Relationship Between Transmigration, Urbanization and Poverty Alleviation in Indonesia

Prijono Tjiptoherijanto

Abstrak

Masalah kependudukan di Indonesia ditandai dengan pertumbuhan penduduk yang tetap tinggi selama 30 tahun terakhir, distribusi penduduk antar daerah yang tidak merata (60% penduduk Indonesia tinggal di pulau Jawa yang luasnya hanya 4% dari luas wilayah Indonesia), tingginya tingkat urbanisasi sebagai akibat dari adanya ketimpangan pertumbuhan antar kota dalam suatu propinsi, serta masalah kemiskinan.

Salah satu jalan keluar untuk mengatasi permasalahan tersebut di atas adalah melaksanakan program transmigrasi. Transmigrasi yang dijalankan antara lain bertujuan untuk mendukung pembangunan daerah dan memperluas kesempatan kerja. Dengan kata lain, program transmigrasi yang dijalankan harus menjadi bagian integral dari pembangunan daerah yang bertujuan untuk meningkatkan pertumbuhan ekonomi. Pada gilirannya, peningkatan pertumbuhan ekonomi diharapkan dapat meningkatkan pendapatan dan kesejahteraan masyarakat sehingga transmigrasi dapat membantu meningkatkan status dan nilai dari masyarakat Indonesia.

I.   INTRODUCTION

Population growth in Indonesia still remains high for the past thirty years. The development process has increased people's awareness to limit their families size. However, at the same time successful development also brought an improvement in the health of the majority of families which will reduce the death rate.

Among the consequences of population growth in Indonesia is the increase differentials in density of population among regions and urban-rural areas. This affects the quality of life in the respected regions. In addition, this condition is also increasing the social problems such as availability of clean environment and other social services, especially in urban areas. Therefore, the problems of urbanization as well as adaptation of migrants in the new socio-economic environment, and may be political aspect, become more serious in the last two decades.

II.   POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE REGIONS

Latest data from Central Bureau of Statistics (1990 Population census) showed the percentage of total population who live in Java island was 60 percent. Eventhough this number was decreasing from 68.7 percent in 1930 in term of spatial distribution this proportion is relatively uneven compared to the land capacity and capability of Java island (only 4 percent of total land in Indonesia). On the contrary, over 60 years (1930-1990) the proportion of population who live in Sumatra had been increasing from 13.5 percent to 20.3 percent and in Kalimantan had been increasing from 3.6 percent to 6.1 percent (see Table 1).

Table 1

Population Distribution in Indonesia by Island, 1930, 1961, 1971, 1980, 1990

| Popu-lation | Land (%) | Number of Population (in Million) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 1930 | | 1961 | | 1971 | | 1980 | | 1990 | |
		N	%	Ń	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Java	6.9	41.7	68.5	63.0	64.9	76.1	63.8	91.3	61.9	107.5	60.0
Sumatra	24.7	8.2	13.5	15.7	16.2	20.8	17.4	28.0	19.0	36.5	20.4
Sulawesi	9.9	4.2	6.9	7.1	7.3	8.5	7.1	10.4	7.1	12.5	7.0
Kalimantan	28.1	2.2	3.6	4.1	4.2	5.2	4.4	6.7	4.5	9.1	5.1
Other Islands	30.4	4.6	7.6	7.1	7.3	8.6	7.2	11.1	7.5	13.6	7.6
Total	100.0	60.9	100.0	97.0	100.0	119.2	100.0	147.5	100.0	179.2	100.0

Source: the State Ministry for Population, 1992.

Obviously, the spatial distribution among the regions relatively remain stable over the 60 years. The next questions are whether this condition is affected by the fertility pattern in such region especially in Java island? And how effective is the population distribution policy, either direct policy such as transmigration program or indirect policy such as regional planning, to redistribute the population distribution in Indonesia?

Total migrant in Indonesia had been increasing from 11,443,147 people (7.8 percent) in 1980 to 17,830,555 people (9.9 percent) in 1990. It indicated that during ten years period the migration rate in Indonesia had been increasing by 55.8 percent. However, the percentage of migrant in 1990 (9.9 percent of total population) was considered too low compared to the level of socio-economic development. Around 67.3 percent of migration in Indonesia occurs in Java island and most of them migrate intra province in Java island or migrate to Sumatra. Furthermore, most of inmigration in Java come from Sumatra island and only small proportion that come from other islands. In fact that migration flows in Indonesia still in Java and Sumatra Island. Eventhough out-migration in Java is higher than in-migration, fertility experienced in Java had been reversing the effect- of spatial redistribution among the regions and the population in Java is still growing over the time.

Analysis of the provincial level shows that most of the in-migration in Java island proceed to DKI Jakarta and West Java. On the contrary, most of the out-migration from this island come from Central Java, East Java, and Dl. Yogyakarta. Most of them move to Lampung, West Sumatra, Riau, Central Sulawesi, South East Sulawesi and other provinces in Eastern Indonesia. It seems that most of out-migration from Java island related to the transmigration program either spontaneous or subsidies. Meanwhile, in-migration to Java island come from several provinces in Sumatra such as North Sumatra, West Sumatra, or South Sumatra. The reason why those people migrate to Java is related to the economic opportunities at place of destination

The other province that also successfully pulling the migrants is East Kalimantan. As a result of oil-boom and timber industries in this province during the 1970s and 1980s, the level of in-migration in this province had been increasing substantially. The impact of this migration processes especially rural-urban migration, is the growth of large and medium cities which also creates own problems.

III. GROWTH OF THE CITIES

Over the next 69 years or so Indonesia was faced with a doubling of its present population, even more so in urban areas. In 1990, 60% of the country's (107.5 million) people lived in Java, at an average density of 813 persons per square km. The other were spread over the remaining territorial such as Irian Jaya at an average density of 4 persons per square km. Further breakdowns showed that a total of 55.4 million people lived in urban areas in 1990, that was 30.9% of the nation's total population. About 40% of these dwellers lived in Metropolitan areas (urban population greater than one million) and large cities (500,000 to one million) and another 20% lived in medium size cities (100,000 to 500,000).

The urbanization process in Indonesia should be taken into consideration since many studies showed that the level of population concentrated in large cities had been increasing over the time. Studies by Warner Rutz in 1987 (see Karyoedi, 1993) analyzes 400 cities in Indonesia based on the total number of population in each city. The number of small cities (less than 100,000 inhabitants) were enormous compared to medium (100,000 - 500,000 inhabitants) and large cities (500,000 - 1,000,000) .

Since the medium and large cities (particularly medium cities) are not well developed yet, people from rural areas or small cities tend to migrate directly to large or metropolitan areas. That's why the development of metropolitan areas, such as Jakarta or Surabaya are very difficult to be managed and in turns it creates some problems.

At the National level, 'the primacy rate' in Indonesia is still at acceptable level. However, when analysis broke down into regional level, it is clear that 'the primacy rate' in several regions should be concerned. The development of Ujung Pandang in South Sulawesi, for example, is not supported by the medium city (Mamuju is the closest city to Ujung Pandang but it is a small city. The other cities which are Kendari and Palu in fact are the medium city. However those are too far away from Ujung Pandang. The figure reflected how dominant the development of Ujung Pandang to surrounding cities.

The government policy in urban development also stimulate the development of large cities and metropolitan area. The concept of interline city such as JABOTABEK, Bandung Raya, GERBANGKARTOSUSILA are not only expanding the development of large city but also not stimulate the development of medium city nearby.

Java had both the highest level of urbanization (35.69% in 1990) and the highest concentration in large and metropolitan cities (50% cities above one half million). In Sumatra, the urban population were counted 25.5% of

the total and only 37% lived in cities larger than one half million. With the exception of Kalimantan (27.57% urban), urban shares in the rest of Indonesia were comparatively low (12%-15%). Only one city in those regions (Ujung Pandang) was larger than one half million. As might be expected, given regional economic patterns, most of Indonesia's cities are located on Java accounts for 62% of the 43 cities with populations of 100,000 or more. Among the non-Java cities of 10,000 or more, almost half are located on Sumatra.

Table 2

Trend of Urbanization and Growth of Urban Population 1920-1990

Charac-teristic	Census Year					
	1920	1930	1961	1971	1980	1990
Urban Pop	2,981,576	4,034,149	14,358,372	20,465,377	32,845,769	55,460,466
Rural Pop	46,418,424	56,690,457	82,660,457	98,674,687	113,930,705	123,861,175
Urban (%)	5.8	6.7	14.8	17.2	22.4	30.9
Rural (%)	94.2	93.4	85.2	82.9	77.6	69.1
Total Pop	49,300,000	60,727,333	97,018,829	119,140,064	146,677,474	179,321,641
Ratio of urban/rural	6.42	7.11	17.4	20.7	28.8	44.7

Charac-teristic	Annual rate of growth (in %)				
	1920-1980	1930-1961	1961-1971	1971-1980	1980-1990
Urban Pop	4.4	4.1	3.6	5.4	5.4
Rural Pop	2.0	1.2	1.8	1.5	0.8
Urban (%)	1.5	2.6	1.5	2.9	1.4
Rural (%)	-0.9	-3.0	-28.0	-75.0	-89.0
Total Pop	11.0	1.5	2.0	2.3	2.0
Ratio of urban/rural	2.7	2.9	1.8	3.8	1.6

Source: Central Bureau of Statistic Centre, 1961, 1971, 1980, and 1990.

Looking more deeply into the relation between urbanization and growth of the cities, Table 2 summarizes data since 1920. From the table can be seen that urban population has almost tripled during the period of 1920-1990. In the period of 1961-1971 the urbanization rate was relatively lower than the rate of growth of population, but not for the 1971-1980 period. The proportion of people living in rural areas, which was relatively high in the early period, decreased with a rate of less than 0.30 percent in the period of 1920-1971. Only in the 1971-1980 period was there a high of decrease, around 0.78 percent per annum on average.

There are tendencies among several large cities to keep growing larger, and then to form the so-called metropolitan cities. The capital, Jakarta, for example, has long been the largest city in the Southeast Asian region with an estimated of 9 million people in 1995. It is expected to become one of the largest cities in the world within the next fifteen years, if it continues to grow at its present rate. The present living and working conditions in Jakarta and other large and small cities of the country leave a great deal of desire and further growth of these cities will pose formidable problems of urban management, finance and provision of services. The wide range of complex issues faced by the national planners require a broad range of research to be undertaken and applied to specific planning areas (see Wirosuhardio, 1986)

- The most common picture in large and medium cities is the fact that many of the city's dwellers are living below subsistence level. Some of them are even have to live in the squatters and slum areas. Therefore, poverty incidence sometimes appears more in the urban than rural areas. Eventhough as a general figure the urban people are always better of than rural population in terms of nominal income.

IV. POVERTY ALLEVIATION

The triad of Indonesia's development goals are equity, growth and stability. While it is the country's objective to promote development of all three, the possibility of trade-off, especially between growth and equity, may be unavoidable.

The difficulties in measuring inequality lead to the discussion on performance in alleviating absolute poverty. The Central Bureau of Statistics sets a poverty line based on the expenditures require to purchase 2,100 calories per day and an allowance for essential non-food expenditures. In 1993 it was calculated as 18,244 rupiahs in rural areas and 27,905 rupiahs in urban areas for one person per month basis. Moreover, specific regional needs were also taken into consideration.

Considering the development process in the last fifteen years, many progress had been made in reducing poverty in Indonesia as seen in Table 3. As indicated in the table, in 1976 with a population of 135 million people, 54.2 million were living below the poverty line or 0.1% of the total population. In 1993 of the 172 million people, those living below the poverty line had decreased to 25.9 million or only 13.6% of the total population.

This development showed a significant progress in social welfare and stability in economic conditions of the community at large both in the urban

as well as in the rural areas.

The number of people living below the poverty line decreases each year by about 12.6%. The fastest decrease is taking place in the rural areas (16.3% per annum), while it is only 0.6% in the urban centers. The rather rapid decrease of poverty in the rural areas compared to the urban centers is mostly caused by the urbanization of the low income and low educated segment of population. However, it should be noted that recent slowdown in the decline in poverty is probably attributable to the slowdown in the growth of per capita income. In addition it is probably true that the costs of reducing the number of people in poverty may increase as the number and percent of people living in poverty get smaller and as their poverty is less responsive to general growth compared to the sectoral and regional issues (see IBRD, 1990).

Table 3

Economic Growth and Poverty Incidences

Year	Average Cap. Growth	Number of Poor						Average Decline
		Urban		Rural		Total		
		(million)	%	(million)	%	(million)	%	
1976		10.0	38.8	44.2	40.4	54.2	40.1	
1981	4.68	9.3	28.1	31.3	26.5	40.6	26.9	(2.64)
1984	4.55	9.3	23.1	25.7	21.2	35.0	21.6	(1.77)
1985	2.05	9.7	20.1	20.3	16.4	30.0	17.4	(1.40)
1990	7.20	9.4	16.7	17.8	14.3	27.5	15.1	(2.67)
1993	6.50	8.8	13.4	17.2	13.8	25.9	13.7	(3.12)

Source: Central Bureau of Statistids

Note: The average per capita growth is the average growth rate in per capita income each year. The average decline is the annual percentage decline in poverty each year.

Several direct and indirect policies and program had been launched by the government in order to reduce the population poverty across the nation and one of them is transmigration program. Poverty basically is related to the less resources either in the family level or in the community level. Environment degradation, landless, jobless are the several factors that are related to the poverty. Transmigration program on the other hand provides the land or job opportunities for the family at the destination areas. By joining this program, family have a high chance to improve their welfare.

V. TRANSMIGRATION PROGRAM

Transmigration program may be considered as one method for preventing an urbanization as well as an alternative way for controlling the urban

growth and a poverty alleviation purposes. This program has some purposes such as (1) improving the population welfare, (2) promoting the regional development especially at the less populated and remote areas, (3) reducing the environment degradation, (4) reducing the urban problems, and (5) redistributing the uneven population distribution across the nation in order to enhance the nation resilience.

Transmigration in Indonesia may be considered as the largest resettlement program in the world. Transmigration program done by the Government was first recorded in 1951. The cummulative number of the resettlement was recorded at 1.5 million families in 1990 which consist over 8 million people. Over 47% percent of the transmigrants was migrate voluntarily (720 families).

The sponsored migrants receive full assistance from Government. The assistance covers the 2.25 Ha land, transportation cost from origin to destination area, basic training in origin area, and basic life expenditure as long as 5 years period. In general the migrants came from rural and agricultural families and mostly originated in Java. Spontaneous transmigrants usually receive part of the Government's assistance. The spontaneous transmigrants still receive the land and basic life expenditure but they provide the transportation and basic training.

The new concept of transmigration that launched by early Repelita VI called self reliance transmigration (Transmigrasi Swakarsa Mandiri). The idea of self reliance transmigration is government only inform the job opportunities to the candidates and the transmigrants will provide the whole expenditure. In order to motivate the candidates, government working together with private companies to develop the business opportunities outside Java island. There are two types of relationship between private company and transmigrants: (1) the private companies provide the budget, management, and marketing while the transmigrants work and (2) company open the business such as plantation and sell those business to transmigrants. Transmigrants then run the business and then sell the product to the private company. In this type, private company still help the transmigrants in management and marketing. So far there are four types of business that already developed: plantation, fishery, industry, and forestry.

In general, transmigration has been considered improvement in economic condition family who migrate. Those improvements may not be reflected from the fact that there were no spontaneous migrant before the Repelita (the Five Year Development Plan) program beginning. However, Table-4 shows that after the Repelita program was launched (1969) the number of spontaneous increased every year. The highest number of

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spontaneous migrants occur during the Repelita IV.

Voluntary migrants was usually received information from earlier migrants who had already settled in their new location.The settled migrants often returned to their sending area to inform their success as well as to seek other relatives who would like to try a new live in a better living condition. The progress of transmigration program is summarized in **Tabel 4** below.

Table-4

Number of Transmigrants During First Long Term of Development Plan (PJP I)

Type	1950-1968	Repelita I (69-74)	Repelita II (74-79)	Repelita III (79-84)	Repelita IV (84-89)	Repelita V (89-94)	1994-95*)
Sponsored	95,276	122,595	205,544	571,521	799,943	927,975	250,000
Sponstaneous	0	12,884	12,884	182,381	704,109	309,325	75,000
Total	95,276	135,469	218,423	753,902	1,504,052	1,237,300	325,000

Source: Republic of Indonesia, Repelita I to Repelita VI

*) Estimated

The successful story of transmigration program not only in terms of redistributing the population from JAMBAL (Jawa-Madura-Bali-Lombok) areas to other areas and increase the family's welfare, but also stimulates the development of destination areas especially remote areas. During First Long Term Development Plan (PJP I) transmigration program had been successful to open 1,931 new villages in 21 provinces outside Java island. During the same time period, this program also successful to construct 55,000 Km road, 69,000 m bridge, 247,580 houses during the Repelita V and 543 unit of public services.

Beside some success stories from the implementation of transmigration program there were several cases which the immigrants could not adopt with the local condition, the resettlement or transmigration areas. Some of those immigrants who could not adjust with the new environment, go to the big cities nearby. Therefore, it creates the problem of the city nearby the transmigration areas.

Considering the aims of transmigration programs for regional development, there are several constraints in the implementation of this program. The constraints are coming from internal as well as external of the program.

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VI. TRANSMIGRATION PROBLEMS

Observing the transmigration problems, several issues could be seen as in the following:

A. General or Sponsored transmigration

In this area problems often appeared in the system of determining targets or allocating the number of transmigrants to be transported. Often the selection (of age, medical requirements, marital status, etc.) was not tight enough; also the lack of time or sudden events played havoc to the preparation of future transmigrants and the coordination amongst the officials/department managers. An example could be seen starting in the provision of land, up to the hand-over of the transmigrants to the regional administration.

B. Spontaneous or Voluntary transmigration

Several main points about spontaneous or voluntary transmigration, taken from various surveys and article, written were as follows: (see Tjiptoherijanto,1984)

Spontaneous or voluntary transmigration who are coming from large cities (nonagriculture) generally had problems like:

1) The difficulty to adjust with the new environment. Some of the transmigrants originally are the rural's dwellers who just move to the large city. Since they failed to accommodate the city's demand, they had to joint the transmigration program even they still intend to live in the city.

2) As their workfield was non-agriculture and many of the assigned lands were 'pure agriculture' they could not work seriously as farmers. They would run away to the nearest township once they got the opportunity and only a few returned to the assigned location.

3) Lack of education amongst the transmigrants where most of them (2/3) completed elementary school only or did not complete elementary school or uneducated at all. This caused problems for the operators of the transmigration program in relation to improve or develop the transmigrants' skills

4) Their backgrounds are labors, janitors, pedicab drivers and even jobless. These backgrounds are not suitable with the transmigration program that primary offers the agriculture job and need a high motivation and expectation for future life.

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5) The hopes of the future transmigrants were futile once they reached their destination. Earlier, they were already disheartened by the uncertainty of departure.

6) The attachment on their socio-culture origin. One of surveys done by the center for National Economic Survey (LEKNAS), (see Suharso, 1981) proved that transmigrants from West Java had less courage compared to those from East Java and Bali in remaining voluntarily at the transmigration site.

7) Communication with the program operators was not effective enough. Most of the future transmigrants heard of transmigration from their village administrators or from friends.

To the spontaneous or voluntarily transmigrants originating from farming villages the main problems were the failure in their agricultural plants aimed for trade purposes and also for export purposes. The motivation to elevate their living standards was actually more hopeful than that in Java. Other problems like lack of medical service, training, administrative service, location, conditions of road and communication in the transmigration site became a burden to the transmigrants. This type of condition often found as general problems.

Regarding medical service in particular (as surveyed by LEKNAS; see Suharso), it was found out that 25% of the respondents transported without undergoing medical check-up or no medical service on board. Other problems to be taken into consideration were not all transmigrants got the opportunity of skill of training. Also the allocation of transmigrants outside Java where culture, religion and ownership of land should be seriously considered.

VII. THE BASIC SOLUTIONS

In retaliation with the development purpose pointed earlier, the transmigration program always had to combine to the regional development. So it could be said that transmigration was carried out together with the infrastructure development in the region, i.e construction of roads, irrigation, markets and other forms of developments. Indeed a relation between the transmigration program and the region economy activity had to be formed. So basically the transmigration program 'was aimed towards agro development or an integral regional farming development.

Agro development in the form of mixed farming which consisted of ingredients, cash crops and cattle, had to be developed continuously. Agro

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development as an integral part of the regional development was aimed to form growth centres outside Java and Bali.

Growth centres worked in a chain, farming growth poles. Through these growth centres and growth poles and economy growth in the region we expected to attract new settlers from Java and Bali. However, a good pre-survey had to be done, to find out in which region agro development could be elevated to become growth centres and growth poles.

That is why before transmigration projects implemented, a serious pre-survey should be done. A preliminary wise step had to be taken and this included soil survey. In particular soil fertility survey, hydrological survey with a possibility of water treatment, either from rain water or from irrigation, survey on cropping pattern, and marketing potentials originated from crops planting. Only through various surveys a healthy settlement for the transmigrants could be prepared so that their various problems and complaints could be reduced or totally overcome.

If the main purpose of the transmigration program was to form an agro development, the group target (the transmigrants) should meet the group requirements, i.e.:

1) farmers group who according to their profession could cultivate their crops in the new region,

2) youth and students group who, due to their dynamic and aggressive attitude always curious to find and to try new methods, should be the motivators

3) ladies group, among others hawkers, traditional mid-wives herb sellers and other professions could be a part of life in the transmigration region to extend help traditionally to the village life,

4) traditional leaders or often called informal leaders, who introduced village development processes, among others teachers, cooperative staff, religious instructor, were expected to be fine example in the life of other transmigrants in the new region, and

5) the Armed Forces or ex-Armed Forces members who, due to their training and experience were accustomed to the opening of a new region and who could overcome problems retaliating to the wilderness and the imposible dwelling nature.

A combination of the above groups were expected to keep the transmigration region stable so that a pleasant settlement could be created and the desire to return to the homeland due to failure in the new land, could be reduced.

Meanwhile, village or agro development and also regional development expected to happen in the transmigration settlement could become a reality.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The oriented purpose of transmigration had changed upon the issue of Ordinance No.3/1973, the scope of which was wider, not only by demographic aspects but also involving other aspects.

The transmigration aimed as a support to the regional development, expansion of job opportunity, the importance of defence and other aims, became more popular eversince. In this matter the development of potential regions as growth centres had to be elevated as these regions could be expected to attract transmigration especially spontaneous or voluntarily transmigrants. Then the development of growth centres should also be elevated.

The transmigration program being carried out had to be an integral part of a regional development plan aimed to elevate the regional economy growth. The presence of economy growth was expected to elevate welfare and income within the society so that the transmigration could help to elevate the status and value of the Indonesian people.

The various kinds of transmigrants to be transported or sponsored by government or departed spontaneously or voluntarily be a combinaton of youth, ex-armed forces members, teachers, the wise considered as fine examples, or even the ladies-hawkers and traditional mid-wives. Hence the variety of transmigrants widened in setting in the new region. With all of these effort the purpose of transmigration programs for preventing urbanization process in big cities as well as for alleviating poverty in the regions, could become a reality.

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