

contamination of water by environmental pollutions especially through solid wastes disposal etc.

The role of water as an important element of the natural environment cannot be overemphasized and therefore should be regarded as a free gift from nature. It calls for adequate harnessing and management. There should be a lot of conservation considering the enormous amount of water lost through evaporation and other areas.

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## POPULATION MOBILITY AND THE LINKS BETWEEN MIGRANTS AND THE FAMILY BACK HOME IN NGAWIS VILLAGE, GUNUNG KIDUL REGENCY, YOGYAKARTA SPECIAL REGION \*

by  
Ida Bagus Mantra \*\*

#### ABSTRACT

*The total population of Yogyakarta Special Region was 2,966,549 persons in 1985, while the population density was 931 persons/sq.km. The Yogyakarta Special Region is one of the poor areas of Java in an economic sense.*

*The annual rate of its population growth is much lower than those of other provinces in Java. The region experienced a net loss of population through migration. The losses were greater in the poor areas of Gunung Kidul, one of its regencies.*

*This study aims at developing the knowledge on the nature and incidence of population mobility from the rural to the urban areas, and investigating the extent and nature of the links established and maintained between the area of origin and the area of destination, by temporarily returning migrants in Ngawis Village of Gunung Kidul.*

*The main reason for migrating out of the village is an economic one. Although the greater part of returning migrants stated that their economic conditions improved after moving out, the income they receive monthly is still low. The link between migrants and their relatives back home is very intensive. They maintain contact by visiting, sending letters, money and goods, and exchange views and ideas on developmental issues.*

#### INTRODUCTION

The heavy stream of traffic moving into Yogyakarta City in the morning is a familiar phenomenon, as is the reverse movement away from the city in the afternoon. This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that many people live in the rural areas around Yogyakarta and work in the city.

\* A part of this paper was taken from a paper entitled "Population Mobility and Links between Migrants and Family Back Home: A Case Study of Two Villages in Yogyakarta Special Region, Indonesia," by Ida Bagus Mantra and Sho Kasai (1987).

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The improvement of the transportation facilities which connect the urban and rural areas, and an increasing number of (mini) buses which connect rural communities with other rural or urban localities have modified the patterns of population movement. There has been a dramatic increase in commuters, who often commute over great distances.

People not only commute and circulate to and from the village but also migrate, defined as a shift of residence to a specific place with the intention to stay permanently. Those who return to their village of origin after staying in another place for six or more months can be regarded as returning migrants.

Where village people go and in whatever types of mobility they show, they still retain strong ties with their home. They are intimately bound socially and economically to their kin or family members back home. In this sense, the places of both origin and destination, for migrants, constitute a single field of socio-cultural interaction.

Although some studies on population mobility have been carried out in Indonesia (Hugo, 1975; Mantra, 1978; Mochtar Naim, 1979; Koentjaraningrat, 1957; Mantra and Molo, 1985), still very little is known about the nature of population mobility in Java, and on the relationship between migrants and the families back home.

Based on the above discussions the author intends:

1. to develop more knowledge on the nature and incidence of population mobility from rural to rural, and from rural to urban locations;
2. to analyze the causes of rural-rural, and rural-urban migrations which underlie the decision-making process of potential migrants. This is to be achieved through an examination of the characteristics of migrants and detailed questioning regarding opinions, attitudes and experiences which may impinge on their propensity to migrate;
3. to establish the extent and nature of the links established and maintained between the areas of origin and areas of destination by rural-rural and rural-urban migrants, and to investigate the significance of these ties for social and economic change in the village.

The significance of this study is to provide insight into the patterns and the nature of the population mobility, the significance of remittances in terms of upgrading the economic level of the household back home, and also in social terms.

The selection of the study village was done purposely on the basis of the following: (i) the geographic and socio-economic conditions of the village had to be similar to those of the other villages within the subdistrict; (ii) many people originating from the village had to be living in other areas.

Ngawis village in Karangmojo Subdistrict of Gunung Kidul Regency was chosen for two reasons. First, in Ngawis there are many people who had moved to other places, particularly to the big cities such as Jakarta. Secondly, their population records and administrative organization were the best among the villages in Karangmojo Subdistrict.

In order to understand the mobility behavior, including the process of decision-making for moving, the relationship between migrants and their family or society back home, and the effects of remittances (economic or social meaning) to family in the places of origin, two kinds of respondents were chosen. First, people who moved out from the village for a period of six months or more, and second the head of a household whose family live outside the village.

Respondents of the first type were interviewed following their return. In Java, usually migrants visit their native village during lebaran (a Moslem feast that follows the month of fasting). Most Moslem migrants in fact want to celebrate Lebaran back home. At the time of this feast, most people want to get together with their families in their places of birth.

In 1985, the Lebaran festival occurred on June 20, and migrants started to return to their home-villages two weeks before, and stayed in the villages until one or two weeks after Lebaran. So, the first phase of this survey (interviewing the temporarily returning migrants) was carried out on June 6, and continued until July 4th, 1985. The second phase of the survey, i.e. interviewing the heads of households, was undertaken in August, 1985. In this survey 306 returning migrants and 401 heads of households were interviewed.

### THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF NGAWIS

'Gunung Kidul', literally "Mountains of the South," essentially consists of a hilly land with a heavy limestone content. According to Khan, it was formerly a forest area and was not settled by the Javanese before the present century (Khan, 1963:60). Access to water is very limited because of its topographical problems. There are few rivers and the nature of the soil is such that water sinks underground easily. Also there is a seasonal fluctuation in rainfall. The geographical situation contributed to low level of mobility, confining the population to a subsistence economy in which cassava cultivation has predominated.

Ngawis is one of the nine villages (*kelurahan*) in the subdistrict (*kecamatan*) of Karangmojo (Figure 1). It is located in the southeastern part of Yogyakarta Special Region at an altitude of 200 m above sea level. It is rather close (8 km) to Wonosari, a major town in this regency. According to village office statistics as of June, 1984, the number of households is 782 and the population is 4,600 (2,231 males and 2,369 females with an average of 5.9 persons per household). The total land size of 797.8 ha gives population density of 577, which is slightly higher than the average of Gunung Kidul, but lower than that of Java as a whole.

Ngawis has a similar land use pattern as other areas in the regency of Gunung Kidul. As seen in Table 1 and Figure 2, dry cropping fields (*tegal*) and garden/compounds (*pekarangan*) constitute more than three quarters of the area while the wet-rice fields account for only 1.7 percent of the total area in Ngawis. A forest area can be found in the northern part of the village.

Table 2 shows economic activities in which the people in Ngawis are engaged. The majority of the population of Ngawis is engaged in agriculture,

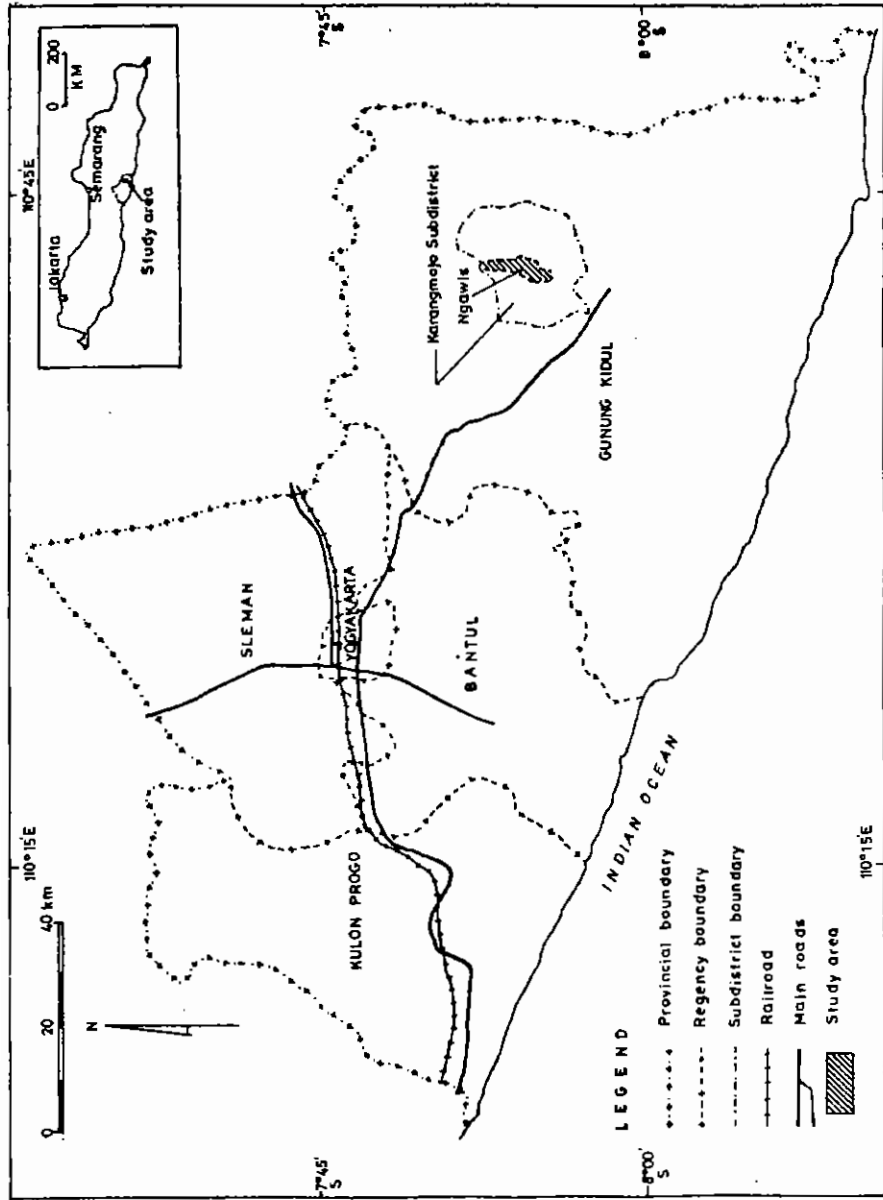


Figure 1. Yogyakarta Special Region

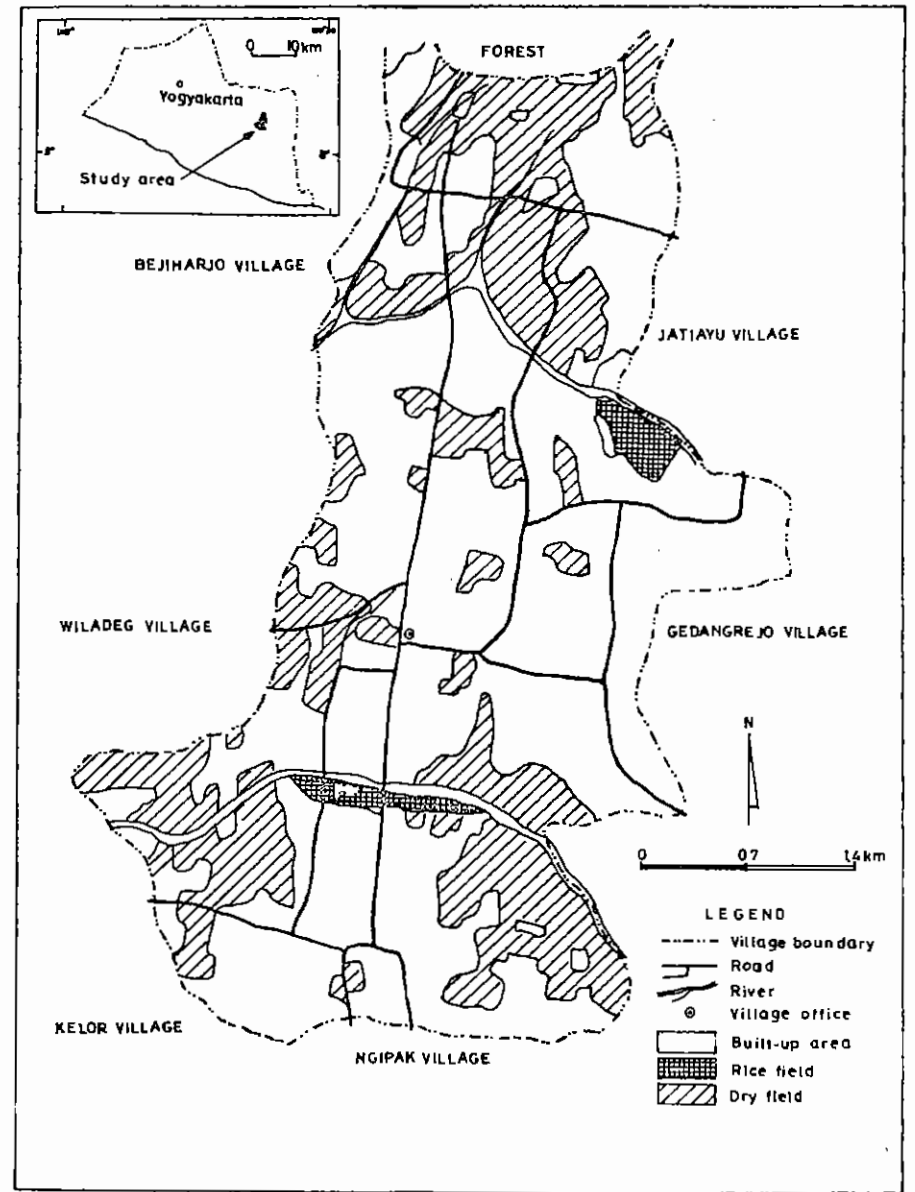


Figure 2. Land Use Map of Ngawis Village, Karangmojo Subdistrict

especially in cultivation of dry crops, such as cassava (*ketela*), corn (*jagung*) and dry rice (*gogo*) during the rainy season starting around October; and in peanuts (*kacang*) and soybeans (*kedelai*) which are harvested twice a year. In the dry season of August, when the author visited this village, farming activity was limited to some harvesting of cassava. The main activities as observed in the village were repairing or rebuilding several houses, and various wedding and circumcision ceremonies.

During this period the settlement gives the impression of a poor and scarcely populated village in an infertile land. However, it should be noted that this impression is caused by a high rate of out-migration from the area.

TABLE 1. LAND USE IN NGAWIS

Category	Area (ha)	Percentage
Dry cropping fields	324,640	40.7
Garden/compounds	280,635	35.2
Forest	133,000	16.7
Wet-rice field	13,500	1.7
Road, cemetery, fishponds, etc	46,000	5.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>797,775</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Village Office Statistics, 1979.

The presurvey conducted in September, 1984 shows that out of a total number of 782 households, 393 households (or more than 50 percent of the total number of households in the village) have at least one household member who has left the village for more than six months (and is defined here as a migrant). The total number of migrants is 918 (509 males and 409 females) or 1.2 persons per household. What also deserves to be mentioned is the fact that 891 persons (or 97 percent of the migrants) lived in Jakarta at the time of this presurvey. Social ties between Ngawis and Jakarta are strong because of the presence of migrants and their contacts with their kin and friends left in the village which is possibly because of the transportation network which has developed in a striking way since the 1970s.

Ngawis is located in the southern part, on the provincial road where buses and minibuses run frequently, particularly at the peak period of a day or on a market day in town nearby. It costs Rp 200.- from Ngawis to Wonosari (Rp 100.- for students) and from Wonosari to Yogyakarta City, an additional Rp 350.- by bus or Rp 500.- by minibus. Such transportation seems an essential medium for daily life in the area.

TABLE 2. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN NGAWIS

Activity	No. of persons	Percentage
Farmer (land owner)	2,629	73.2
Tenant farmer	125	3.5
Agricultural wage worker	350	9.7
Handicraft	210	5.8
Teacher	96	2.7
Carpenter	67	1.9
Civil servant	35	1.0
Merchant	24	0.7
Army	12	0.3
Brick-maker	12	0.3
Taylor	10	0.3
Traditional midwife	7	0.2
Village official	6	0.2
Health center worker	3	0.1
Barber	3	0.1
Bicycle repairer	1	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,590</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Village Office Statistics (as of 1983).

Symbolic for the situation in Ngawis is a bus line called "Santoso", which has a terminal at Karangmojo, a town of the subdistrict, 1.5 km away from Ngawis. One bus leaves the terminal at 12.00 noon everyday for Jakarta through Ngawis, Wonosari, Yogyakarta, Magelang, and Semarang at the fare of Rp 6,500.-, arrives at Jakarta at approximately 4-5 a.m. the next day. A trip to Jakarta is indeed a daily affair for many in Ngawis today.

The limited distance of Ngawis to Jakarta seems to provide an outlet of migrants from the metropolis. The aforementioned assumptions are supported by the population structure as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 indicates that there is a much larger proportion in the age group of 0-14 in Ngawis than that in Gunung Kidul. This means a loss of a substantial number of the working population due to out-migration from Ngawis.

#### MIGRANTS AT THE PLACE OF DESTINATION

It has been reported in an earlier section that a list of migrants from the village who currently live in other areas is not available in village offices (Kantor Kelurahan). There is a regulation for those who want to move to other places in Indonesia. They must obtain a written notice of removal from the head of the

TABLE 3. NGAWIS POPULATION BY AGE GROUP

Age group	Ngawis		Gunung Kidul	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percentage
0 - 14	1,662	42.9	252,993	38.4
15 - 49	1,496	38.6	308,618	46.8
50 +	719	18.5	97,875	14.8
Total	3,877	100.0	659,486	100.0

The sex ratio of each age group in Table 4 indicates that aside from a higher sex ratio in younger population and lower ratio in older population, the sex ratio of the working population in Ngawis is low. This is presumably due to a loss of male rather than female population in this age bracket due to out-migration (which favors male population).

TABLE 4. SEX RATIO BY AGE GROUP

Age Group	Ngawis	Gunung Kidul
0 - 14	1.03	1.05
15 - 49	0.82	0.91
50 +	0.96	0.89
Total	0.91	0.96

village, and they have to show it to the head of the village in the new area of residence in order to obtain a new identify card. Usually this procedure is not followed by the movers as they have not decided yet whether they want to stay in the new location or not.

This being the case, interviewing had to be conducted in the birth village during the migrants' home visit instead of in the destination areas. It was found that not all of them do return home even during the Lebaran period. Even so, it seems unlikely that the information concerning their social and economic conditions in the new areas will be much different from those of their home village.

During Lebaran on June 20, 1985, 306 return migrants were interviewed. It appeared that the number of temporarily returning migrants on that occasion was higher than that. As the migrants came to the village rather simultaneously, and because the number of student interviewers was limited, it was impossible to contact all of them.

#### The Characteristics of the Temporarily Returning Migrants

Assessed on a provincial scale, the temporarily returning migrants in Ngawis mostly had moved to four provinces in Java (Jakarta Metropolitan area, West Java,

Central Java, and Yogyakarta Special Region). Among those, around 60 percent of them came from Jakarta Metropolitan area and around 25 percent from Yogyakarta Special Region (Table 5).

According to the head of the village, the movement of Ngawis people to Jakarta has been occurring for a considerable time. In Jakarta, some people

TABLE 5. PROVINCES OF CURRENT RESIDENCE OF THE MIGRANTS IN NGAWIS

Provinces of Current Residence	Total	Percentage
1. South Sumatera	4	1.3
2. Jakarta Metropolitan	178	58.2
3. West Java	19	6.2
4. Central Java	19	6.2
5. Yogyakarta Special Region	76	24.8
6. East Java	5	1.7
7. West Nusa Tenggara	1	0.3
8. East Nusa Tenggara	1	0.3
9. East Kalimantan	1	0.3
10. Maluku	2	0.7
Total	306	100.0

originally from Ngawis had formed associations with the aim of supporting the development programs in their home village, and also by helping people from Ngawis in looking for a job, particularly in Jakarta. Since then, the contact between people who live in Jakarta and the community back home is maintained, and Jakarta has become the main destination area for Ngawis migrants.

Table 6 shows that the main reason for migrating out of Ngawis, is an economic one. More than 50 percent of the migrants said that the limited job opportunities in the home village formed the reason for their moving away. Another reason was to follow parents or join relatives in the destination place. In Ngawis, there were more temporarily returning male migrants than the female ones (66.3 versus 33.7 percent). This is parallel to the fact that in rural Java males move out more frequently than females. Women in general are busy with their household tasks and responsible for maintaining good relationships with their village neighbors. On the other hand, males, particularly husbands, function in broader social sphere and in general bear more of the money-earning responsibilities than women (Jay, 1969; Suharso, et al, 1976). Because of this social and economic division of labor, men generally make for more moves than women. Even so, the difference in mobility behavior between the two sexes is much influenced by: age, level of education, and marital status. The unmarried women (mostly their age is younger than 20), make more moves, and after getting married, usually stay home taking care of their family.

TABLE 6. REASON FOR THE FIRST MOVEMENT

Reason for Moving	Total	Percentage
1. To follow parents	19	6.2
2. Family/relative live there	38	12.5
3. People from home village live there	6	2.0
4. Limited job opportunities in home village	177	57.8
5. to live away from home village	30	9.8
6. Others	36	11.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The level of education of the temporarily returning migrants is low. Around 35.6 percent of them had graduated from primary schools, while 1.6 percent had no formal education. Because of the low level of education, only 22.9 percent of them worked at government offices as civil servants, school teachers or army at their first move. The percentage of them that worked as private laborers, servants, factory workers, drivers, traders is high (Table 7).

TABLE 7. TYPES OF WORK OF THE MIGRANTS AT THEIR FIRST MOVE

Types of Work	Total	Percentage
1. Trader	28	9.2
2. Private Labour/employee	80	26.1
3. Army	16	5.2
4. Civil servant	26	8.5
5. School Teacher	28	9.2
6. Servant	39	12.7
7. Factory worker	54	17.7
8. Driver	8	2.6
9. Part time worker	1	0.3
10. Farmer	5	1.6
11. Entrepreneur	3	1.0
12. Others	17	5.6
13. Not Stated	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### Economic Conditions of the Migrants

The economic conditions of the majority of the temporarily returning migrants in Ngawis improved after their moving out of the village. The families of some 95 percent of the respondents live above subsistence level. Sayogya (1982) estimates that a family is living at a subsistence level in Indonesia when each member of the family in a rural area earns an equivalence of 350 kg rice per year. For the urban areas, the estimation becomes 450 kg rice/person/year.

On the basis of this subsistence level, one family in the rural areas consisting of 5 persons, should have Rp 50,000 per month. The minimum need for city dwellers is higher, 450 kg per person per year; it means that one family in the city should have Rp 65,000 per month.

Since more than 80 percent of the respondents work in the urban areas, they must have salaries of more than Rp.65,000. Table 8 indicates that only about 30 percent of the migrants temporarily returning to Ngawis live above the sub-sistence level. Although the temporarily returning migrants responded that their level of living improved after moving, actually their income is still low.

### THE LINKS BETWEEN THE MIGRANT AND THE COMMUNITY BACK HOME

#### Chain Migration

Since the number of job opportunities available is generally very limited, many migrants choose a place where relatives or friends live and can thus provide a source of information about likely openings. Migrants from Ngawis mostly went to Jakarta in search of a job because there are many people from Ngawis already living there. It has been mentioned earlier that in Jakarta there are many village

TABLE 8. MONTHLY INCOME OF THE NGAWIS MIGRANTS IN THEIR PLACE OF DESTINATION

No.	Total Earnings ( $\bar{x}$ Rp 1000.-)	Total	Percentage
1.	5 - <20	16	5,2
2.	20 - <40	63	20,6
3.	40 - <60	76	24,8
4.	60 - <80	61	19,9
5.	80 - <100	24	7,8
6.	100 - <120	18	5,9
7.	120 - <140	12	3,9
8.	140 - <160	10	3,4
9.	160 +	26	8,5
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>306</b>	<b>100,0</b>
		$\bar{x}$ = Rp75,921	

associations to be found, and some of them are Ngawis associations. These associations usually give information about the availability of job opportunities to the people back home. If we asked the migrants temporarily returning to Ngawis whether they had relatives or friends in the destination areas before the first move, more than 60 percent of them reacted positive.

The fact that Jakarta is the major place of destination is believed to date back to the time when one village initiated a pioneer working arrangement in Jakarta in 1952. Since then, a chain migration has developed up to the present time. In the recent decade, the flow of migrants from Ngawis to Jakarta has been increasing due to several factors. First, the transportation infrastructure has been improved. In 1972, the main roads between Yogyakarta and Wonosari were upgraded. Since then, traffic along Yogyakarta-Karangmojo has increased greatly. In addition, some of the intercity buses (night buses) directly connect Jakarta and Wonosari via some sub-districts in this regency. Second, the village administration encourages the adult villagers to move out from the village, particularly to Jakarta. Third, the adult villagers in Ngawis have the impression that working in the city will bring them a higher income than working in the village. Fourth, people from Ngawis who have already worked in the city or in other areas have fully supported the movement of the adult villagers to the city by providing accommodation, helping them to find a job, and so on.

#### Reasons for Visiting Home Villages

Although people have migrated from Ngawis, they still consider themselves as belonging to their place of birth. They keep contact with their family or relatives back home by visiting, sending letters, money and goods. The frequency of returning home depends on various factors such as the distance between the place of destination and home village, the income, age, and marital status.

In the study village a greater number of migrants come to visit their home village on an irregular basis for several reasons. First, the distance between the place of origin and the place of destination is large (the average distance is 413.3 km). The travel cost for returning home are relatively high. Given the fact that the average monthly income in destination areas is low (Rp 75,921), it is understandable that they cannot visit their home on a regular basis. Second, it is

TABLE 9. TYPES OF HOME VILLAGE VISIT DURING THE FIRST MOVE OF THE MIGRANTS

Types of home visit	Total	Percentage
Regular	13	4.3
Occasional	254	83.0
Never	38	12.4
Not applicable	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

not only the transportation fare that is required for a trip home, but also money for presents or souvenirs for relatives back home, and for living in the village during their visit. Thus, it is only those who live relatively close to the village who can afford to return home on a regular basis. The regularity of the migrants's home village visit after their first move can be seen in Table 9.

#### Effects of Home Visit on Home Village Development

The tradition of visiting home village among the migrants has a positive effect on the development of the village and also on the migration of the people in that village. Migrants who visit their home village bring not only money and goods for their family back home, but also ideas for development and change, which they have acquired in the city. Usually, people in the village give great respect for those who have moved out from the village and live in the city. So, their ideas related to the village development are being followed by the villagers.

Another effect of the home visit tradition, in terms of population mobility, is to increase the frequency of out-migration from the village. Usually, when the migrants return to their home in the city, some of the adult villagers accompany them to the city to look for a job. As mentioned earlier, these latest migrants stay with these friends or relatives until they too find a job. Thus, the number of persons which go to the city is larger than the number of persons which initially came to visit the village. In this way migration out of the village is continuing at an increasing pace.

#### Remittances

There is a considerable body of evidence which shows that migrants in a wide variety of historical and cultural settings maintain strong social and economic ties with their area of origin, particularly their home village (Hugo 1977; Desmukh, 1976; Curson, 1981; Mantra, 1978). A major consequence of such ties is the flow of remittances between the migrant and his home-based kin. Remittances would thus seem to be an important instrument in the maintenance and continued viability of social relationships over geographical space.

To this end the inter-connections that exist between migrants and their area of origin are often important enough to consider legitimately that the world of the migrant and his homeland are not separate entities but rather part of a single socio-economic system. The study of remittance exchanges offers one way of measuring the strength of the migrant homeland relationship.

If remittances are regarded as providing a proxy of the intensity of the relationship between migrants and family back home, it is recognized that the intensity of the relationships of Ngawis migrants is high. It was mentioned earlier that in Jakarta it was found that several associations of Ngawis migrants were established. The associations which aim at maintaining the relationship between the migrants and their families back home support the development program in the village and help people from Ngawis who are looking for job in Jakarta.

The value of remittances is more influenced by the economic factor than by

other factors. The value of remittances of migrants to the principal receivers for this year can be seen in Table 10. From this table it is apparent that more than 70 percent of the respondents' remittances are below Rp.60,000. It is also found by calculation that the mean value of remittances to principal receivers is Rp 50,830.

TABLE 10. VALUE OF REMITTANCES TO THE PRINCIPAL RECEIVERS LAST YEAR (1984)

Value (1000 Rupiah)	Total	Percentage
1 - 10	15	7.7
11 - 20	30	15.4
21 - 30	36	18.5
31 - 40	19	9.7
41 - 50	13	6.7
51 - 60	24	12.3
61 - 70	-	-
70 +	58	29.7
Total	195	100.0

The value of remittances sent yearly by the migrants from this village is very limited. Even so, as the income level of the households in this study area is very low, the amount of remittances is valuable for the support of their existence.

There are various ways for migrants to send remittances to their relatives back home, through the mail, carrying it themselves, through relatives or friends, or when relatives visit the migrants. As expected, the majority of migrants in this study village send them through the mail, particularly those who work outside Java (Table 11).

TABLE 11. METHOD OF SENDING REMITTANCES TO THE PRINCIPAL RECEIVERS

Method of sending	Total	Percentage
Through mail	74	37.9
When visiting home	59	30.3
Relatives visiting Migrants	9	4.6
Through relatives	52	26.7
Through friends	10.5	-
Others	-	-
Total	195	100.0

## CONCLUSION

The main reason for migrating out of this study village is an economic one. More than 50 percent of migrants said that the limited job opportunities in the home village was the reason of their moving away.

Although the greater part of the temporarily returning migrants mentioned that their economic conditions improved after moving out, the income they earned monthly is low for Jakarta metropolitan area standards.

The links between migrants and relatives back home are very intensive. The migrants still consider themselves as belonging to their natal place. They maintain contact with their family and relatives back home by visiting or sending letter, money and goods. The frequency of returning home depends on various factors, such as the distance between the place of destination and the home village, the income, age, and marital status. Migrants who visit their home village bring not only money and goods for their family back home, but also developmental ideas and change as acquired in the city.

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