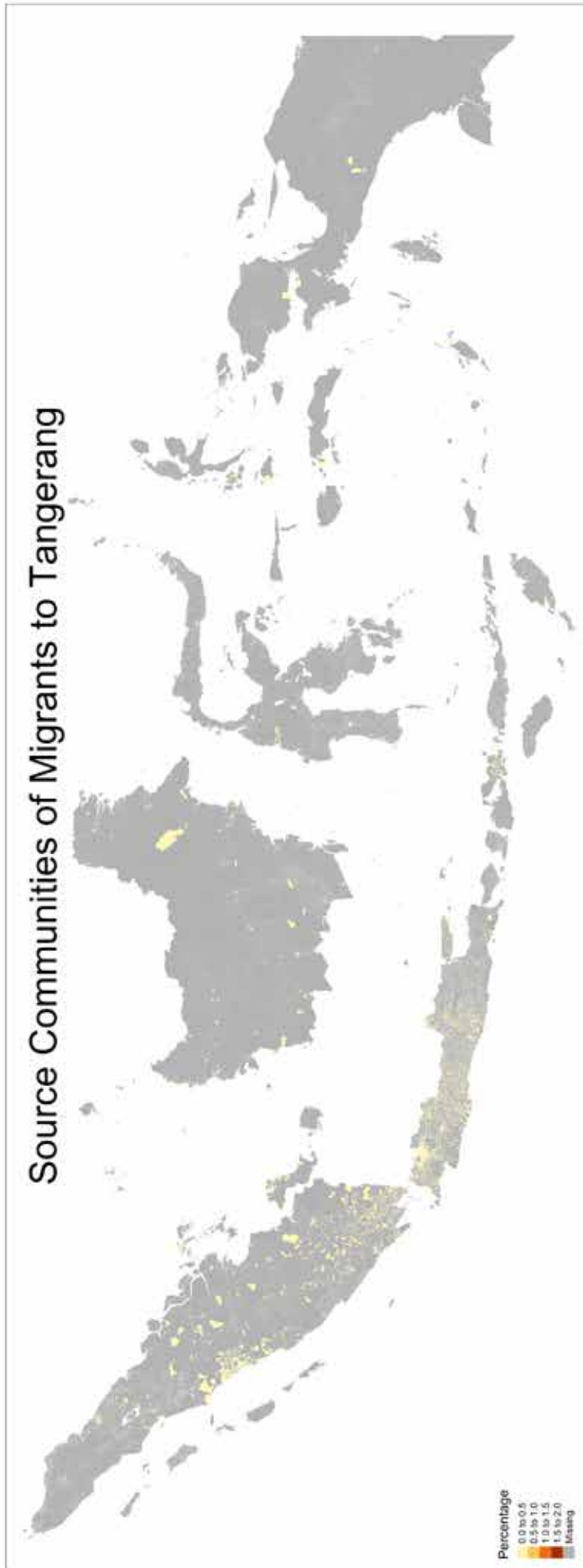
The primary intention of the privacy-protecting mobile network data analysis was to inform the sampling of the field research by the Reality Check Approach team, thus a data table highlighting the relative importance of the source communities targeted by the fieldwork is presented first. Geospatial visualisations of the source communities of migrants to each of the cities of interest are presented below, along with a data table presenting the different proportions of residents classified by types of migration for each of the cities of interest, including insights from the National Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas).

Table A: Relative importance of the source communities targeted by the fieldwork, according to the mobile network data analysis

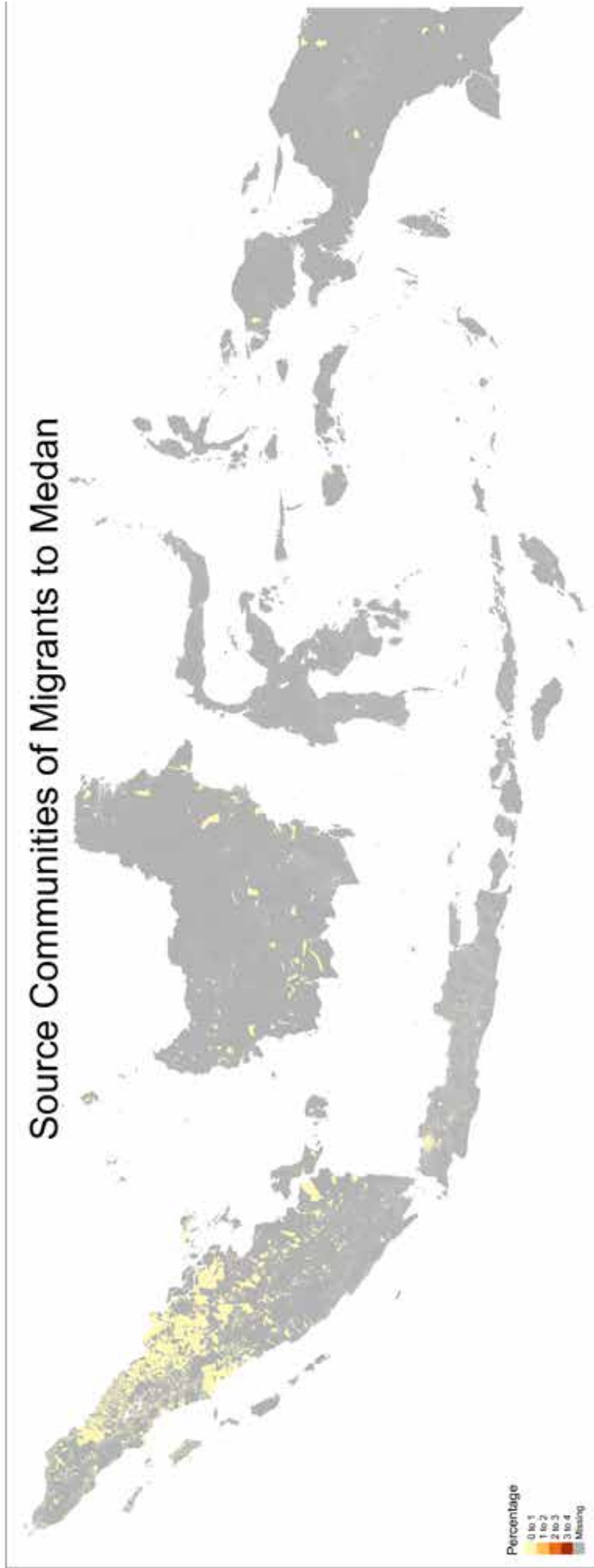
RCA Sample	Village rank based on the absolute number of migrants to the city according to mobile network data Total number of source villages of migrants to the city according to mobile network data	Total number of source villages of migrants to the city according to mobile network data
DKI Jakarta source desa	61st	16,732
Tangerang source desa	23rd	6,992
Medan source desa	225th	5,655
Makassar source desa 1	29th	5,216
Makassar source desa 2	188th	5,216



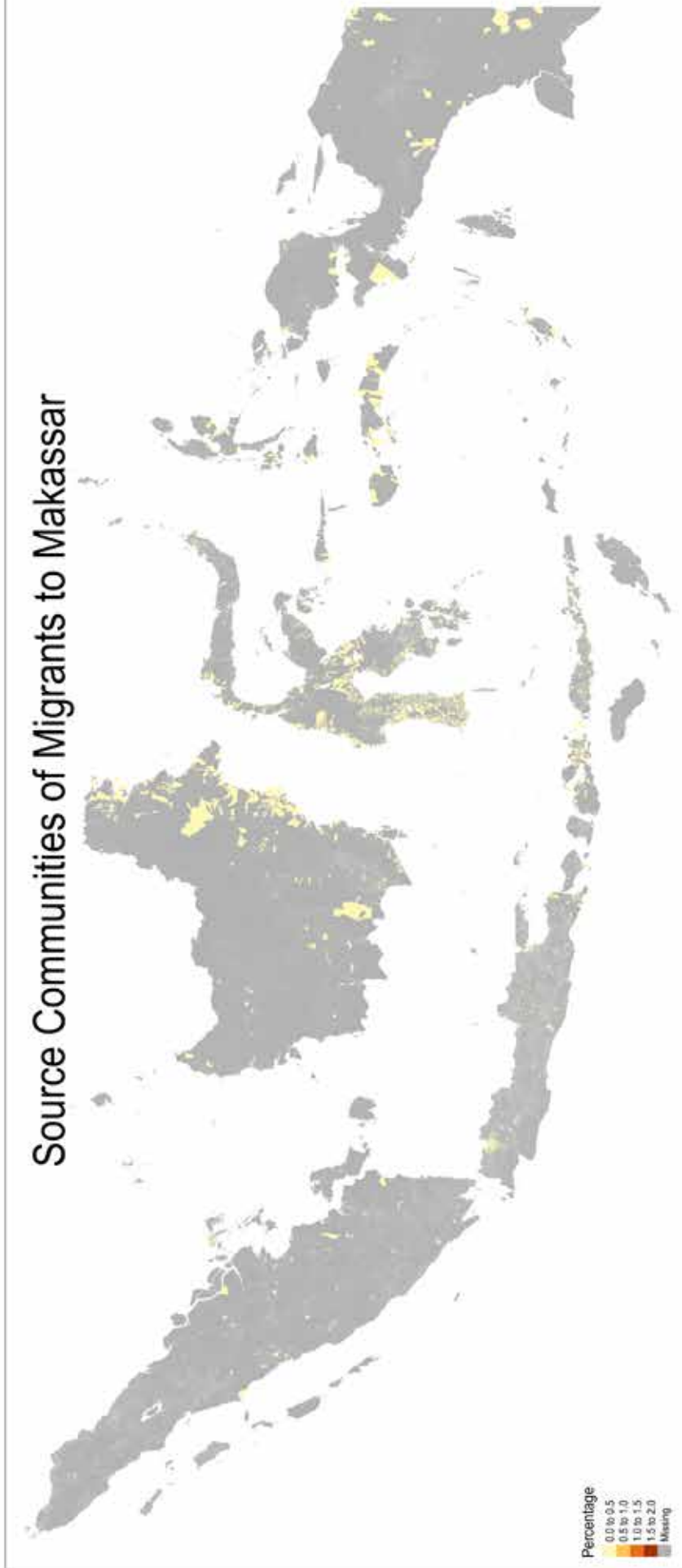
Source Communities of Migrants to Tangerang

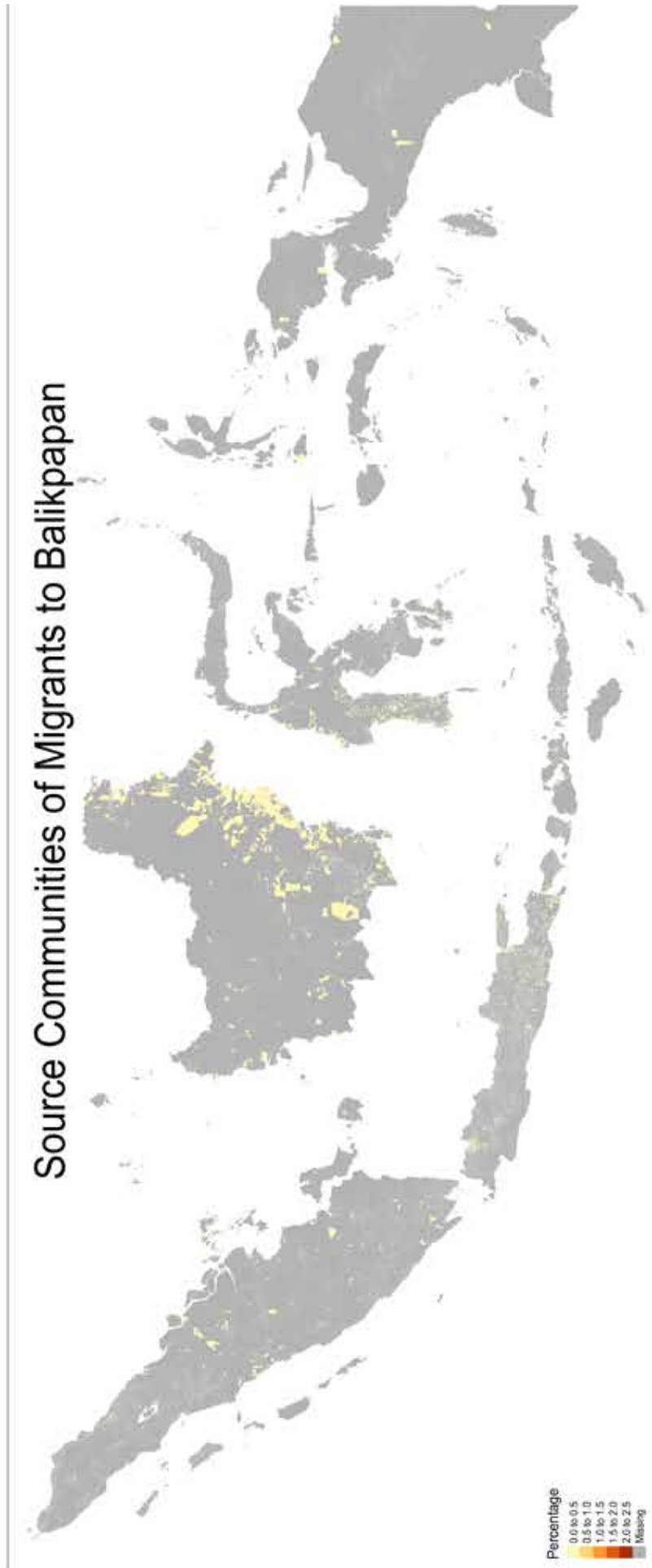


Source Communities of Migrants to Medan

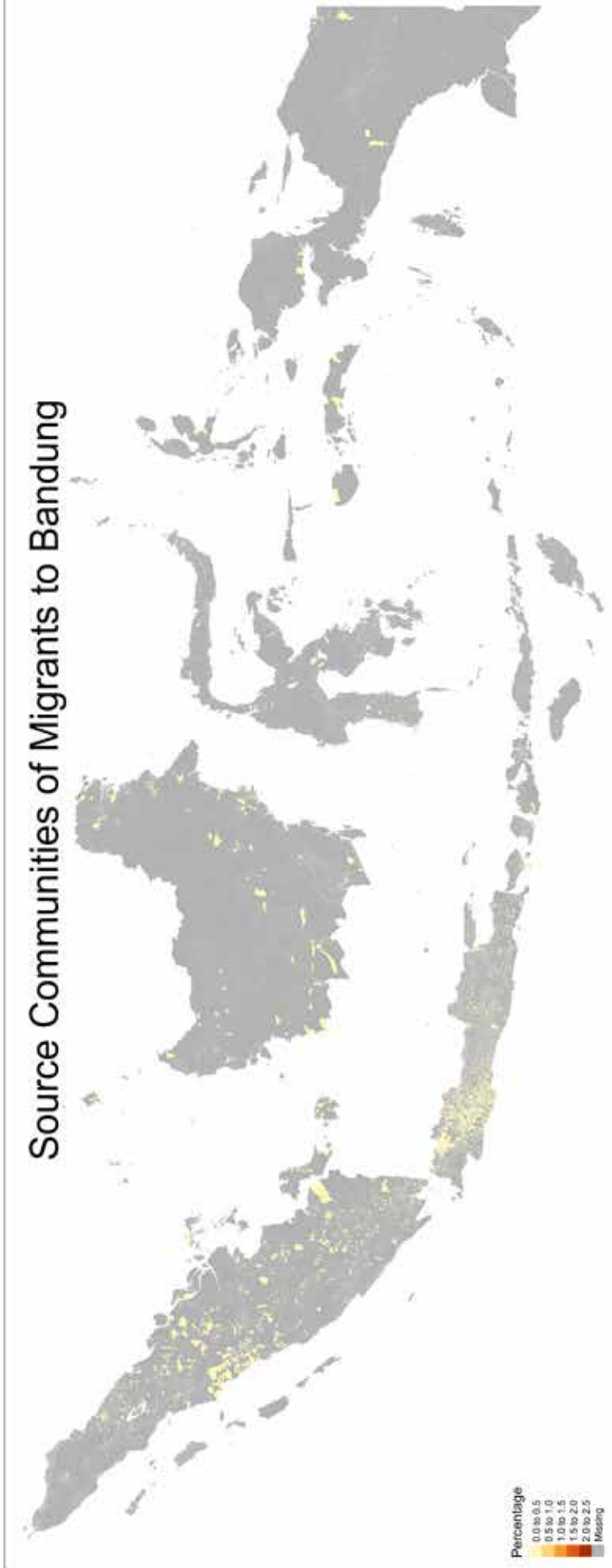


Source Communities of Migrants to Makassar





Source Communities of Migrants to Bandung



Source Communities of Migrants to Surabaya

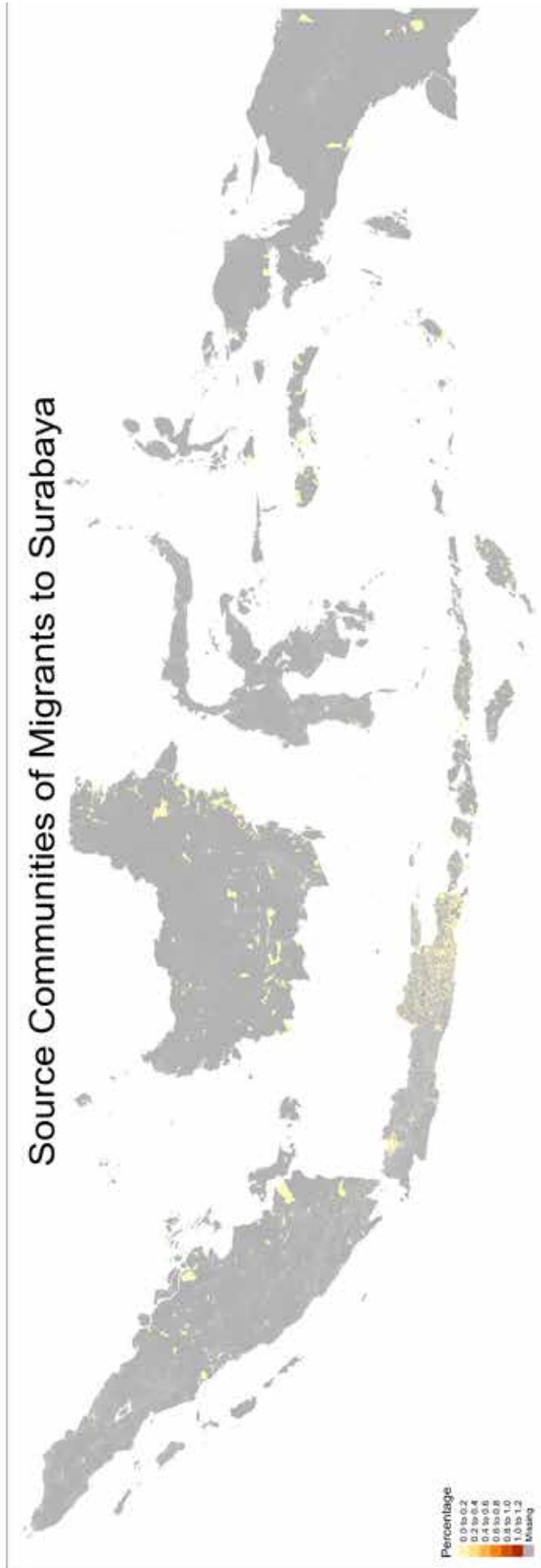


Table B: Multiple sources of data on internal migration

Migrant classification	Non migrant	Recent migrant	Frequent migrant	Return migrant	Lifetime migrant	Non migrant	Mobile network migrant	Non migrant	Mobile network migrant
Source (each scaled to sum to 1)	Susenas	Susenas	Susenas	Susenas	Susenas	Telco 1 (annualised)	Telco 1 (annualised)	Telco 2 (annualised)	Telco 2 (annualised)
DKI Jakarta	0.558	0.044	0.017	0.008	0.373	-	-	0.943	0.057
Tangerang & Kab. Tangerang	0.618	0.033	0.012	0.002	0.335	-	-	-	-
Tangerang & Tangerang Selatan & Kab. Tangerang	-	-	-	-	-	0.922	0.078	-	-
Tangerang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.931	0.069
Makassar	0.679	0.034	0.017	0.012	0.258	-	-	0.928	0.072
Medan	0.728	0.045	0.009	0.010	0.208	-	-	0.949	0.051
Balikpapan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.958	0.042
Bandung	0.809	0.023	0.007	0.004	0.157	-	-	0.940	0.060
Surabaya	0.663	0.038	0.011	0.008	0.280	-	-	0.952	0.048

Migrant definitions drawn from the National Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas) (proportions, scaled to sum to 1):

- Non-migrants – district of birth, district of five years ago, and current district are all the same;
- Recent migrants – district of birth and district of five years ago are the same, but not the same as the current district;
- Frequent migrants – district of birth, district of five years ago, and current district are all different;
- Return migrants – district of birth and current district are the same, but this differs from the district of five years ago;
- Lifetime migrant – district of five years ago and current district are the same, but this differs from the district of birth.

Migrant definitions from the mobile network data (proportions, scaled to sum to 1):

- Mobile network migrant - an anonymous subscriber whose home cell tower was located first outside of and then within the city of interest at some point during the time frame of the research (August - November 2017);
- Non migrant - an anonymous subscriber whose home cell tower was located in the city of interest during the entire time frame of the research (August - November 2017).

DISCUSSION

The mobile network data analysis had a direct influence on the sampling of source communities of migrants to DKI Jakarta and Tangerang by the qualitative research team; the mobile network data analysis from Makassar and Medan arrived too late to influence the sample. This division notwithstanding, data table 1, highlighting the relative importance of the source communities targeted by the fieldwork, shows that all the villages sampled by Reality Check Approach were within the top four percent of source communities of migrants to the cities of interest.

The geospatial visualisations of the source communities of migrants to each of the target cities are of interest for several reasons. Foremost, the extremely fine spatial granularity of the insights on migrant origins is unprecedented. Since the two partner mobile network operators have 93 and 99 percent coverage of populated areas, near-nationwide village-level insights on the distribution of migrant origins has been achieved by the mobile network data analysis. The author of this chapter is not aware of any other study that offers insights at a comparable level of resolution with similar spatial coverage.

In terms of the actual distribution of source communities of migrants to each of the cities of interest, intuitively the visualisations make sense: most of the cities draw migrants from the surrounding regions. Medan draws migrants from around Sumatra, Eastern Indonesia and the edges of Kalimantan are more closely linked with Makassar, and DKI Jakarta and Tangerang attract migrants from many destinations. Furthermore, DKI Jakarta and Tangerang in general attract migrants from the same islands, but Tangerang draws considerably less extensively than Jakarta from those same locations. Tangerang's similarly shaped distribution to Jakarta may be due to the draw of the Jakarta metropolitan area, and not based on the merits of Tangerang as a destination alone. It is also interesting that the distributions of Makassar and Medan display the Jakarta metropolitan area as a source of migrants, suggesting that we may be detecting returning migrants. This also applies to the other cities located outside of the Jakarta metropolitan area not included in the qualitative study, namely Balikpapan, Bandung and Surabaya.

Comparing the proportions of migrants between data sources, displayed in data table 2, it is likely that short-term migration is significantly underestimated. As highlighted in the methodology section, the definitions of migrants under the National Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas) do not map directly into the definitions of migrants under the mobile network data analysis. The definition from the Susenas most closely resembling the migrant definition from the mobile network data analysis is that of frequent migrant, defined as having a different district of birth, district of five years ago, and current district. This comparison is sub-optimal as it is likely that the migration articulated in the mobile network analysis captures small fractions of all the types of migrants described by Susenas, as well as entirely different migrant profiles such as short-term or seasonal migrants. It could be argued that short-term or seasonal migrants are included under the Susenas definition of frequent migrant, which according to the data suggests that this type of migration is significantly underestimated. If, however, you do not accept this, then it is likely that the insights from the mobile network data analysis are capturing previously undefined type(s) of migration. Section 3.1. of the main report, above, offers alternative definitions of types of migrants based on the field research, which may go some way to addressing this issue. In particular, type 2: casual cash worker, commuter, type 3: casual cash worker, 'follow the money', and to some extent type 6: self-employed informal may be a good match for the aforementioned previously undefined types of migrant captured by the anonymous mobile network data analysis.

Adding to this suggestion of underestimation of internal migration flows is one of the limitations of the study, namely the coverage error introduced by SIM (subscriber identity module) card churn, the process by which subscribers abandon SIM cards, and by extension their numbers, for new ones, meaning that the instance of migration would not be captured in the data, the migrant would

appear as a permanent resident of the city of interest due to having bought a new SIM card in situ. Of note, this process does not only happen when subscribers switch between networks, as in Indonesia most of the mobile network operators run provincial-level promotion campaigns which creates an incentive for within-network SIM card churn. The authors are not aware of any mobile network operators in Indonesia implementing device/customer fingerprinting, meaning that within-network SIM card churn has the same effect as a subscriber switching networks.

It is likely that coverage error from SIM card churn leads to coverage bias, due to anecdotal evidence that the less well-off migrants often replace their SIM cards, while wealthier migrants can afford the luxury of retaining a number at the expense of missing out on promotional campaigns. In addition, further potential coverage error and bias are introduced by the possibility that some migrants do not own mobile phones, so would never appear in the mobile network data in any form, a phenomenon sometimes described as the 'digital divide' (Salganik, 2018). Also, the fact that the mobile network data analysis worked with data from two of Indonesia's mobile network operators, with a combined market share of 70 percent, rather than all five operators brings further coverage error. The net result of these coverage errors and biases is that the type of migration captured by the mobile network data analysis, however defined, is underestimated.

Another limitation of the study concerns the time frame which mobile network operators hold network activity records. In the case of this analysis, both operators held network activity data for four months, meaning that the origins matrices only captured subscribers that had moved during that time frame (August to November 2017). As highlighted in the methodology section, the insights from mobile network data displayed in data table 2 are annualised, by multiplying the figure for the percent of subscribers identified from mobile network data as migrants by three. It was questioned in the same section whether the migration captured by the mobile network data is absent of seasonal effects. The fact that the time frame covers the smaller dry season rice crops' harvest and planting, and the wet season rice crop planting (United States Department of Agriculture, 2012), suggests that seasonal effects are present in limiting supply of labour and it could be argued that these effects further exacerbate the underestimation of the proportion of migrants; however, this only takes into consideration rice production so should be treated with a degree of scepticism. Furthermore, during initial meetings on the project, the World Bank team expressed the key distinction of interest in the mobile network data analysis as being between long-term and seasonal migrants. Due to the limitation imposed by data availability, and the fact that the quantitative team could not process the data directly and instead relied on working through the analytics teams of the mobile network operators, it was not possible to explore the different frequencies of circulation, although we are following up on this with our partners and may be able to share insights on this at a later date.

An additional limitation concerns the mapping of cell towers to villages (kelurahan/desa), where the analysis omitted to construct a Voronoi diagram, opting instead for a direct mapping to the administrative boundary of the kelurahan/desa. In one instance this has the effect of slightly misdirecting the qualitative researchers, who fortunately had the awareness to check nearby settlements to the host village of the cell tower, which turned out to be the source location for the migrants captured in the mobile network data. Based on the insights from the mobile network data, the qualitative research team discovered new profiles of migrants that were not detected during the fieldwork in the cities of interest, including profiles associated with non-slum dwelling or work site migrants.

CONCLUSIONS

The previous section interpreted the results in the context of the limitations of the research, including touching upon the coverage bias introduced by SIM card churn and the 'digital divide', as well

as the conceptual error in that the time frame of the data was not sufficient to capture different frequencies of circulation of migrants. These biases notwithstanding, the research is remarkable in that it offers insights on migrant origins to the cities of interest at an unprecedented degree of spatial granularity, and that it points to a significant underestimation of the scale of short-term internal migration within Indonesia to date. In addition, the research has reconfirmed the construct validity of using mobile network data for insights on internal migration. Given a longer time frame of mobile network data, it is clear that the data would be capable of capturing different profiles of migrants and different frequencies of circulation, albeit with some coverage bias.

The limitations of the research associated with the time frame of the mobile network data should become less restrictive as the mobile network operators in Indonesia hold more historical data, a result for which Pulse Lab Jakarta is lobbying. This would enable a more profound analysis of migrant profiles and different frequencies of circulation, for example through cluster analysis. A more detailed analysis of the connection between frequencies of circulation and agricultural and industrial production cycles would be beneficial. It would also be interesting to examine whether the diversity of a subscriber's network, or other features that can be developed from the mobile network data, are predictive of migration. Another option would be to use airtime credit purchases as opposed to network activity records, as this dataset is smaller and often held for longer by mobile network operators, although as these interactions are less frequent than calls, SMS and data latches, it would be harder to estimate the home cell tower of anonymous subscribers with confidence.

The research partners wish to express their gratitude to the World Bank for investing in this new combination of big mobile data analysis and ethnographic research. We hope to replicate the approach in other cities and countries, taking advantage of the potential for new research dimensions described above.

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ANNEX 6: WORK INFO FOR IN-DEPTH MIGRANT CONTACTS

TYPE 1: CASUAL CASH WORKER, LONG STAY

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Scavenger, specifically plastic bottles and cups	Mostly men	Do not liking in farm	Did not mention
Daily labors	Many men	He wanted to make better earning than in the village. His friends asked him to join them migrate and work in Jakarta, "I had nothing to do in my hometown. My friends asked me to join to Jakarta to find jobs. I thought why not?" Moreover, his first wife decided not to stop become int. migrant, "I asked her to stop or I will migrate to Jakarta and she still did not want to stop working overseas, so I moved to Jakarta."	Hard to find "settle" income. He needed to do many things from selling foods, stuffs, and become daily labor.
Workshop technician, radiator workshop	All men	Get bored at school (SMA, dropped out at year 2), want to get own money	Not mention any.
Seasonal informal works (construction worker, angkot driver, vegetables and fruits seller, repairman by demand)	Mostly Men	Conflict with siblings due to failing family business	Having limited information about destination site.
Construction worker	Mostly Men	No opportunities in the village	Did not mention
Driver	Mostly Men	Follow the wife's family living in city	Not having skill to work on vehicles (either driving or mechanical)
Operator	Men's Work	Not seeing much prospects, aside from farming, in his hometown. Back then, there weren't much development taking place in his hometown. He claims that the people in his hometown can be very mean to those whom they do not like. According to him, they even went to the extent of murdering those whom they hate.	He finds it challenging to resist from his colleagues' gambling habit. He had employers that didn't treat him well but, unlike many migrants whom I talked to, he simply quit and looks for another job as opposed to accepting the treatment.
Mechanic	Men's Work	Not seeing much prospects, aside from farming, in his hometown	Faced much instability in terms of income and lack of bargaining power back when he hasn't earned his skills as a mechanic. Back then, he would force himself to endure bad treatment from his employer.
Bentor driver	Men's Work	i) To gain more money ii) Not seeing much prospects, aside from farming, in his hometown	Being away from his family.
Pete-pete driver	Mostly men	To find work and earning money while waiting for seaweed harvesting (every 40 days). It's difficult to earn money in the village.	Away from the family and not able to spend more time with his children especially with his oldest son because he is teenager. Working long hours to earn enough money for daily needs and saving (to bring home)
Pete-pete driver	Mostly men	To find work and earning money while waiting for fertilizing and harvesting his family coffee and pepper plantation. The money can support the plantation inputs. Return to the village every 2 months	High competition among other public transportation services often cause low earning. Need to work long hours to earn good money. Must stay with relatives because renting room is expensive.

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Building material store employee	Men	After his parents passed away, he did not want to live in his village anymore because it would remain him of the parents	Job opportunities were limited, especially for him without education backgrounds. Finding a rented house with affordable prices was extremely difficult. A burden to be a good husband and a breadwinner for his family
Building material store employee	men	Following his parents	did not mention
Bakso seller	Men	Economic betterment	Fund a fit business to run, mingled with locals, memorized locations and areas
Trash collector	men	Economic betterment	Did not mention
Odd jobs including selling drugs	Mostly men/boys (particularly the drugs)	Father initially moved from Java to Goa for work (PNS), but this man then moved into Makassar because he said it's easier to get work whenever you need it/want it. And he's now roped in to the drug situation in the neighbourhood as well	He noted that the large salary difference between a S1 v S2 grad for farmasi students was a driver to not work in an Apotek or related job
Construction worker	Mostly men	Following friends from hometown	Leaving parents at hometown, expensive life expenses
Angkot driver	Mostly Men	Economic betterment	Adjustment to live in poor condition of slump area
Ex-pedicab driver and coal company, now farmer	Mostly men	Did not have land to be a farmer in the village	Conflicts with local thug, fierce competition with other pedicab drivers
Returned migrant (previously driver in Makassar)	Men	Told parents was for better education opportunities (SMA) but ended up dropping out once in Makassar. Looking for new experience/adventure	None mentioned
Palm oil worker	Mostly men	Lack of job opportunities in hometown, uncertain income from agriculture, following the path of neighbors/family/friends, drop the school (high school) in hometown	Missing parents, meeting people from certain ethnicity with bad character, having little son who only speak Bahasa Indonesia and have difficulty communicating with grandparents and other family members during hometown visit, getting married in migrant area without family presence, not yet getting the chance to meet wife's family in Kupang
Cleaning, dishwasher	Mostly men	Willing to experience new place and new culture (curiosity about Bali), following friend's path	Lack of education, high living expense, having not kind boss, missing parents
Ex-security	Mostly men	Lack of job opportunities in village, no regular income from farming, following friend's path	Expensive living cost, leaving son and parents at the hometown,
Jamu seller	Mostly women	Child death and the husband feel sorry she need to live alone in the village	She can't go to the social event (pengajian) when she's in Jakarta, and her income decreased
Convection worker	Mostly women	The sister and friends went to Jakarta	Did not mention
Live-in baby carer	Mostly women	Finding new experience, going with friends, economic reason	Can't come home as regularly
Trading vegetables and fishes in the market	Mostly Women	Following husband living in the city	Uncertainty about how to secure foods and other needs.
Domestic worker	Mostly women	Support parents' financial, following friend's path, lack of job opportunities in the village	Being far away from family, expensive travel expense to visit family
Domestic worker	Women's work	Economic betterment, age (reached the maximum age for a factory worker), divorced with husband.	Separated with children, live in kost, wanted to work in factory and manipulate the age because working as domestic worker is tiring
Online seller	Equally men and women	Better quality of education	No information

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Restaurant employee	Men and women	Lack of job opportunity in a village	Heavy workloads, did not have a family or trusted friends to talk to
Farmer, ex-plantation worker	Both men and women	Economic betterment for family, lack of opportunity in village	Did not mention
Village office staff, ex-factory worker	Both men and women	Economic betterment for family, lack of opportunity in village	Low education level
ex-palm oil worker in Malaysia	M & F	Casual Cash	Long journey and administration
ex-palm oil worker in Malaysia	M & F	To be with her spouse	Long journey and administration

TYPE 2: CASUAL CASH WORKER, COMMUTER

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Pete-pete driver	Mostly men	Find work, does not want to be a rice farmer and there was no other work except farming in the village so he left the village to find work.	Increased competition of public transportation services. Have no skill to change/ move to another work
Pete-pete driver	Mostly men	No work in the village, many of young people has left the village to earn money, has no farming land.	Need to learn the skill before start working. Pete-pete driver in Makassar earn only small amount of money, thus he plans to move to Jakarta as soon as he has enough saving.
Becak driver	All men	Earning for cash to buy seeds, fertilizer during farming season, lack of job opportunities in hometown for junior high graduate	High competition (in finding customers) with current online public transportation, public stick regulation which not allowing becak to pass through, uncertain daily income
Construction worker	Mostly men	The brother come to Jakarta, the harvest only 2 times a year, economic reason	Did not mention
Construction worker	Mostly men	Looking for quick cash for attending / making party (circumcision, wedding, funeral)	Having a good boss (mandor), long work hours, heavy work
Construction worker	Mostly men	Looking for quick cash for attending / making party (circumcision, wedding, funeral)	Having a good boss (mandor), long work hours, heavy work
Truck driver, ex-driver	Mostly men	'looking for experience' 'better cash'	Keep up with 'city live' (peers in city) but also peers in village. As they know who doing commuter so friends expecting him to treat every time back to village
Construction workers	Mostly men	raise money to build a house and buy a motor bike, no income in the rainy season	spending on daily meals is expensive, limited space for rest , long distance relationship issue (affair, suspicious, quarreling dll)
Construction workers	Mostly men	no income in the rainy season	spending on daily meals is expensive,
Construction workers	Mostly men	no income in the rainy season, raise money to ritual devotion to his parents	spending on daily meals is expensive, limited water for washing and take shower
Working at a Batakese restaurant in Jakarta (Iapo) and as a farmer in the village	Men	He can not stay long in one place. He comes to Jakarta when he needs more money.	He didn't like Jakarta's environment

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Construction workers	Men	Married to local girl and does not have enough land for farming. He has skills on installing electricity so join his brother in law who is mandor.	Comeback after 3-4 months sometime jobless for months waiting new job for construction worker.
Construction workers	Men	Not finish elementary school and can not accepted in factory. A friend bring him to Jakarta to work as construction worker to build warehouses and factory.	Not mention. In fact he likes city life and likes travelling using commuter like (train)
Mandor	Men	Every men went to city for work 10 years ago and now he keep continuing doing that although everyone has stopped. He continues because he has network, skills and knowledge to keep doing this.	Sometime he experienced money lost if the worker has accident or he miss the schedule.
Chicken slaughter house worker	Men	Farming is not enough to support family. He was a construction worker before but there was uncertainty (due to weather or work availability) but in chicken slaughter work he gets paid monthly regardless the weather.	Life apart from family for years (only every 4-5 months)
Sales girl	women	Economic betterment	She had no friend there and felt so lonely
Coffee and snack seller	Men and Women	Farming can not support his family's life, too old to be a construction worker	Separated from her children, running out capital because factory worker buy food and drinks on credit.
Factory worker and perfume seller	Men and women	Farming in the village is not enough, education is so high	Feel lonely away from family, has been working in glue factory for 17 years, has to live in very modest accommodation provided by company as a compensate low paid salary.

TYPE 3: CASUAL CASH WORKER, 'FOLLOW THE MONEY'

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Barbershop, informal seller	Mostly men	'looking for experience', following friends	Managing cash (for daily use and for sending back to family), paying debt
Meatball seller	Mostly men	'looking for experience'	Maintain relationship with the boss (who own the place) Managing cash (for daily use and for sending back to family), paying debt
Illegal oil	Men	Economic betterment, lack of opportunity in the village.	Maintain relationship with the boss Safety – at first was an undercover cop who scoped out bars for drug dealings. Although good money, felt this was not safe. At first found it difficult to find new job in a city where he wasn't familiar with.
Construction worker	Mostly men	Moving around from city to city for construction working, had a contact that will deploy him to construction sites in different cities, make more money rather than only being a construction worker in hometown (Lamongan)	Homesick, temptation to look for local woman
Pukis seller	Men	Economic betterment	Culture shock, homesickness, loneliness
Construction worker	men	Economic betterment, lack job opportunities in a village	Loneliness, homesickness,

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Clothes seller	Mostly men	Follow his brother as a clothes seller to Nabire, Papua. And looking for better job opportunities (stable job) in Nabire.	Expensive living cost in Papua and his daughter suffer from malaria and return to Makassar.
Asphalt and Construction Worker	Men's Work	to fulfill daily needs and paying debt	health; lack of ability to work
Farmer, ex-driver	Mostly men	Economic betterment, lack of opportunity in village	Lack of skills, low education level
Ex-construction worker, now unemployed	Mostly men	Lack of work opportunity in village, do not like farming	Frequently having problem with local people because of his behavior, it forced him to change line of work often
Kiosk owner, ex-palm oil worker	men	Economic betterment, don't have lands	Adapted with new environment especially with other cultures
Returned migrant (previous road construction worker	Men	No more money for school (youngest)	Had to come home to take care of mother (father died)
Bidan, Massage	Mostly Women	Follow the opportunity to offer her services	Limited networking which can help her to offer services
Domestic worker	Women	Need money for farming capital to plant chili and onion.	Apart from children and husband, many time farming failed and she needs to go back again.
Noodle stall	Equally	'can do nothing in village'	Keep up with 'city live' (drinking, gambling, pay for sex—almost every night) and managing cash

TYPE 4: FORMAL 'WAGED'

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Security in wire factory/warehouse	Almost all men (35, 3 are women)	Huge PHK (termination) in former company (in Palembang), accepted in new company in TAN with good salary	Used to working with many other securities (~1000s securities) as his past job was at big company, and now he works alone to guard one building. He is now working in the small 'illegal' factory with no such worker community and good agreement between worker and the employer. Being separated with son in the village.
Unloading cargos	Men's Work	Not seeing much prospects, aside from farming, in his hometown	Had to endure exhausting work without complaints. He felt that facing difficult moments is part of being a migrant.
Security Guard	Mostly men	Does not want to be a farmer, to find work	Finding good job need connections, have to perform good work or we will be replaced—high competition in workplace.
Head of RT	Mostly men	Parents died, older brother lived in the city and wanted to take care of her	In the beginning of her tenure some people did not really respect her as the head of RT as she was not originated from the area
Drainage worker (PU)	Mostly men	Follow his parent.	Hard to survive (living and eating costs) outside of Makassar despite more income.
Guard, ojek online	Mostly men	Follow his parent	Taking care his parent and house. Competitive job selection in city.

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Working at palm oil plantation in Dumai	Men	Need more money to fix his mother's house	Away from family and only get a few day off
Ex-taxi driver	men	Economic Betterment, don't have a farming skill	Found a proper job. He tried several jobs before becoming a taxi driver for 20 years, found an affordable rented house
Swallow nest factory worker	Mostly women	Economic betterment, not many opportunities in the village, friends all migrating, broker helped getting first job	Did not have full information of job, ended up not liking first job (domestic work)
Factory worker, string factory	Mostly women, 3:1	Getting good job/economic betterment, more opportunities in 'Jakarta', village has none, last job in Bandung but seen too far by mother then moved to 'Jakarta', when getting the good job already – ready to work and at the same time studying in uni	Not getting the job she aimed for at the first place when leaving the village, and instead ended up working (temporary) in the string factory – gets lower wage than her job before/than expected. She took the job because her IDR1mio has been used for applying the job she aimed for but failed to get.
Factory worker, office – shoes factory	Mostly women	To get experiences and being independent, mother also migrated to Jkt and left her in village since junior high school	Want to buy a house in KPR (via bank credit), but needs local/TAN documentation/KTP. Want to change ID card/KTP from Lampung to TAN, but her KTP in Lampung is not done yet as a year ago she moved her KTP from Kebumen to Lampung.
Factory worker, string factory	Mostly women, 3:1	Mocked by peers in village as her face has tumor (leaving village at age of 2 elementary school), want to leave the village since then and start fresh sheet	Not having much free time as she must spend most of her time working, if not working (and 'chase' overtime), she won't get good amount of money as she is a single parent. Limited job opportunities
Factory worker, shoes factory	Mostly women	Economic betterment, saw people coming from Jakarta with good clothes (' <i>dandanannya necis-necis, baju bagus</i>), get her own money (leaving village after graduated from elementary school)	Not mention any
Factory worker	Mostly Women	To get a job so can support younger siblings through their education.	Having quite difficult time to adjust in new environment.
Cleaning service at vihara	Mostly women	Some relatives already worked in vihara, no job opportunities in hometown (Maumere)	Did not really have connection than relatives, when she wanted to resign from her job she only relied on her relatives connection for the next job
Tailor	Women	Bored in a village, as a stepping stone before moving to Jakarta	Had to commute in her first 3 months, and it affected to her health. She decided to rent a rented house in Makassar but felt so lonely. Homesickness
Yakult lady	Women only	Both parents dying, saw limited future in home area (Maumere)	Had a lack of a network, but she was able to overcome this
Glove factory worker	Mostly Women	No opportunity in the village and friends offered her to join working in the factory	Security. Would that be safe living in the city without parents or brother who could protect her?
Ex-saudi domestic worker	Mostly women	A lot of people from her husband's village working as domestic worker in Saudi, interested in the potential amount of money that she can get	Homesick, can't go home for the entire contract
Park cleaner	Some men and some women	Her parents asked her whether to enter school or get married when she was just graduate elementary school (around 12 th), she got trapped in abusive marriage and began to feel unhappy and uneasy (later got divorced) then she decided to move to Jakarta before she turned 17 and lived with her uncle (only for short period of time then she moved from place to place)	At first she did not know what to do in Jakarta. She did not feel happy to live with her uncle because her aunt and uncle asked her to do chores in the house rather than suggest her to find something to do. She "ran away" from her uncle's fam and began to move from place to places (even "living without money and sleep under the bridges with my friends," she mentioned.

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Formal Worker. He worked as office clerk	both gender work	Just to go out from village and getting experiences	Homesick
Working at a convenience store	Equal	Not many work opportunities in village	Her wage is sometimes not enough to fulfill her needs in the city, so her parents still send her money
Shopkeeper	Men and women	Economic Betterment, family pressure	Didn't like the job as a shopkeeper in Makassar because he wants to be a farmer
Returned migrant. Previous urban work in Apotek; rural location for various caretaking/workshop jobs at seminary	Apotek is mixed though she was with women. The seminary was mostly girls, but the jobs she was doing would normally (if outside of seminary) often involve men (e.g. animal rearing, carpentry, logistics)	No money for additional education in her family but she wanted to do something (ambitious to make her own money)	Lack of support from parents and then boyfriend, but she ignored these concerns

TYPE 5: SALARIED AND/OR EDUCATION

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Airport technician	Mostly men	Job availability, no airport in home city	His career requires him to take further study (diploma, undergrad, even post grad), it was difficult when corporate sent him to take diploma without paying full salary
Ambulance driver	Mostly Men	Few opportunities back home – to get a good salary and regular income. Following his parent.	He also mentions difficulties to take care baby born without family support in city
Police	Mostly men	Closer to workplace	Got job through his Dad who worked at the hospital – need the network.
Penghulu and head of RW	Mostly men	His family moved to the city to join father friend's business, had no land in hometown	Find good and affordable rented room (kontrakan), Adjust with new neighborhood
College student and logistic distributor	Mostly men	Pursuing cheaper and better higher education	There was no family in the city, after the business collapsed the family strived by themselves in the city
NGO worker	Mostly men	Failed on police academy selection test, to avoid him of being stressed, his brother persuaded him to work with him as NGO Worker in East Timor.	Being more independent in managing the money, daily food, laundry etc., gang fight, leaving parents at hometown without company
Garment Labor	Many women	Moving with her family around 6 years ago.	Conflict between Government of Indonesia and East Timor, so he had to leave the country and back to his hometown.
			Did not mention because she said she moved because her parents move to Jakarta to earn money and get better living.

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Ex-factory worker (currently looking for new opportunity)	Many women	Better earning. Peers. More opportunities and experiences.	Did not mention.
Contract teacher	Men and women	To earn new experience	Not much friends in Jakarta
Owner of kebab stand, "Jasa Buat Skripsi" for kindergarten, Teacher (2 subjects) in Kelompok Belajar Masyarakat – kejar Paket A-B-C in Gowa"	Equally men and women	Better place for business (kebab Stand), although this makes her farther from the yaysan where she teaches, she thinks it will be good for her business – visit her parent and sister once or twice per month.	Finding good spot to sell kebab and since she has other activities she need someone to help her to be her food stand keeper and it was very difficult to find a good worker.
Student	Equally men and women	Better quality of education	Competition: student from Makassar city has better capacity to learn and to get good scores compare to student from Kabupaten
- Owner of kost and salon - Management staff of clinic	Equally men and women	Follow his parent.	Away from his parent are getting older.
Formal Worker. She worked as music instrument factory labor	both gender work	Just to go out from village and getting experiences	contract termination
Airport staff, wheelchair assistance	Men and women	A lot of opportunity in big airport like Jakarta compared to Bali Airport. He gets rotated every 3-4 months in different section, thus give more rich experiences. To pay her sister's college tuition	No mentioned
Working at big company (Astra)	Equal	To continue education to a University level, social pressure (especially from his university friends), don't want to be a farmer, economic betterment	Did not mention
Online job seeker	Men and women	To continue education to a University level, social pressure (especially from his university friends), don't want to be a farmer, economic betterment	Did not mention
S1 student (farmasi)	Mixed	No Flores universities with Farmasi. Mom got recommendation from friend for this particular uni in Solo	Money and competition (she didn't pass the initial open entrance test)
Ex-migrant (high school teacher), biology teacher	Men and women	Pursuing better higher education, better job opportunities (as a teacher) in Makassar	Expensive living expense, missing parents, concerned about education development in hometown
Already graduated from college	Both women and men	Pursued better education, her older sister also studied in Makassar. Her mother is also from Makassar and has many relatives there. Her family also used to live in Makassar for almost 20 years before they back to the village.	Not mentioned.

TYPE 6: SELF-EMPLOYED INFORMAL

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/ Challenges in Migration
Ketoprak seller	Mostly men	To be with the husband, and the husband can't work in the village	Did not mention
Online gojek	Mostly men	Get new experiences, many siblings were migrating around Jkt also	First migrate: confused as it was new place, and run out of cash Want to buy a house with wife's status as office employee in factory, but ID cards issue (read 2 nd migrant)
Online gojek	Mostly men	Economic betterment	Not mention
Rubbish trader	Men	To be independent. Free from the burden of family and proving them wrong. Family issues (since his mother passed away and the father remarried, he decided to leave the village and start to seek for employment opportunity and abandoned his education).	If you keep away from the 3 temptations 'women, drinking and gambling' you will be successful. Parent's permission, for certain period of time didn't have permanent housing.
Rubbish trader ++	Men	Economic reasons and to be more independent – to have his own business, to be the boss. Following his mother, been living in city for a long time.	At first tried to set up own business but failed as 'messing around with girls too much'. For current business, needed capital to set own business (20 juta for own truck).
Middlemen	Mostly Men	It's a custom; men should go migrating. Adventurous; by joining a group of goods sellers who trade from one place to another (moving).	Felt worry to leave wife and kids in the village.
Selling meatball	Mostly men	The family sent him to live with his uncle that lived in the city, hard to generate more money in hometown (Yogyakarta), more freedom	The uncle family treated him like a servant, can't really develop himself when he was staying with his uncle, his wife's family used to be very reluctant with him because he's Javanese
Rujak seller	Typically men	N/A	N/A
Bakso seller	Majority men but some women	Good market and easier/less regulations about selling compared to Java. Competition also not yet as stiff	None mentioned
Selling goods on motorbike	Men	Both parents died. Moved with siblings to seek greater opportunities for the future	None mentioned. Noted Enrekang networks helped with the move
Ex-korean factory worker, now goat breeder	Mostly men	Failed to be an army and failed in opening a kiosk, a friend that worked in Korea showed him pictures of South Korea and his experience of working there	Homesick, did not like the food, felt Korean were so strict, cannot really save money because of the lifestyle
Collector	Mostly men	Faced crop failure as a farmer, used to help his aunt (also a collector) when he was young so decided to try working as a collector from that experience	The nature of work makes him don't really have friends (working at the middle of the night, sleep during the day)
entrepreneur by selling car	M	lack of job in the village and better life	Competitive market, lack of capital
Toothpaste assembly	Mostly women	Economic betterment, tried living in village but can't stand it.	Away from son who goes to school in village, because she was afraid he'll use drugs in urban influenced by friends
Kiosk owner	Mostly women	Economic betterment, tried opening kiosk at home village, wasn't successful	Had to take loans from family members to open kiosk in the urban area
Washing clothes	Women's work	Wanting to experience living in different places	Had to endure exhausting work without complaints. Like several other migrants whom I met, she believes that signing up to be a migrant includes signing up for an initial phase filled with many difficulties.
Owner and seller of Fresh Fruit Juice stand	Mostly women	Running away from an arranged marriage – return to the village once a month	Nearly sold when she tried to work abroad. Find good spot/ place for business – need to have good connection to provide information and access to the place.

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration
Selling <i>pecei</i> and <i>jamu</i>	Mostly women	Successful migration stories from friends, hard to generate more money in hometown (Klaten), farming needs harder work and generates less income	Language barrier, homesick
Jamu lady	Women only	Followed her father, who had heard from others about good potential market for selling and moved first on his own. After his initial good experience, she moved with her sister. Many other family/relatives have since moved as well	None mentioned
Kiosk owner	Women	Following parents	Gang fight
Food seller	Mostly women	Joining relatives moving	Gang fight, not knowing the neighbors, having people from diverse ethnic groups in the same area
Temporary job, retired food seller	Mostly women	Follow her parent to migrate and stay in long-time period. And she did not like farming and looking for better job opportunities and facilities in city.	Did not mention.
Vegetable seller	Women	Economic betterment, don't have paddy fields	Dealt with other competitors, far away from her little daughter
Veggie seller, kontrakan owners	Equally, he is working with his wife	Looking for factory job back in mid-80s	Managing cash, shifting from working in factory to own and develop veggie stall
Trading goods	Mixed	Looking for opportunity to have "own money". He does not see himself fit to work on the fields.	Adapt with locals (Betawi), especially when starting the business and buying land from locals.
Market sellers	Equal	i) Not seeing much prospects, aside from farming, in his hometown ii) to have more money to finance the family	Not having enough 'capital' to start over small business. Everything started from the stretch
Owner of 5 rented rooms and kredit barang	Equally men and women	Sent by family for better education (vocational school)	Faced much instability in terms of income.
Food seller	Equally men and women	Want to be with husband.	Away from her big family and still need to maintain her family farmland in the village
Porridge and bakso seller	Mixed	Better earning and opportunities in the city than village. Now became long stay migrant since he brings his family with him to the city.	Did not mention
Money lender	Mixed	Parents asked him to look for work in the city	At first he became daily labor (like construction or asphalt worker) before have the money to be self-employed.
Not working, selling pre-loved belongings (clothes, curtain, furniture)	Unique work	Willing to have easier public transportation and livelier living area, selling the house for son's police registration fee, wanting to live close to relatives	Didn't say Many prostitutes and gang fight close to the house, not many running clean water, no regular income, having less furniture, more expensive living expense

TYPE 7: ACCOMPANYING OTHERS

Nature of Work	Women's/Men's Work?	Drivers of Migration	Barriers When Migrating/Challenges in Migration

Scavenger, specifically plastic bottles and cups	Mostly men	To be with husband to prevent him from cheating	Not knowing exactly in which slum husband was staying
Part time worker in workshop (bengkel)	All men	Just follow his mother	No friends, not many clean water, many gang fight and drunken bad boys
Toothpaste assembly	Mostly women	Want to be with husband, used to be international migrant but quit	Can't be with child who is now in boarding school, needed to be in boarding school because she was away as international migrant so can't take care of child
Toothpaste assembly and selling fried snacks	Mostly women	Want to be with husband, tried living in village long distance, had enough living far from husband	Did not mention
Housewife	Women	Following husband as being separated means spending more money (' <i>kalau pisah dapurnya dua</i> ')	Being away with son in village. Son is junior high school and in the village with his grandparents. Boredom – wants to work also, but there are no good options (low salary jobs)
Housewife/ex-factory worker	Women	Can't do farming in the village, siblings had migrated around Jkt	She and her husband still has not enough capital/money to move to her parents in law in Bekasi and open their own business (installing and service AC), so they still living in the compound (limited space). There is no good job opportunity for her as she only graduated from SMP.
Pempek Warung Owner/ex-factory worker/housewife	Women	Economic betterment, many people in village leaving for Jkt	Want to work again in the factory, but gets no permission from husband.
Housewife	Women	Went to the city for working and then married with locals, did not want to work as a farmer in hometown	Lifestyle is different, need to spend more in the city, everything must be purchased in the city
Housewife and kiosk owner	women	Following her husband	When she moved to Makassar in 80s, she never had enough money even for daily consumption, and lived in a very small rented room
Housewife	Women	✓ (moved to Makassar) initially it was to get a qualified senior high school certificate to be used for applying to a University. ✓ (Moved to Balikpapan) due to an economic reason, she needed money to pay University cost, she had been asked to work for 2 years by her relatives in Balikpapan ✓ (moved to Makassar) she was proposed by her husband and had been asked to come back to Makassar	When back to Makassar from Balikpapan : should have accepted the reality that she could not continue her education because her husband did not give his permission.
Housewife	women	Had been raised by other relatives	Did not mention
Housewife	Mostly women	Her mom sells the house so she follows her mom moving, having jealous neighbors in original place	Many prostitutes and gang fight close to the house
Housewife	Mostly women	Accompany her husband who work in the city, lack of job opportunities in hometown	Expensive life expense to fulfill daily needs, not having many friends or relative to chat with, quite atmosphere that makes her bored, many gang fight and crimes which makes her life full of worries than living in the village



This Reality Check Approach study, in collaboration with Pulse Lab Jakarta, was conducted in November to December 2017 as part of the World Bank's Poverty and Social Development Global Practices current analytical project to help the Government of Indonesia better understand the process of urbanization in Indonesia. This particular study sought to help identify the major needs of rural to urban migrants, potential migrants and their families. The study took place in ten locations, five urban and five corresponding rural locations and involved researchers spending extended periods of time living with and around migrants and their families. The study also included anonymised mobile network data analysis with a view to identifying migrant origins based on cellphone activity patterns.



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