

MERANTAU : ASPECTS OF OUTMIGRATION OF
THE MINANGKABAU PEOPLE

by

Auda Murad

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis
is my own work.

Auda Murad

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ABSTRACT

Merantau is a unique form of migration found in the Minangkabau society. In this thesis merantau is studied by a Minangkabau scholar. Thus, merantau is analysed not only by conventional means using observed data but also by the scholar's personal observation.

Minangkabau society has a matrilineal kinship system, which is quite different from the more well known patrilineal system. This study has discussed the matrilineal system and found that the effect of this system is often to compel men in disadvantaged kinship positions in their homeland to merantau.

In addition the successful adaptation of Minangkabau people to life in other areas encouraged the young Minangkabau, especially young men and young married couples to migrate to other areas where their sisters and matrilaterally related female cousins were settled.

Facts and figures of merantau produced from the 1971 population census of Indonesia and other sources are discussed in this study in detail. These results are primarily descriptive and the intention is to provide a basis for further studies into the sociology of migration in Indonesia. The study demonstrates that merantau is a socially and culturally institutionalised pattern of migration in Minangkabau society.

GLOSSARY

- adat - customary
- ahli waris - legal heir
- alam - universe; world
Alam Minangkabau - the Minangkabau world;
the Minangkabau homeland.
- demang - chief of subdistrict
- harta - property
harta pusaka - ancestral property;
inherited property owned together by clan
members.
harta pusaka tinggi - high ancestral
property.
harta pusaka rendah - low inherited
property.
harta pencaharian - self-earned property.
harta suarang - joint property of husband
and wife acquired during marriage.
- orong - hamlet
- kemenakan - sister's children; nephew and niece.
- laras - a group of clans
- luhak - original district of Minangkabau;
division of Minangkabau into three original
districts of Agam, Tanah Datar and Lima
puluh Kota.
- ladang - dry field.

- mamak - maternal uncle
- merantau - to migrate; to leave one's home area.
- mubalighs - preacher
- negari (nagari) - village
- paruik - womb; extended family unit of the same lineage.
- pekuburan - grave yards
- perantau - emigrant
- rantau - areas outside homeland (territory);
abroad
- rumah gadang - lineage house; adat house
- sawah - wet rice field
- suku - clan
- surau - place for religious instruction, and
also as a sleeping place of youths and
unmarried adult males.
- ulama - Moslem scholar

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

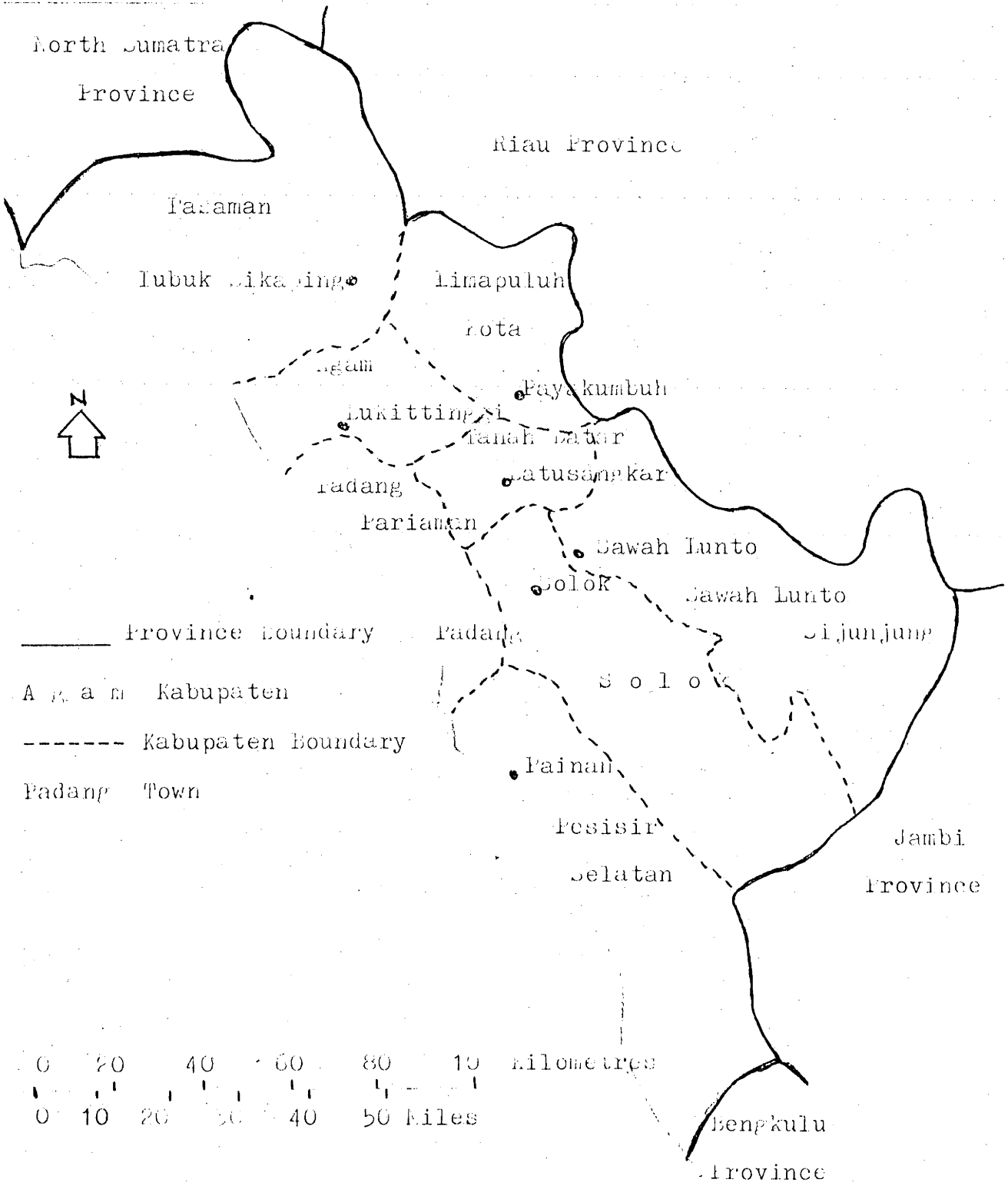
1.1 The Minangkabau Area

Indonesia has five major islands among more than 30,000 islands. It is inhabited by more than three hundred ethnic communities. One of these ethnic communities, the Minangkabau believe that the history of their singular group began with a settlement on the Southern slopes of Mount Merapi, a volcano near Bukittinggi in Central Sumatra (Bahar, 1966:7). From this geographic focus, they expanded to fill what is now the province of West Sumatra (see Map 1.1).

The Merapi settlement was divided into three groups, each of which set off to pioneer and settle a district of its own. These three areas of settlement formed the nucleus of the Minangkabau territory and were known collectively as the Luhak Nan Tigo and individually as Luhak Agam, Luhak Tanah Datar and Luhak Lima Puluh Kota. In fact these three Luhak were called Alam Minangkabau in the time of the Minangkabau Kingdom. Today no real distinction exists between the people of West Sumatra territory and the Alam Minangkabau.

The total area of Minangkabau comprises about 99,978 square kilometers, which represents only 10.3 per cent of Sumatra's total area and less than 2.6 per cent of present day Indonesia as a whole. The area of Minangkabau comprises a high mountain chain, which runs from north to south, called the Bukit Barisan. The majority of these hills are composed of two folded chains, running parallel to each other with a valley between in which lies a string of mountain lakes

MAP 1.1
PROVINCE OF WEST SUMATRA



such as Singkarak, Maninjau, Diatas and Dibawah. The Bukit Barisan also contains numerous volcanic peaks ranging in height from 1542 metres to more than 3800 metres above sea level, including Merapi, Singgalang, Sago and Tandikat. Most of these volcanoes are still active. The area is mostly covered by tropical rain forest and in the valley area the people live chiefly by growing rice. (Komando Antar Daerah Sumatra, 1964:94).

West Sumatra population is now about 2,792,221 people, 83 per cent live in rural areas (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1974: Series E No. 03, p.5 and 6) and about 70 per cent of total population were engaged in agricultural sectors (Esmara, 1971: table 2). With regard to religion, the Islam has the highest percentage of adherents with about 98.7 per cent of the population of West Sumatra and the rest are Catholic (0.4 per cent), Buddhist (0.3 per cent) and Protestant (0.6 per cent) and other religious which are not included in the classification (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1974: Series E No. 03, p.40).

The geographic neighbours of the Minangkabau are the Kurinci people to the south, the Riau people (a mixed population in which Malay elements predominate) to the east, the Mandailing Batak of Tapanuli to the north with the Indian ocean forming the western border (Graves, 1971:20). Furthermore Graves pointed out that the Kurinci people who live to the south, have long been associated with the southern districts of Minangkabau, although they are still considered a different group. However the Riau people on the eastern border are a mixed population consisting of both indigenous and Minangkabau ethnic groups (Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia, 1961:

1051-1060). Among the Minangkabau in Riau, the customs and social-cultural way of life as Minangkabau people have become shadowy in the long run mainly because of different economic conditions. The Mandailing people to the north are a sub-ethnic group of the Bataks. Most of the Batak characteristics are different from the Minangkabau. As a patrilineal society, a Batak marriage results in the formation of a new domestic family and household, and the married couple are economically dependent on the husband's parents (Singarimbun, 1975: 146). The hereditary rights of the male children provide for the replacement of the personnel of the husband's family from one generation to the next. On the western border of Minangkabau is the Indian ocean. Along this coast several natural harbours are found including Air Bangis, Sasak, Padang, Pariaman and Painan. Most of these harbours were famous around the 16th century, as stopover points for the cargo vessels of Portugese and other traders. These harbours were not only important as a channel for marketing of goods, but also in channeling foreign influences.

1.2 The Evidence of Other Studies

The Minangkabau, having a matrilineal social organization in their homeland, inherit rights and the lands owned by their suku (clan) through their mother. The responsibility for their ancestral land and the daily life of the family is held by the oldest brother of the oldest woman.

The Minangkabau people have been well known for their mobility for a long time (Naim, 1974:76; Maude, 1977:1). Among them, to leave one's home area is seen as a deeply felt, ancient and inexorable

theme in their history. This process they called merantau. In other words merantau means voluntary migration from their village or region to other places (Naim, 1974:18; Evers, 1972:18).

At first merantau was limited only to the regions beyond the borders of the three Luhak as mentioned before. However, the expansion of their area and the development of transportation and communication were followed by the extension of the rantau (migration) area. Recently Minangkabau people are found throughout all the regions of Indonesia.

According to the 1971 Indonesian Census more than 322 thousand West Sumatra born people were enumerated outside their region, corresponding to 11.6 per cent of the total West Sumatra born population in 1971. Compared with the other provinces in Indonesia, the rate of lifetime out-migration for West Sumatra was the highest (Speare, 1975:68). Most of the Minangkabau migrants lived in urban areas particularly in the Kota-Madya (Municipality) of each province (1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations).

Several studies have been made of Minangkabau merantau by sociologists, anthropologists and geographers. These studies have included analysis of three main aspects of migration, namely its causes, magnitude and direction, and the characteristics of Minangkabau migrants. Two studies by Naim (1971, 1973) examined the causes and effect of Minangkabau voluntary migration. Naim discussed the way in which cultural constraints related to social, economic or environmental factors may push people to migrate but he does not reach any conclusions about the effects of individual constraints. (in Richmond, 1976:10).

Maude (1971) has done a survey of the inter-village differences in out-migration in West Sumatra. He pointed out that the rate of migration, occupations and destination of migrants varied from generation to generation, village to village and also according to the level of education. Chadwick (1976) wrote about aspects of out-migration from a West Sumatra village. Chadwick concluded that historically, merantau was a response to population pressure and the features of village social organization favoured the adaption of Minangkabau migrants to the conditions of life in the city (Chadwick, 1976:175). Hans-Dieter Evers (1972) pointed to the evidence of the existence of step migration with Padang, the capital city of West Sumatra province, maintaining its gateway position for migration streams from West Sumatra villages to other cities in Indonesia (Evers, 1972:19). In 1972, Thamrin wrote about 'Masaalah merantau orang Minangkabau' (The problem of Minangkabau migration). Excellent basic knowledge about the important relevance of migration to social and economic development has been presented by some writers (Kuznets, 1964:xxiii; Bogue, 1959) and again Naim has applied these studies to Minangkabau migration in his study of 'The positive and negative effects of Minangkabau merantau' (Naim, 1972:35). He concluded that to some extent, merantau brought about a decrease in the proportion of persons in the working ages left at home. The study about Minangkabau migration by Evers (1972:18) and Chadwick (1976:ii) indicated that the type of migration stream of Minangkabau people is mainly from rural to urban areas. The present study seeks to add to these studies and also investigates other features of Minangkabau migration which have not been included in the analysis of previous writers, including migration differentials according to basic characteristics and the fertility level of migrants.

Thomas (1938) has provided the general features of migration differentials, such as age, sex, family status, education and occupation. However, there are differences from one country to another. For example, Caldwell in his study of African rural-urban migration indicated that the greatest propensity to migrate was in the age group 15-19 years for the Ghanaian people (Caldwell, 1969:59), while Li found that among Taiwanese the highest propensity to migrate was at the ages 20-24 (in Richmond:101). A study about migration in Indonesia by Speare indicated that migrants were concentrated in the ages 15-30 (Speare, 1975:83). Related to the sex selectivity of migration Shaw (1975:22) concluded that sex selectivity appears to vary with particular socio-cultural and temporal settings.

Also variations have been found in the selectivity of other characteristics of migrants including education, marital status and language. One such study has been done by Stone in Canada (Stone, 1969:80-84). He observed that the level of educational attainment was higher for migrants, and single people were less likely to migrate than married, divorced or widowed persons.

In relation to differentials in the fertility of migrants, a number of studies have been made in different countries such as the United States, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Thailand and India. Evidence for Brazil, Puerto Rico and the United States shows that fertility levels appear to be lower for migrants (Zarate and Zarate, 1975:115-156). In Thailand, Goldstein concluded that the relationship between fertility and migration varied depending upon the measure of migration used. Furthermore he mentioned that the number of children ever born to migrant women - defined in terms of place of birth - was

slightly higher compared to non-migrant women: 4,308 children per 1,000 women for migrants and 4,255 children per 1,000 women for non-migrants. In Greater Bombay, Rele and Kanitkar found differentials in marital fertility by former residence of the wife (Rele and Kanitkar, 1974: table 6). They divided former residence into three groups, non-migrants, urban migrants and rural migrants, and found that the fertility level of rural migrant wives was higher than that for the non-migrant and urban migrant wives, the averages being 3.12, 3.08 and 3.01 per wife for rural migrants, non-migrants and urban migrants respectively. As yet, there has been no study of the fertility of Minangkabau migrants. Thus, this study examines the fertility of ever married migrant women in relation to their place of residence. In addition, we also seek to determine the factors causing differences in fertility levels.

In order to achieve these purposes - further study of conventional characteristics of merantau and investigation of some other features of merantau - this study is arranged into six chapters. Chapter Two is largely a historical review of some of the major features of the socio-economic conditions of Minangkabau traditional society. Chapter Three describes the causes of migration, areas of destination and migration levels and trends. In addition the theoretical framework and the definition of merantau are considered. The most analytical part of this study is contained in Chapters Four and Five. Chapter Four focuses on basic characteristics of migrants and migration differentials will also be described. Chapter Five continues the analysis of the life characteristics of migrants by considering their fertility level. Finally, Chapter Six is devoted to a summary and conclusion.

1.3 Data Sources

This study is not the result of original field work.

It is based primarily on special tabulation runs on the 1971 Population Census of Indonesia which covered 3.8 per cent of the total population of Indonesia (Cho, 1976:78). The main additional sources of data are Maude's survey, Naim's study and some existing literature on the subject.

According to the 1971 Census of Indonesia, the information about Minangkabau merantau was collected through 106,849 Minangkabau households in all regions of Indonesia excluding West Sumatra region, 45 per cent of urban East Java and rural West Irian. It should be noted here that rural West Irian was not included in the original census (Cho, 1976:79). However the omission of information for urban East Java is due to difficulties in processing the sample census tape. The information collected covered the household structure, sex and age composition, marital status, educational attainment, occupational characteristics, literacy level, duration of residence in the current province and the number of children ever born to ever married women. From these data we have made special cross tabulations of the characteristics of migrants. From the current age of migrants and their duration of residence we have estimated the age structure of migrants at arrival. Furthermore for the discussion of migration differentials we have compared migrant characteristics with the characteristics of the West Sumatra population, that is people who were still living in West Sumatra at the census date.

Maude's survey of inter-village differences in out-migration in West Sumatra was conducted in December 1970 and January 1971.

He collected the information from 325 household interviews in eleven villages in rural areas of West Sumatra. The method of selecting households was as follows :

'The eleven nagari were chosen according to the main variations in population density, agricultural systems and accessibility in the region, although there is no representative of the small proportion of villages in the province which are not accessible by road. Within each nagari, usually one or two jorong or hamlets were chosen for the study, and within these jorong from 20 to 40 households were selected, with the help of village and the hamlet officials, as representative of the households within each hamlet. The representativeness of the sample households was checked by comparing the migration characteristics of these households with information gained from key informants on the general character of migration from the jorong or nagari, and with data on departures from the nagari obtained from village records. (Maude, 1977:3).

Basic migration data were collected for 976 individuals, and more detailed information was obtained for 486 of the younger migrants.

Naim's data were gathered both in West Sumatra and in many towns in rantau between June 1970 and February 1971. The data were collected for 522 individuals with 427 of them from rantau areas, the majority from Jakarta province. The data were collected by using questionnaires which were asked by student interviewers and filled in by the interviewers. He obtained information regarding the location of members of the local Minangkabau society through their social

organization in every region.

However, in both surveys, the female population or female migrants were not included. Despite this, the two studies above have provided excellent background information on the migration pattern of the Minangkabau people. Further, this study has the advantage of covering the more general features of Minangkabau migration. Since the information used in this study is mostly provided by second hand data and not my own survey, it is possible that some of the analysis is still incomplete.

CHAPTER 2
SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC
ORGANIZATION OF MINANGKABAU SOCIETY

In this chapter we shall briefly examine the basic features of Minangkabau society including the structure of economic life, educational levels and the population figures of traditional Minangkabau society. These points serve as an introduction to the more detailed discussion in the following chapter, mainly to find out the background to the causes of Minangkabau migration.

2.1 The Society

Many people have written about the history of the Minangkabau kingdom. Bahar claimed that Minangkabau was found by Alexander The Great from Macedonia (Bahar, 1966:6), and the first settlement was on Merapi mountain from where Alam Minangkabau (the Realm of Minangkabau) extended downwards (de Jong, 1952:99). Loeb (1935:109) and other writers have adopted a story of Minangkabau from Tambo Alam Minangkabau which mentioned that the folk etymology of the Minangkabau name dates from the time during which the Malay kingdom was struggling to retain its independence from the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. A competition between two buffaloes was a symbol of the struggle. In this competition the Malay kingdom's buffalo was the victor, and since that time Malay people have called their kingdom, 'Minangkabau' (menang = win, kabau = buffalo).

However, until now, the history of Minangkabau is not clear.

Naim concluded that the Minangkabau kingdom has existed since at least before the sixth century, because there had been a succession of various east Minangkabau kingdoms from the sixth to the fourteenth centuries (Naim, 1974:94). Commercial and diplomatic contacts with other islands had been established before the fourteenth century (Mansoer et al., 1971:9).

Minangkabau is a matrilineal society. Their people have considered and followed the adat (custom) law as the guiding rule of their society. According to adat, the suku (clan) is the basis of social organization, and the grouping of people is based on genealogical units. The suku group is subdivided into extended families called paruik (womb). A paruik is the smallest independent unit of the matrilineal organization. It consists of all the children of one woman plus the children of her daughters (de Jong, 1952:10). Edwin M. Loeb indicated that the sabuah paruik consists of all those who have descended from a common female ancestor, comprising the children, their mothers, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandmothers and grandaunts usually up to the fifth generation (Loeb, 1935:111). These definitions are slightly different because the definition varies according to the area of observation. Members of a paruik should share common property (harta pusaka) such as sawah (wet rice field), ladang (dry field), rumah gadang (adat house) and pandam pekuburan (grave yards).

Each matrilineal group was led by mamak (uncle). Usually the eldest mamak occupied this position. Practically a mamak should protect and guide the fortunes of his sister's children, and all of the members of the matrilineage are under his rule. A powerful mamak could assure advancement, prosperity and peace for his kemenakan (nephews and

nieces). Indeed it was expected that a successful person would use his position to assist his followers. However, in theory, a mamak does not have absolute authority to manage the family life as most of his policies must be agreed to by his sister and his mother. Moret and Davy wrote that the Minangkabau social system is not based absolutely on matrilineal descent groups but rather it is a combination of matrilineal and patrilineal descent groups (in de Jong, 1952:82). Furthermore, they summarized the characteristics of the Minangkabau social system as 'matrilineal descent, matrilineal clan, clan exogamy, clan authority theoretically in hands of the mother but in practice the mother's brother, matrilocal marriage and the succession of dignities from mother's brother to sister's son'.

Suku is the basic unit in marriage space; marriage relations among Minangkabau society are determined by suku exogamy. At other levels variations are found. For example at the kelarasan level (a group of clans), in some parts of Minangkabau area there is exogamy, but in other parts endogamy. Basically, marriages are totally arranged by the two families without consulting the persons to be married. Since the arrival of Islam, the Minangkabau people have practiced a combination of two systems namely total arrangement by the two families and marriages where the agreement of the bride and bridegroom is sought beforehand (Iskandar, 1971:65). However, the totally arranged marriages are still more common.

According to adat law, marriage was prohibited not only among people from the same suku, but also where two persons within a paruik wish at the same time to marry two persons who are members of the same suku. Marriage between a man and his sister-in-law was absolutely forbidden, and also marriage with a divorced wife's sister (Willink in de Jong, 1952:61).

Minangkabau traditional society preferred marriages between cross-cousins, and promoted marriages of a man to his deceased wife's sister or with his brother's widow (Loeb, 1935:27). The idea of this system was to continue the relationship between two suku and to prevent the children coming under a powerful step-father or step-mother. Furthermore marriage between a half-brother or sister is definitely restricted by adat law.

An interesting feature of the marriage system in Minangkabau is the unchangeable position of a man. His position among his wife's lineage is that of an outsider or sumando (guest) only. Husband and wife do not separate from their natal family. The father-husband as a sumando has no authority or responsibility over his wife or children. The biological father-husband is related to his own children only through bonds of affection established through intimate contact. Roughly speaking, he comes to his wife for the fulfilment of biological needs or sexual needs only. Thus, usually he comes to his wife in the evening and returns to his lineage home early in the morning. He continues to spend most of his time with his own mother's kin-group and is directly responsible for his sister's children. So that, sometimes children do not recognize their own father on the street. The weakness of the relationship between the father-husband with his children or wife allows a man to practice polygamy (Naim, 1974:42). In fact these arrangements are not unusual for a matrilineal society. Gluckman in his study of African matrilineal kinship society, indicated that the man is socially reproduced not in his own son but in his nephew by his sister (in Farber, 1964:57).

2.2 Economic Organization

The economic life of the Minangkabau people has revolved chiefly around agriculture since their ancestors. Recently about 68 per cent of the population 10 years of age and over were engaged in farming (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1974:218). Thus, land is the main resource in their lives and ownership is arranged by adat law also. The principle of adat or customary laws is that no land is under individual ownership rights. All Minangkabau land is held by matrilineal descent groups, usually suku. It is under communal ownership rights (de Jong, 1952:56).

Property is classified into four groups: harta pusaka tinggi (high ancestral property), harta pusaka rendah (low inherited property), harta pencaharian (self-earned property) and harta suarang (joint property of husband and wife acquired during marriage) (Yahya, 1968:85). The high ancestral property is communal property which is hereditary from generation to generation. Low inherited property came from the self earned property and becomes high ancestral property after the next generation. Self earned property is turned into low inherited property after the owner's death and it becomes ancestral property after many generations, while joint property will be divided as common property in case of divorce. Thus, the last kind of property was held by individuals for as long as they lived. The authority and responsibility for the utilization of communal land was held by the head of the matrilineal group. All communal land cannot be sold, but it can be mortgaged for specific reasons such as for the cost of preparing the adat house, cost of marriage ceremony, cost of funeral and other things which relate to adat purposes (Hamka, 1968:30). The realization of mortgage should be

through the agreement of all adult members of the matrilineal descent group. However, all ancestral properties could not be divided usually until after five generations. So, during that period, the system of utilization of these communal lands was usually by rotation between the females in the descent group. This system was very complicated (Chadwick, 1976:79), particularly for suku which flourished rapidly.

The problem of communal property lies not only in the utilization process, but also in the transformation process of property rights. Basically the inheritance system of Minangkabau society was formulated by adat law also, in which all communal wealth was inherited by kemenakan (nephews, nieces). In other words, ancestral property is inherited from the grand parent by the mother's brother and from this level by his sister's children. There has arisen a problem of dissatisfaction of the people with the transformation process of communal property rights. The mamak as controller of communal property, has the authority and responsibility to advantage his kemenakan only, but not himself. He can use communal property for their personal well-being with consideration for the women in his matrilineal group. This problem often brought about chaos between a mamak and his kemenakan or among the members of the lineage and the issue has continued until recently in Minangkabau society, although the arrival of the Islamic religious has brought some alteration and modernization. Several seminars and meetings have been held right up to the present time. As a result of these meetings, individual property was inherited by ahli waris (legal heir), following the faraidh law (Islamic law), while ancestral property followed the customary laws (Naim, 1968:243). For earned property, inheritance is based on Islamic laws as follows :

The earned property should be inherited by the children of the deceased, and if they have no children, the parents of the deceased, their sister or brother, their siblings and relatives should receive the inheritance. Each heir will receive their quota according to Islamic laws. In some cases the parent can transfer their earned property to their children before their death (Yahya, 1968:88).

Although in theory these regulations are clear enough, and the government has provided more detailed information about the utilization and transformation process of communal rights, in practice the complexity of the application of this system is still apparent. Some of the people still adhere to the traditional system, while others follow the new system, so that the conflict among the Minangkabau people regarding communal property has never ended.

The Minangkabau people cultivate various crops, depending on the geographic condition of the area. The predominant crop however is rice, particularly in the low land. They also grow pepper, chili peppers, bananas, tobacco, sugar cane, beans, flowers and vegetables. Most of these products are intended only for home consumption and local market commodities. As an export commodity coffee was very popular around the seventeenth century, while today, the commodity exports from West Sumatra cover gutta percha, cassia, nutmeg, tea, tobacco and citronella (Esmara, 1974:386). In some parts of the Minangkabau area which have very small areas of sawah and ladang, most of the people are engaged in small industries (home industries) for example, spinning, weaving, cloth dying, pottery, carpentry, tailoring and so on. Most of the poor area for sawah is in Luhak Agam such as Sulit Air, Koto Gadang, Balingka, Sungai Puar and Silungkang.

2.3 Educational Levels

The Islamic leaders have continued to improve the educational level of the Minangkabau people since their arrival. Although the teaching has emphasized Islamic knowledge, to some extent, it has also introduced the basic ideas of other general studies such as, arithmetic, language, history and so on. Generally, the children started to go to school at age six. The school location was in the surau (place for study, prayer and sleep for boys and men before marriage or after divorce). Girls usually studied in their teacher's house at night. The media of instruction were the local language (Minangkabau language) and Arabic language. The Minangkabau language was almost identical to the Malay language, while Malay, which originally was the language of the Riau population has been a lingua franca throughout the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago since the early fifteenth century (Koentjaraningrat, 1975:32). This gave a greater advantage to Minangkabau people to improve their knowledge. The development and organization of the educational system was more successful for Minangkabau society than for other societies in Indonesia up to the late nineteenth century (Graves, 1971:147). The Minangkabau had several Islamic high schools and Islamic colleges, which provided educational facilities for all people.

In the early eighteenth century, the Dutch government introduced a system of formal education to the Minangkabau people. However, they only provided educational facilities for specific groups of people, such as the children of Demang (chief of a district), chief of negari, or the children of people who supported the Dutch government, because the Dutch government were worried about the unemployment crisis.

The Dutch government did not want to extend the facilities to employ new teachers, complaining that the unemployed Minangkabau scholars had begun to encourage villagers to agitate directly with the "government for redress of any grievance and a politically dangerous situation was building" during the 1880's to the 1920's (Canne and Withlow in Graves, 1971:420). This problem was related to the Dutch government policies on the purpose of education. The government had established the schools only to provide skills for their own commercial and administrative advantage. However, as a positive side effect of these policies, the Minangkabau people were invested with an awareness of the importance of education. Thus each village started to provide their own educational facilities from that time. However the development of these schools varied from village to village, depending upon their capacities, mainly in the financial sphere. Some villages collected an education fund by assessing each family for a part of its income, and the money was used for a local school. Koto Gadang (a village in Luhak Agam) was a successful example. This village sent its youth to the Netherlands to train as teachers (Graves, 1971:425). Thus, it is not surprising that Koto Gadang was a very prominent source of intellectuals among the regions of Minangkabau, even until recently.

The awareness of the importance of education and the demand for more advanced education has continued in Minangkabau areas since that time. However the supply of educational facilities was far from adequate. The Dutch government provided only two high schools up to 1916 and these schools could not take all of the students from Minangkabau. Consequently, parents often sent their children to other cities in Indonesia, and since that time education appeared as a cause of merantau.

Although the political situation of the Indonesian governments has changed from one government to the next (Dutch to Japanese, and from Japanese to Republic), the attitude and behaviour of the Minangkabau people to continue their study outside their region has remained unchanged. Today a number of colleges and universities have been established by the Indonesian government in Minangkabau, but some students still prefer to go to other regions particularly to Java. The extent of the effect of education on merantau will be discussed later.

2.4 Population

The Dutch government started collecting population data in 1852. Unfortunately, the demographic characteristics were not fully recorded. At that time the population of Sumatra's West Coast was reported as 695,917 persons. In 1920, the colonial government conducted a population census in Indonesia for the first time. However the results of the 1920 census for West Sumatra were based on the information supplied by the local heads of administrative areas, so the reliability of the data was still questionable. According to the census, the total population of West Sumatra (Sumatra West Coast) in 1920 was 1,505,561 persons. So for this region, the annual growth rate from 1852 to 1920 was calculated to be 11.3 per 1,000 persons.

Again the Dutch government conducted a census in 1930, when the total number of people in Minangkabau was reported as 1,717,031 persons (Naim, 1974:table II.15). The 1930 census figure implies an annual rate of increase of 13.1 per 1,000 persons in West Sumatra during the period 1920-1930. This figure indicates that the annual rate of increase was

slightly higher than for the period 1852 to 1920. However, the total for 1920 may have been under estimated or the mortality level may have decreased in Minangkabau during the period 1920-1930.

After the proclamation of independence in 1945, the government of the Republic of Indonesia conducted the first national census of population on October 31, 1961. According to the 1961 census, the population had increased by 602,026 during the 1930-1961 period. Thus, the rate of population growth from 1930 was 97 per 1,000 population, but this figure was influenced by changes in the boundary of West Sumatra during this period and by the different approaches of the two censuses. The 1930 figure included only ethnic Minangkabau in West Sumatra whereas the 1961 figure includes persons of all nationalities.

The second population census of the Republic of Indonesia was conducted on September 24, 1971 and it yielded a figure for the West Sumatra population of 2,789,882 persons. Thus the rate of growth during the period 1961-1971 was 18.2 per 1,000 population. Compared with the rate of population growth of Indonesia as a whole, it is evident that the rate of growth of West Sumatra was relatively lower than Indonesia during the period 1961-1971. (see Table 2.1). The differences between these figures can be analyzed by comparing the three demographic factors affecting the rate of population growth, births, deaths and migration. Cho has calculated the fertility rate of every region of Indonesia and found that the fertility rate was relatively higher for West Sumatra than for Indonesia as a whole, while the mortality rate was almost the same in the period 1960-1971 (Cho et al., 1976:1,64). This means that the impact of out migration was relatively

stronger for the West Sumatra population.

Within the West Sumatra Subdivisions, the demographic patterns follow the topographical features. Described at the beginning in Chapter 1. Population is unevenly distributed, being concentrated in Tanah Datar and Agam districts. The population density varied between 27.1 to 240.0 persons per square kilometer for Sawah Lunto/Sijunjung and Tanah Datar districts respectively in 1971. Table 2.1 also demonstrates that the annual rate of population growth fluctuated among the Subdivisions in both periods. Air Bangis/Environs, Pariaman, Southern Divisions and Padang/Environs (the Coastal lowland on the Western part of the Bukit Barisan) have relatively high rates of growth during the period 1852-1920. As Naim mentioned these areas are an extension of the Minangkabau homeland and were also referred to as rantau in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Naim, 1974:34). The higher rate of population growth of these areas was mainly due to migration from the uplands. Furthermore Naim pointed out that these areas were principally an extension of the original land, whether in the form of a colony, trading areas or vassalage in the first type of rantau (Naim, 1974:109). However, these areas became more attractive under the Dutch government particularly Padang and Pariaman in terms of their trade and industry. Pariaman district was known chiefly for coconut cultivation in the early nineteenth century (Schrieke, 1955:102), while Padang has grown considerably in size since 1660 as the chief trading port of Sumatra's West Coast (Evers, 1972:18). Conversely, the lower rate of growth of the highland part of Minangkabau (mainly Agam and Tanah Datar districts) was due to the out migration of the population from their home villages.

Padang had the highest rate of population growth among West Sumatra's Subdivisions during the period 1961-1971. Urban growth and the natural increase of population provided a high rate of annual increase. At least three factors were operating to attract the people to choose the city as an area of destination. Firstly, Padang as the capital city of West Sumatra province was the centre of public and private enterprises. Therefore the diversity of work was relatively higher than other cities and this attracted many people to move to the city.

According to Evers, 45 per cent of male in-migrants to Padang were employees and in low status occupations during the period 1969-1970 26 per cent were students and the rest were looking for a job or not working (Evers, 1972:21). Secondly, Padang serves as a gateway for Minangkabau migrants. In 1969, 93 per cent of recent migrants to the city left to take up permanent residence elsewhere (Evers, 1972:18). Thirdly, Andalas University (Provincial University), Teacher Training College (IKIP) and several high schools including some academies were located in Padang and these institutions drew many of their students from other parts of West Sumatra. In fact, previously, some departments of the Training College and Andalas University were in other parts of West Sumatra. For example, the Training College was previously located in Tanah Datar district, while the Agriculture Faculty of Andalas University was in Lima Puluh Kota district. So the lower rates of growth of these districts could be related to these factors, besides the differential impact of fertility and mortality patterns.

TABLE 2.1
 RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH OF SUBDIVISIONS OF WEST SUMATRA⁺
 IN THE PERIOD 1852-1920 AND 1961-1971

Subdivision	Population				Annual Rate of Growth (%)	
	1852*	1920*	1961**	1971***	1852-1920	1961-1971
Padang Lowlands Residency 1852-1920; Padang/Environs:					1.9	
Southern Divisions	40,158	146,762			1.9	
Pariaman	34,205	125,777			2.1	
Air Bangis/Environs	60,518	251,965			2.5	
Padang Lowlands Residency in 1852 (Highlands in 1920):						
Ophir	4,056	22,273			1.3	
Rau/Environs/L. Sikaping	19,093	46,256			0.8	
Padang Highlands Residency 1852/1920 and Rural Highlands Census Areas 1961/1971:						
Tanah Datar	153,604	240,009	246,463	290,997	0.7	1.7
Agam	197,217	246,390	304,453	347,022	0.3	1.3
Lima Puluh Kota	103,567	221,232	250,687	286,672††	1.1	1.3
Solok	70,752	182,672	271,243	319,499†††	1.4	1.6
All Other Census Areas 1961-1971:						
Municipalities:						
Bukittinggi			51,456	63,356		2.1
Padang			143,699	196,618		3.2
Sawah Lunto			12,276	12,426		0.1
Padang Panjang			25,521	30,219		1.7
Regencies:						
Pasaman			217,311	273,850		2.3
Padang Pariaman			442,649	553,123		2.2
South Pesisir			221,449	254,234		1.4
Sawah Lunto/Sijunjung			131,859	161,321		2.0
Total Sumatra West Coast/ West Sumatra Indonesia****	695,917	1,505,561	2,319,066	2,789,337	1.1	1.8 2.1

† Sumatra West Coast in 1852/1920.

†† Including Payakumbuh municipality in 1971.

††† Including Solok municipality in 1971.

Source: * Graves, 1971:24-25.
 ** Wijoyo, 1970:243.
 *** Syafnir, 1973:8.
 **** University of Indonesia, 1974:10.

CHAPTER 3
DETERMINANTS, VOLUME, DIRECTION
AND DURATION OF MERANTAU

This chapter sets out to analyze the conceptual framework of merantau. More precisely our objective is to find out why people are moving, the magnitude of the movement and the type of merantau flows. Our analysis of the socio-economic organization in the previous chapter has drawn together evidence which fully supports the view that merantau tends to be related especially to the features of village social organization, the cycle of regulation of use rights to family land or other family properties and the position of a man in the matrilineal Minangkabau society, besides being a response to the population pressures caused by the shortage of economic opportunities in the agricultural system.

At this stage, we should be aware of the definition and the elements of merantau, which has been introduced by Naim in his study of 'Merantau: Minangkabau voluntary migration' in 1974. Naim (in Richmond, 1976:150) has defined merantau as:

'Leaving one's cultural territory voluntarily, whether for a short or long time, with the aim of earning a living or seeking further knowledge or experience, normally with the intention of returning home'

Naim's definition refers to leaving one's cultural territory rather than crossing an administrative boundary. However, in our discussion, we have defined the cultural territory of the Minangkabau as West Sumatra

province. Consequently, merantau in this analysis does not apply to people who move within West Sumatra province, even though some of them considered themselves as perantau (migrant) whenever they moved to other subdivisions. Also, we shall not consider international movements, because there are no available statistics to measure this flow.

Concerning the duration of stay, merantau does not explicitly distinguish between permanent and temporary movements. The purposiveness of going to rantau is an absolute factor which discriminates it from a visit (Naim, 1974:21). This differs from the time related definition of the United Nations that removal for a period of one year or less should be considered as temporary migration, while for a period exceeding one year as permanent migration (United Nations in Shryock and Siegel, 1975:581), and that a stay for a short time should be classified as a visit.

Returning to the Naim definition, normally Minangkabau people leave their home villages for temporary reasons, but in some cases the Minangkabau migrants stay outside their region permanently, either because of family problems or financial difficulties. In either case, they always keep in touch with their family members, who stay in or outside their region of West Sumatra. As mentioned in Chapter 2, merantau does not appear to reduce kinship recognitions or kinship functions within the kinship and family system of Minangkabau societies. The utilization and transformation process of family properties does not appear to change. Although some members of matrilineage groups stay in rantau temporarily or permanently, they can order or transfer their rights through their families, if they want it. In some cases, Minangkabau migrants visit their home village to fulfil

the obligatory tasks of the family or society and to some extent to arrange their property.

In addition, the contribution of Minangkabau migrants is not only for their family, but also for the benefit of the development of their Alam or region, specifically their home villages. As Taufik pointed out, educational and political development of the Minangkabau region in the twentieth century was strongly influenced by Minangkabau migrant intellectuals both Islamic and Western educated. For example, the successful religious reform movements from Padri to the modernists were led by persons who had been to Islamic centres beyond Minangkabau (Taufik, 1968:68).

3.1 Determinants of Merantau

In migration studies, various factors, economic social, geographic and cultural, have been taken by researchers to be stimulants to merantau.

The main sources of our data about the reasons for merantau are the surveys conducted by Naim and by Maude in 1970 and 1971 respectively. The procedures of these surveys were relatively different. These differences should be kept in mind during the discussion. Firstly, their definitions are slightly different. Naim refers to West Sumatra as the unit of the Minangkabau region, while Maude's definition specifies the village as the unit of the survey. Therefore, Maude considered the movement of people within West Sumatra province as merantau. Secondly, there were differences in sampling method including location of area, respondent and type of questionnaire. Naim's survey location

TABLE 3.1

'REASON' FOR MERANTAU FROM TWO STUDIES

Naim 1970-71		Maude 12/1970-1/1971			
Multiple Responses to an Open Ended Question: What Caused You to go to Merantau?		Responses from Household Interviews to Leading Question: Why Did you go to Merantau?			
Reasons	N	%	Reasons	N	%
Economic Reasons	441	51.7	Economic Reasons	296	61.1
Educational Reason	200	23.4	To Gain Experiences	68	13.9
Social Reasons	72	8.4	Tradition	26	5.4
Psychological Reasons	140	16.4	Adat Problem	15	3.0
			Dissatisfaction with Village Life	20	4.2
			Example of Other Migrants	12	2.4
			Other Reasons	49	10.1
Total	853	99.9		486	100.0

Source: Naim, 1974:347-348.

Maude, 1972:Table 10, Summary 3 and Table 21, Summary 2.

covered some villages in West Sumatra and several rantau towns including Medan, Pekanbaru, Palembang, Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, Semarang, Pekalongan, Surabaya, Malang, Ampenem and Ujung Pandang and also some parts of Malaysia and Singapore. Maude's survey location was concentrated in West Sumatra province (see chapter 1). Naim collected his data from 522 individual questionnaires with the addition of some in-depth interviews; Maude however, obtained his data from 325 households, with information about migrants being given by the relatives of the migrants, or, sometimes, the migrants themselves who had returned to their home. The total number of migrants was 486 individuals. Thirdly, there were differences in processing and tabulation of the data. Naim classified the causative factors into four main groups, while Maude arranged them into seven groups. They also appear to have interpreted responses differently. For example, the reason, 'gain experience' used by Maude included persons moving for the purpose of education, and the reasons 'adat, tradition and others' in the Maude study were included among social and psychological factors by Naim. It is therefore rather difficult to draw comparison between their results.

The outstanding fact about their results is that the economic motive is the leading cause of Minangkabau merantau (see table 3.1). According to Maude, 61 per cent of respondents gave their principal reason, "Economic pressure", while Naim found that 52 per cent of respondents stated as their cause of migration, 'economic pressure', 'life is difficult at home', 'lack of job opportunities at home', 'no job at home', and 'lack of sawah' as a group of village push factors or 'looking for job', 'to trade', 'to build a better future' and 'more

jobs available in rantau' as urban pull factors (Naim, 1974:347). In this context it is worth noting that 72 per cent of Minangkabau migrants moved to urban areas according to the 1971 population census of Indonesia (special tabulations). Furthermore, Naim pursued an ecological argument concerning the causes of merantau, pointing out that there is a negative relationship between the population ratio per hectare of sawah and the intensity of merantau (Chadwick, 1976:21). However, Maude rejected Naim's argument, based on his survey where he found that, differences between nagari (village) in the rate of merantau 'are not statistically related to the average land or sawah area of households, sufficiency of food production (unless combined with the percentage of households cash cropping), the educational level of villagers or the occupational characteristics of the people in the nagari' (see table 3.2).

In fact it is rather difficult to discriminate between these factors above, because all of them are interrelated and as we mentioned in Chapter 2, many of these factors are under the control of adat law; so that it is possible that response errors occurred in those surveys. There is a possibility that some respondents may prefer to state economic reasons because they are embarrassed to display their inability to cope with the matrilineal system of their society. As Yunus (1971:245) wrote, the economic reasons (to find wealth without using the land in their villages) of Minangkabau migrants should be related to the fact that a man has no right to use the family properties for his own needs in Minangkabau society.

Although the economic motive is a leading factor in merantau the proportion moving for economic reasons was still low compared

TABLE 3.2

MALE MIGRATION RATES AND FACTORS, BY NAGARI

Nagari (Village)	Migration Rate ¹	Percent Households Cash-Cropping ²	Self-Sufficiency ³	Institutionalisation of Migration	Educational Level of ⁵ Migrants	Effect of Migration ⁶
Kamang Mudik	37.2	23.7	6.1	34.4	42.3	68.0
Sungai Tarab	31.0	32.4	7.4	45.1	71.4	50.0
Rao-Rao	60.0	20.0	3.3	64.1	10.3	72.5
Ganggo Hilir	51.0	23.7	4.3	40.5	29.8	56.8
Sulit Air	72.3	18.2	3.2	56.6	29.0	67.7
Simawang	57.2	53.1	2.4	16.1	9.8	66.7
Pasir	71.6	0.0	4.6	47.3	38.4	68.4
Pauh Kamar	28.2	45.8	2.0	13.6	14.8	33.3
Koto Dalam	21.9	63.6	2.6	0.0	15.0	45.5
Matur Mudik	59.3	47.6	3.7	26.3	32.6	70.0
Lawang	35.2	87.0	2.6	5.0	33.3	33.3

- 1 Percentage of wife's sons aged 15 years and over, wife's brothers, and husband's brothers (including husband) who are, or have been migrants.
- 2 Percentage of households who sold part of their agricultural produce.
- 3 Average number of months in year households are able to subsist from their own food production.
- 4 Percentage of household respondents who thought that migration from nagari would still continue even if local economy improved.
- 5 Percentage of migrants who had reached upper secondary school level or higher.
- 6 Household respondents who thought that migration was good for nagari, as a percentage of all responses other than no opinion.

Source: Maude, 1977:7.

with other ethnic communities. Cunningham found in a survey of motivations for Toba Batak migration to East Sumatra that they migrated entirely for economic reasons. This was related to the Government's effort to extend cultivated areas through irrigation (Cunningham, 1958: 89-97). Vredenbergt pointed out that in the movement of Bawaense to Singapore, 85 per cent moved because of the economic condition of their region (Vredenbergt, in Naim, 1974:400). In a study by Pryor of immigration to Selangor State, Malaysia most of respondents gave the reason 'near work, new job', as their principal motive for migration (Pryor, 1975:12). One of the most striking findings regarding the economic motive for migration from rural areas was Caldwell's survey in Ghana, where it was found that 82 per cent of Ghanians in urban areas who had migrated already, and 88 per cent of the rural villagers who were planning a first migration gave as their principle reason 'to obtain jobs, money and consumer goods' (Caldwell, 1969:89). However, Suharso et al indicated that 50 per cent of males moved 'for education or a better life', less than 25 per cent 'to seek employment' and around 7 per cent 'had their location of work transferred' in their study about rural-urban migration in Indonesia (Suharso et al., 1976:54).

As the percentage stating economic reasons for migration becomes lower, the percentage stating socio-cultural reasons becomes higher. Naim stated that among the socio-cultural factors for merantau 'adat pressure', 'the matrilineal system', 'men do not have authority', 'no personal privacy' and 'too many social responsibilities were the main reasons (Naim, 1974:348). Taufik Abdullah attributed all these factors to the role of the matrilineal kinship system:

'The custom of going to the rantau can be regarded as an institutional outlet for the frustrations of unmarried

young men, who lack individual responsibility and rights in their own society. To a married man, going to the rantau means a temporary release from two families 'conflicting expectations, pressed upon him as a husband and a member of the maternal family! (Taufik, 1971:6).

Some Minangkabau novelists have written that, for the younger generation, going to merantau is a way out of the conflict which arises between them and the older generation about adat and the necessities of tradition (Hamka, 1966:24; Muis, 1964:74). They have suggested that the distribution of harta pusaka (ancestral property), the marriage system and the position of Minangkabau men among their sisters were the main factors which lead Minangkabau men to seek out better opportunities to improve their economic life and social status outside their region without using all of the family property. The psychological factor was another causative factor for Minangkabau out-migration found by Naim, while Swift claimed that these psychological factors were the most important motives among the socio-cultural and psychological factors (Swift, 1971:263). These factors, however, may also arise because of the matrilineal system of the Minangkabau society.

Desire for education has been one of the impelling factors for merantau since the early decades of this century. As we have already mentioned before in Chapter 2, the educational facilities were very limited for people who were close relatives of the local chiefs, particularly for their children. This situation influenced some people to send their children outside Minangkabau illegally at the

beginning of the nineteenth century. After independence (1945), educational opportunities were open to all people, and the trend for students to raise their qualification to a higher level increased rapidly. Thus, the flow of students to other regions increased too, because the increase of demand was more rapid than the supply of educational facilities inside the region. Besides, the different social values and the greater probability of getting a job outside the Minangkabau region pushed the students to continue their study outside the region mainly in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Bandung and Surabaya. Although after Independence the educational facilities have been improved in West Sumatra as we mentioned in Chapter 2, the desire of Minangkabau students to go to other cities was unchanged, relatively speaking. The result of the progress of the educational level of the Minangkabau people was that the region produced more than 30 per cent of the intellectual elite in almost all fields in Indonesia in the 1950's, and 60 per cent of the Balai Pustaka writers during the 1920's and 1930's (Graves, 1971:3). In addition the progress of the Islamic movement since the Padri was led to West Sumatra becoming one of the centres of Islamic colleges in Indonesia, which have produced and supplied the Mubalighs and Ulama for other regions in Indonesia.

Although education is a causative factor of merantau, Maude found no correlation between the educational level of migrants from each district or nagari and the rate of out-migration (Maude, 1977:14). Table 3.2 also indicates the irregularity of the relationship between these factors, using as a measure of educational attainment the percentage of migrants who had reached upper secondary school level or higher. It can be seen that some nagari had a high

proportion of migrants who had reached upper secondary school level or higher, but only a low rate of migration (Sungai Tarab, Kamang Mudik), while other nagari had a low proportion of migrants who had reached upper secondary school level but a high proportion of people who had migrated (Simawang, Rao-Rao). Furthermore Maude pointed out that in some parts of the Minangkabau area, merantau has been a part of village life for well over a century, specifically in the area which has high rates of migration (Maude, 1977:10). Merantau has become institutionalized in the process of life of some Minangkabau people as we mentioned in Chapter 1. Even though the social-economic life in the village improved, migration would still continue, except for the nagari with low rates of migration as shown by Maude in Table 3.2.

Thus, it can be seen that there are interdependent variable links among all of the causative factors of merantau of the Minangkabau people.

3.2 Volume of Merantau

The statistical analysis of the volume of merantau among the ethnic communities in Indonesia has been limited. Only the 1930 census of the population of Indonesia produced statistical data about ethnic differentials in migration. The 1961 and 1971 Population Censuses of Indonesia did not ask questions in terms of ethnic divisions. Thus, the measurement of migration based on the 1971 Census can only be calculated through the lifetime method and the migration level by previous residence, with the apatial measures being province of birth or province of last residence. We should be aware of the limitations of these methods, as both of them do not reveal a great deal of migration that was actually

occurring since they record only one move. The lifetime migrant, for instance, could have moved among several regions and if he has returned to his native region, he would not be considered a migrant at all. Also some of the immigrants belonging to a certain ethnic community may have been born or have lived outside the region of origin of that ethnic community. Specifically for the Minangkabau, where a man married a woman from another ethnic community, their children could not be considered as Minangkabau, even though their place of birth was West Sumatra.

The findings of the 1930 Census on the incidence of merantau are tabulated in table 3.3, which shows that the volume of merantau for the Minangkabau was relatively high compared with other ethnic communities in Indonesia, except the Baweanese, Batak and Banjarese. According to the 1930 Census, Jambi and Riau were the most common destination for Minangkabau migrants. More than 52 per cent of them lived in these areas and 43 per cent of the Jambi population was recorded as Minangkabau (see table 3.6). Only 0.03 per cent of the Minangkabau people had migrated to Batavia (now Jakarta). These patterns of Minangkabau merantau were related to the occupational structure of the Minangkabau migrants where most were traders (we will discuss this in Chapter 4) and the condition of the transportation and communication sectors at that time.

According to the 1971 Census about 4.0 per cent of the native born population of Indonesia were enumerated outside their region of birth (Speare, 1975:64). This figure was relatively low compared to some other Asian countries for example Singapore which had an annual migration rate of about 4.3 and 7.8 per cent in 1963 and 1964 respectively (Chua et al., 1964:62), however it was still higher than the internal migration rate in India where the 1961 census showed that about 3.3 per cent of the

TABLE 3.3

DEGREES OF MIGRATION AMONG ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN INDONESIA IN 1930

Ethnic Community	Total Population	Inside Own Territory*		Outside Own Territory		Rank
		Number	%	Number	%	
Baweanese	45,711	29,305	64.1	16,406	35.9	I
Batak	919,462	778,686	84.7	140,776	15.3	II
Banjarese	944,235	809,842	85.8	134,393	14.2	III
Minangkabau	1,928,322	1,717,031	89.0	211,291	11.0	IV
Buginese	1,543,035	1,380,334	89.5	162,701	10.5	V
Menadonese	281,599	254,947	90.5	26,652	9.5	
Ambonese	232,573	211,407	90.9	21,166	9.1	
Benkulu	48,301	44,306	91.7	3,995	8.3	
Mandarese	189,186	175,271	93.0	13,915	7.0	
Coastal Malay	953,397*	903,397	94.8*	50,000	5.2	
Palembangese	770,917	733,210	95.1	37,707	4.9	
Nias	202,400	194,939	96.3	7,461	3.7	
Javanese	27,808,623					
Sundanese	8,504,834	39,344,423	96.6	1,364,896**	3.4	
Madurese	4,305,862					
Makassarrese	642,720	630,146	98.0	12,574	2.0	
Jambier	138,573	136,078	98.2	2,495	1.8	
Achenese	831,321	821,900	98.9	9,421	1.1	
Lampungese	181,710	180,160	99.1	1,550	0.9	
Timorese	1,628,864	1,614,738	99.1	14,126	0.9	
Torajan	557,590*	556,590	99.8	1,000	0.2	
Dayak	651,391*	650,391	99.8*	1,000	0.2	
Balinese	1,111,659	1,110,359	99.9	1,300	0.1	
Sasak	659,477	658,529	99.9	948	0.1	
Total	49,039,338	47,534,860	96.9	1,504,478	3.1	

* Territory is defined according to cultural boundary, and it may not be the same as province level in 1961 and 1971.

** Including Javanese migrants in Malay Peninsula (170,000 persons), Surinam (*33,000 persons) and New Caledonia (*11,000 Persons).

Source: Naim, 1974:Table II.15, p.81.

population were lifetime migrants (Bose, 1967:xxviii).

From table 3.4 it can be seen that more than 1,791 thousand migrants in Indonesia had chosen Jakarta province as their destination. The rate of lifetime in-migration was therefore highest in this region, being 39.7 per cent. According to the 1971 census special tabulations about 4.5 per cent of in-migrants to Jakarta were reported as Minangkabau. The attraction of Jakarta was particularly strong for Minangkabau migrants as indicated by the fact that one out of four interregion movers from West Sumatra had Jakarta as their destination.

Net lifetime migration rates indicated that among the 26 provinces of Indonesia, 12 regions recorded a net loss of population. The highest net loser was West Sumatra province, which had a net loss of 237 thousand people, corresponding to 8.5 per cent of West Sumatra's total population in 1971.

For the Minangkabau, the proportion of out-migrants to native population hardly changed from 1930 to 1971, while for some other ethnic communities the proportion of out-migrants increased rapidly or decreased. The highest increase in the number of people recorded outside their region occurred for the Javanese and Sundanese people, a result of the success of the transmigration projects since 1930.

Table 3.5 gives a similar tabulation to table 3.4, but in terms of migration by previous residence. This table indicates a migration pattern slightly different to that observed from the lifetime migration pattern described above. About 342 thousand people reported their previous place of residence as West Sumatra. Some possibilities to explain the differences between Table 3.4 and 3.5 are : Firstly,

TABLE 3.4
INTER-PROVINCE LIFETIME MIGRATION 1971

Province	Population 1971 (000)	Number in 1,000			Percentage of 1971 Population		
		In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	Net Migrants	In-Migration	Out-Migration	Net Migration
Aceh	2,007.4	61.0	65.9	-4.9	3.0	3.3	-0.3
North Sumatra	6,603.4	530.0	188.3	341.7	8.0	2.9	5.1
West Sumatra	2,791.3	87.9	324.9	-237.0	3.1	11.6	-8.5
Riau	1,627.6	203.7	41.6	162.1	12.5	2.6	9.9
Jambi	1,001.5	155.9	27.5	128.4	15.6	2.7	12.9
South Sumatra	3,431.5	327.3	199.1	128.2	9.5	5.8	3.7
Bengkulu	591.0	36.1	24.8	11.3	6.9	4.8	2.1
Lampung	2,772.3	1,000.2	29.7	970.5	36.1	1.1	35.0
Jakarta	4,516.3	1,791.6	132.2	1,659.4	39.7	2.9	36.8
West Java	21,608.9	371.5	1,193.0	-821.5	1.7	5.5	-3.8
Central Java	21,858.5	253.5	1,798.0	-1,544.5	1.2	8.2	-7.0
Yogyakarta	2,487.1	99.8	266.9	-167.1	4.0	10.7	-6.7
East Java	25,483.7	273.3	749.8	-476.5	1.2	8.2	-7.0
Bali	2,119.4	22.1	57.1	-35.0	1.0	2.1	-1.6
West Kalimantan	2,016.4	20.8	35.1	-14.3	1.0	1.7	-0.7
Central Kalimantan	701.8	50.1	11.5	38.6	7.1	1.6	5.5
South Kalimantan	1,697.9	66.1	84.3	-18.2	3.9	5.0	-1.1
East Kalimantan	730.3	39.6	23.7	15.9	5.4	3.3	2.2
North Sulawesi	1,716.0	48.7	60.8	-12.1	2.8	3.5	-0.7
Central Sulawesi	913.3	51.0	34.3	16.7	5.6	3.8	1.8
South Sulawesi	5,175.5	67.0	241.7	-174.7	1.3	4.7	-3.4
South-East Sulawesi	714.0	25.9	30.8	-4.9	3.6	4.3	-0.7
West Nusatenggara	2,202.9	33.6	12.8	20.8	1.5	0.6	0.9
East Nusatenggara	2,292.5	10.3	26.2	-15.9	0.4	1.1	-0.7
Maluku	1,088.2	42.2	36.6	5.6	3.9	3.4	0.5
Irian	150.4	33.5	6.4	27.1	22.3	4.3	18.0
Total	118,227.8	5,702.0	5,703.0	-0.3	4.8	4.8	0.0

Source: Speare, 1975:Table 1, p.67.

TABLE 3.5

INTER-PROVINCE MIGRATION BY PREVIOUS RESIDENCE, INDONESIA 1971
(in thousands)

Province	In-Migration	Out-Migration	Net Migration
Aceh	89.8	118.8	-29.0
North Sumatra	586.9	313.4	273.5
West Sumatra	262.4	342.9	-80.5
Riau	220.9	144.8	76.1
Jambi	165.6	109.9	55.7
South Sumatra	373.8	348.4	25.4
Bengkulu	44.2	42.1	2.1
Lampung	1,018.8	115.9	902.9
Jakarta	1,837.7	500.2	1,337.5
West Java	680.6	1,355.2	-674.6
Central Java	594.9	1,778.0	-1,183.1
Yogyakarta	144.2	296.2	-152.0
East Java	406.5	811.8	-405.3
Bali	45.2	73.3	-28.1
West Nusatenggara	44.6	24.6	20.0
East Nusatenggara	25.1	31.1	-6.0
West Kalimantan	26.6	58.1	-31.5
Central Kalimantan	58.4	27.0	31.4
South Kalimantan	95.4	111.7	-16.3
East Kalimantan	42.5	60.6	-18.1
North Sulawesi	119.4	72.8	46.6
Central Sulawesi	62.9	68.0	-5.1
South Sulawesi	143.0	280.4	-137.4
South-East Sulawesi	38.6	39.0	-0.4
Maluku	55.2	64.3	-9.1
Irian	36.7	30.9	5.8
Indonesia	7,219.4	7,219.4	0.0

Source: Calculation from Table 25 of 1971 Population Census.
Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), 1974, Series E,
Nos.01, 02, 03, ..., 25, 26:134).

people born in another region who migrated to West Sumatra and then moved again would have reported their previous residence as West Sumatra; secondly, people born in West Sumatra who migrated to another region and have returned to West Sumatra are counted in the previous residence measure and not counted as lifetime migrants (Speare, 1975:69). Therefore from the 1971 Census, we cannot get absolutely reliable results about how many Minangkabau lived outside their region.

According to estimates made by Naim and Thamrin, the 1971 Census figure of Minangkabau out-migration was underestimated. Naim has estimated that the proportion of Minangkabau people who were living outside their own territory increased from 11 per cent in 1930 to 31.6 per cent and 44.0 per cent in 1961 and 1971 respectively (Naim, 1974:57). This estimation is based on the average rate of population growth of Sumatra during 1930-1971 and using the initial population in 1930. Thamrin's estimate was lower than that of Naim. It was about 31.0 per cent of Minangkabau people lived outside their region in 1971, corresponding to 906,045 persons. His estimate was based on the average rate of population growth of Indonesia during the period 1930-1971 with the 1930 population of Minangkabau as initial population. The essential difference between the 1971 Census figure and the estimates of Naim and Thamrin is that they are different in scope, not that the census underestimated out-migration. The Naim-Thamrin estimates include births to Minangkabau people in the destination areas as did the 1930 Census. These persons are not included in the 1971 Census as out-migrants from West Sumatra.

Furthermore, both the estimates of Naim and Thamrin do not consider return migration. Alden Speare estimated that 66.5 per cent of lifetime in-migrants for West Sumatra were return migrants and that 5.2 per cent of total lifetime out-migrants had returned to West Sumatra

before the census date in 1971. His estimate was obtained by subtracting the total number of lifetime migrants from the number of migrants according to previous place of residence (Speare, 1975:77-78).

3.3 The Areas of Destination

Table 3.6 shows the destination of Minangkabau migrants from West Sumatra province in 1930 and 1971, using as a definition of destination the last place of residence of a migrant outside his region. It should be noted that the tables refer to data for lifetime migrants. Not all of the individuals presented moved once only, some of them would have moved more than once.

Three general features of the locational distribution of West Sumatran migrants in 1971 may be noted. Firstly, Jakarta was the single most preferred province for Minangkabau migrants. More than 80 thousand of them had chosen Jakarta as a place of residence. Secondly, more than 67 per cent of out-migrants were recorded in the 1971 Census as having settled within Sumatra, and the destinations of the majority of migrants were the neighbouring provinces of Riau, Jambi, South Sumatra and North Sumatra. Migration to these provinces can be explained in terms of their opportunities for business, employment and the attitude of Minangkabau migrants. All four provinces have per capita income levels significantly higher than in West Sumatra: in 1972 the estimated regional gross domestic product (RGDP) per capita in real terms was 70 per cent higher in North Sumatra, 183 per cent higher in Riau, 36 per cent higher in Jambi and 49 per cent higher in South Sumatra than in West Sumatra (Esmara, 1975:48). The rapid development of the capital city of North Sumatra and the extension of oil company activities and the rapid growth of several industries in these provinces attracted the

migrants to choose these areas, as well as the attitude of Minangkabau migrants to choose an area of rantau the same as their relatives of the generation before. Thirdly, about 72 per cent of migrants from West Sumatra have moved to urban areas and only a few migrants settled in villages or other rural settlements. At least fifty per cent of migrants in each province lived in the capital city according to the 1971 Census tape. This situation was related to the occupational characteristics of migrants as we shall discuss in Chapter 4.

The area of destination of Minangkabau migrants has changed dramatically from 1930 to 1971. Table 3.6 showing the location of migrants reflects the declining role of Aceh, North Sumatra, Riau and Jambi as destinations for migrants and the increasing importance of Jakarta, South Sumatra, Lampung and Java as a whole. These changes are a result of a number of factors, mainly the improvement in transportation and communication within Indonesia during this century. So that, the increases in distance travelled were largely a function of greater transport accessibility as Trader and McLeod found in their study of US interstate migration in 1970 (in Shaw, 1975:42). Maude pointed out that migration was facilitated by the improvement of transportation and the breaking down of feelings of ethnic separation within ethnic communities in Indonesia, both of which made long distance migration easier (Maude, 1977:22). The rapid growth of Jakarta since independence and the changing pattern of occupational characteristics of migrants before and after independence are included among the factors which have affected the changes in the distance of migration from West Sumatra. For farmers, the mean migration distance was 271 kms, for labourers

TABLE 3.6

MIGRANT DESTINATION, A COMPARISON OF 1930 AND 1971 CENSUS DATA

Province	1930 (%)	1971 (%)
Aceh	4.4	1.5
North Sumatra	31.2	19.6
Riau	26.3	22.4
Jambi	29.8	10.3
South Sumatra	1.2	7.0
Bengkulu	3.4*	1.7
Lampung	0.0	5.3
Jakarta	1.5	25.0
West Java	0.7	3.3
East and Central Java	0.4	2.7
Other Islands	1.1	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	211291	322854

* Including Lampung province.

Source: Naim, 1974:91.
 Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), 1974 Series E, No.01,
 02, 03, ..., 25, 26:134.

(rural and urban) 356 kms, for craftsmen 481 kms, for employees 556 kms and for traders 599 kms (Maude, 1977:26).

3.4 Duration of Residence

According to the 1971 Census, about 43 per cent of Minangkabau recent migrants have stayed in rantau more than 10 years (see table 3.7). This table also suggests from the distribution of duration of residence of Minangkabau migrants that the level of migration has been continually increasing. This conclusion may be a little misleading, however, as the longer the duration of migration the greater the chance that the migrants will have returned to their villages or that they may have died. However, there are also some errors of misreporting of duration of residence from the Census data. As Alden Speare mentioned the duration of residence of migrants in the 1971 Census was influenced by the magnitude of digital preference and also the figure with less than one year duration of residence tended to be low (Speare, 1975:75). Related to our data, a large number of out-migrants were reported at duration of residence multiples of 5 and 10, and the reporting at duration of residence ending with digits other than 0 and 5 was significantly deficient.

The proportional distributions of duration for both sexes were almost equal. This indicates that there may have been no difference in attitude of Minangkabau migrants of both sexes in terms of the length of merantau.

Although the number of Minangkabau out-migrants as a whole appears to be increasing year by year, it was apparent that this trend varied quite markedly from region to region or from province to province.

TABLE 3.7

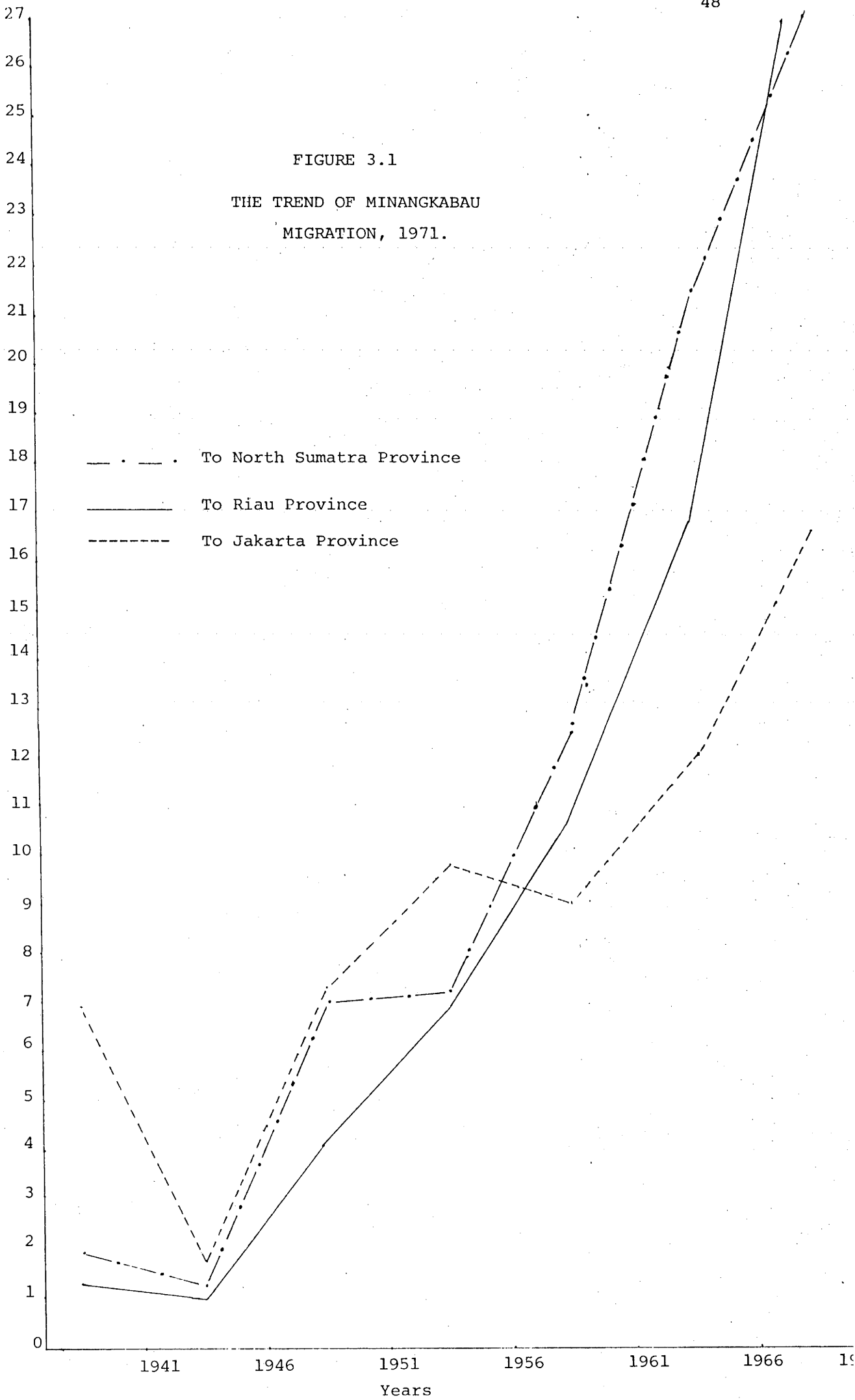
DURATION OF RESIDENCE OF MIGRANTS BY SEX, 1971

Duration	Males	Females	Males + Females
0 - 4	60,362	48,725	109,087
5 - 9	40,129	32,190	72,319
10 - 14	28,543	22,151	50,694
15 - 19	19,564	16,364	35,928
20 - 24	15,497	11,490	26,987
25 - 29	3,528	2,944	6,472
30+	7,490	5,930	13,420
Not Stated	4,346	3,601	7,947
Total	179,459	143,395	322,854

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

FIGURE 3.1
THE TREND OF MINANGKABAU
MIGRATION, 1971.

PEOPLE (IN THOUSANDS)



As an example, it can be seen in Figure 3.1 that the number of Minangkabau migrants to North Sumatra province was relatively higher than to Riau and Jakarta provinces from the early 1940's to the early 1960's, while during the period 1960-1970 the number of migrants to Jakarta was significantly larger than to other provinces. In other words the trend of migration to Jakarta and Riau has increased much more rapidly than that to North Sumatra. These changes in trend indicate changes in the attractiveness of these areas as mentioned before.

CHAPTER 4

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

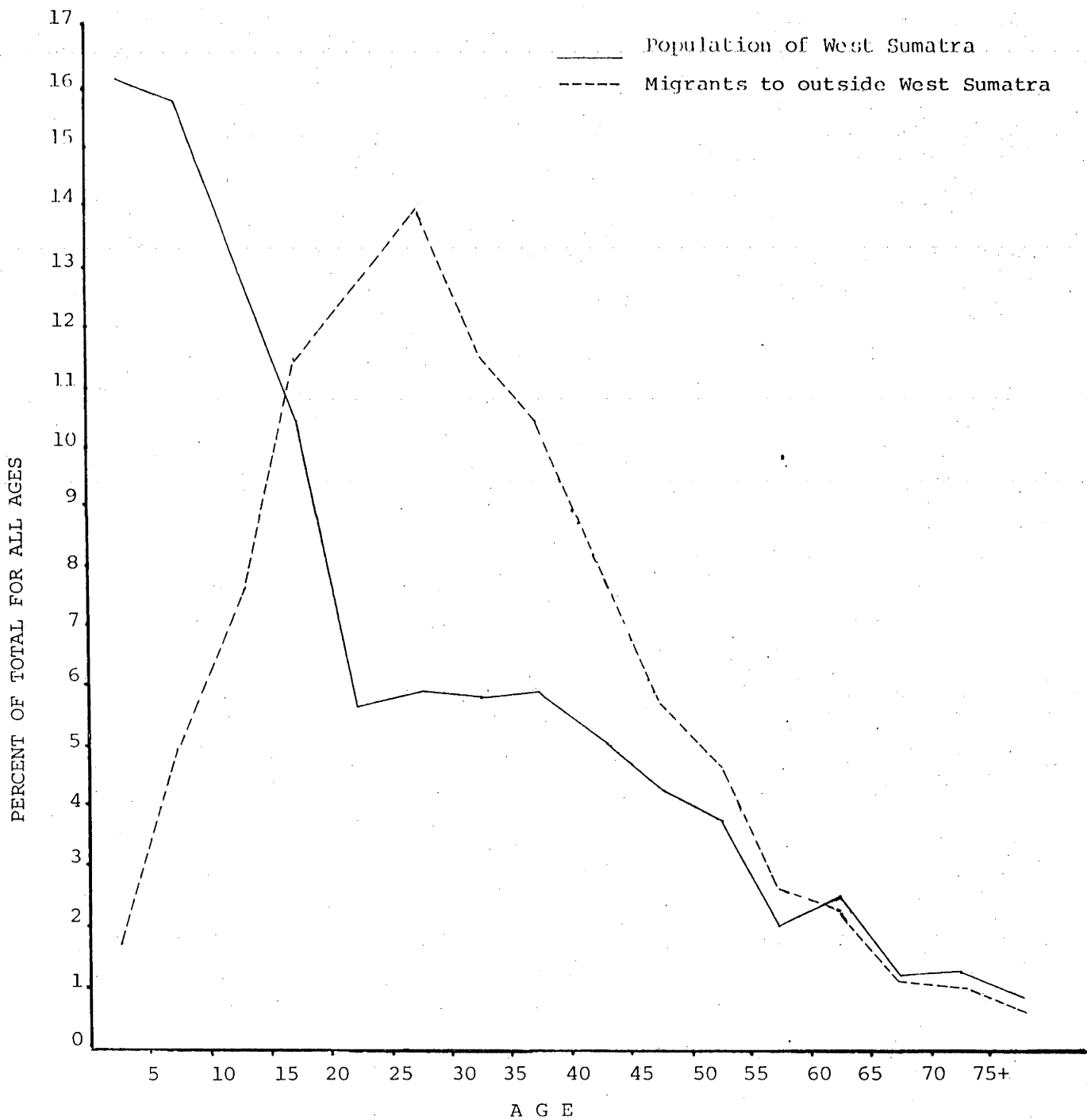
Not all people leave their village, some are more likely to move than others. In this chapter we would like to examine the personal characteristics of those lifetime migrants who are covered by the statistical data available from special tabulation runs on the 1971 population census of Indonesia. Specifically in this discussion, the characteristics of lifetime migrants will be analysed to demonstrate findings on their basic characteristics including current age and composition, the age structure at arrival, age and sex differentials, occupations, education, marital status, the level of literacy and family status of migrants. The characteristics of migrants are compared with the West Sumatra population, that is people who had West Sumatra as their current residence at the 1971 census date.

4.1 Age and Sex

The distribution of age of migrants at the time of the census and the West Sumatra population are presented graphically in Figure 4.1. These curves show that the largest discrepancies were at ages 20 to 29 and under age 5. These major discrepancies reflect the age selectivity of migration.

By calculating median ages of the populations above, it is evident that migrants are older on average than people in West

FIGURE 4.1
 AGE STRUCTURE OF MIGRANTS TO OTHER REGIONS*
 COMPARED WITH AGE DISTRIBUTION OF WEST SUMATRA POPULATION**



Source: * 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

** Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974: Serie E
 No.03, Table 02, p.7.

TABLE 4.1
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LIFETIME MIGRANTS
 IN 1971

Age	Urban Areas		Rural Areas		Urban + Rural Areas	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0 - 4	1.7	2.0	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.9
5 - 9	4.4	5.5	4.3	6.0	4.4	5.7
10 - 14	7.2	7.8	7.1	7.6	7.1	7.8
15 - 19	11.9	11.5	10.0	12.8	11.3	11.8
20 - 24	12.9	12.7	9.0	10.2	11.7	12.0
25 - 29	13.9	14.2	13.1	14.3	13.7	14.3
30 - 34	11.8	11.6	11.0	11.9	11.5	11.6
35 - 39	10.2	9.2	12.7	12.4	11.0	10.1
40 - 44	8.2	6.7	9.6	7.5	8.6	6.9
45 - 49	6.0	5.7	6.2	5.0	6.1	5.5
50 - 54	4.5	4.0	6.8	5.2	5.2	4.3
55 - 59	2.9	2.7	2.3	1.6	2.7	2.5
60 - 64	2.2	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.4	2.5
65 - 69	1.0	1.5	1.4	0.3	1.1	1.2
70 - 74	0.9	1.1	1.2	0.4	0.9	0.9
75+	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.6	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	125315	106556	54144	36839	179459	143395

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

Sumatra. The median age of male and female out-migrants was 35.0 and 28.8 years, while the median ages of people in West Sumatra were 18.5 and 16.1 years for males and females respectively. This is clearly related to the fact that fewer migrants were under 15 years of age.

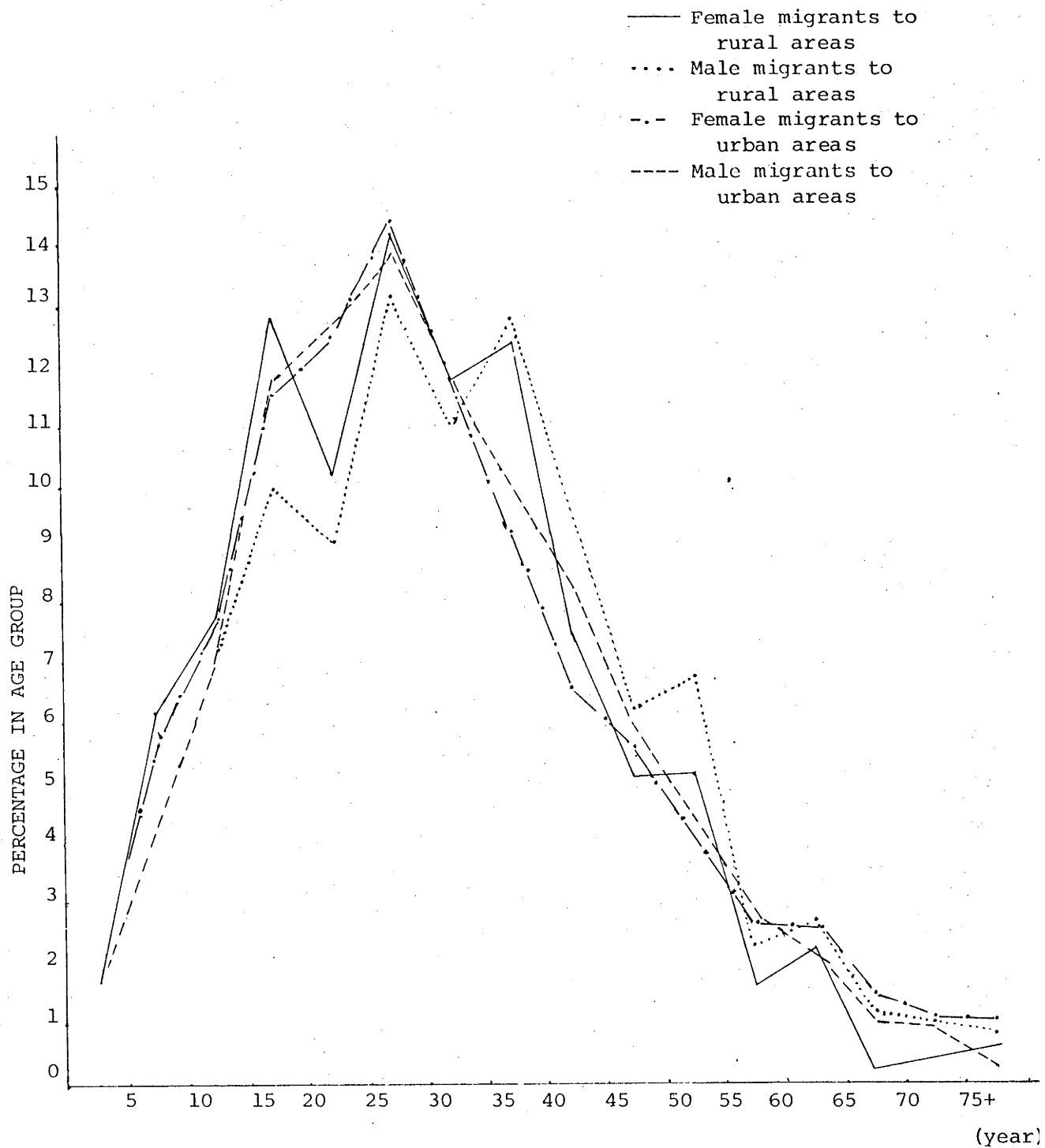
The differences in the age distributions for male and female migrants for migration to urban and rural areas are shown in Figure 4.2 and Table 4.1. The pattern of the age distribution of migrants in urban areas is smoother than in rural areas. The curve for migrants in rural areas has many irregularities which might be related to age misreporting among migrants in rural areas because of their lower education level.

Basically, however, the charts for males and females in urban and rural areas tend to be similar with the peak at ages 25-29. In both urban and rural destination, the proportions of migrants under age 15 for males and females are almost equal. The proportions at older ages are slightly different between urban and rural areas with a higher proportion for males in rural areas than for females. The peak of the age structure of out-migrants is much higher for females than males in terms of percentages.

The total sex ratio of lifetime out-migrants was 125.2 males per 100 females, much higher than the level for the West Sumatra population of 93.7 males per 100 females (see Table 4.2). This indicated that a degree of selectivity of migration operated for West Sumatra people. However, the pattern of sex ratios varied from age to age and region to region.

FIGURE 4.2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE MIGRANTS
TO URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (OUTSIDE WEST SUMATRA), 1971



Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

TABLE 4.2
AGE SPECIFIC SEX RATIOS* OF LIFETIME MIGRANTS
AND WEST SUMATRA POPULATION IN 1971

Age	Out-Migrants**			West Sumatra Population***		
	Urban Areas	Rural Areas	Urban + Rural Areas	Urban Areas	Rural Areas	Urban + Rural Areas
0 - 4	97.8	137.0	107.2	105.6	103.5	103.9
5 - 9	93.5	105.8	96.8	105.0	104.9	105.0
10 - 14	107.7	137.5	115.2	101.1	99.2	99.5
15 - 19	121.2	114.5	119.4	92.7	100.8	98.9
20 - 24	119.2	130.1	121.6	85.4	81.2	82.1
25 - 29	114.6	135.2	119.9	84.4	68.5	71.2
30 - 34	119.8	136.4	124.2	104.8	79.6	83.6
35 - 39	129.9	150.4	136.4	92.1	88.2	88.8
40 - 44	144.0	187.9	156.3	108.2	82.5	85.9
45 - 49	123.5	184.3	137.5	105.2	92.3	94.0
50 - 54	132.9	191.7	151.4	112.0	95.3	97.4
55 - 59	124.4	203.8	138.1	92.9	94.2	94.0
60 - 64	101.3	172.9	118.2	89.6	84.1	84.8
65 - 69	176.7	685.0	115.0	98.3	80.2	82.2
70+	74.4	282.3	103.2	61.9	88.1	85.2
Total	117.6	147.0	125.2	98.4	92.8	93.7

* Sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females (Shryock and Siegel, 1975:191).

Source: ** 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

*** Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E No.03, Table 02, pp.5-7.

As features of the sex ratios in Table 4.2, it can be seen that the selectivity of migration was greatest for females at the end of the childbearing period compared with other age groups, probably related to the effect of some past experience of those migrants. However, the selectivity of migration does not occur for age group 5-9 for which the sex ratio of the West Sumatra population was higher than for the out-migrants.

However, the sex ratio for out-migration from West Sumatra is relatively low compared with the people from the Northern and Southern parts of Sumatra, where the sex ratios are 130 and 144 respectively among out-migrants (Speare, 1975:80). Speare showed that the Minangkabau or West Sumatra women were more mobile than women in these other parts of Sumatra. These differences arise primarily because of the high incidence of family migration of the Minangkabau people and secondly, perhaps, as a reflection of the less binding cultural constraints on activities of women outside their villages.

Table 4.2 also presents the sex ratios of migrants by rural and urban destinations. It can be seen that the sex ratios among migrants to rural areas were higher than to urban areas. Specifically, the younger and older age groups of out-migrants have sex ratios less than 100.0 in urban areas, while the out-migrants in rural areas have sex ratios more than 100.0 for all age groups. The sex ratios varied from a low of 74.4 males per 100 females to a high of 144.0 for age groups 70+ and 45-49 respectively in urban areas and from 105.8 to 685.0 males per 100 females for age groups

5-9 and 65-69, respectively in rural areas. These differences should be considered together with the pattern of sex ratios at the time of arrival of migrants, which will be examined later.

In this study, we have found that the shorter the distance of the movement, the lower the ratio of male to female migrants. In other words, long distance migration was more strongly selective of females than short distance migration. For example, the sex ratio for out-migrants in Sumatra was 123.0, Jakarta 124.0 and other islands as a whole 154.0 males per 100 females.

The percentage age distribution of migrants at the time of arrival is shown in Table 4.3. Among the Minangkabau, as in most developing communities, it is the young people who are most mobile, the majority of migrants having arrived under the age of 30 years. The mobility of older persons was substantially below that of the younger age groups. The economic and socio-cultural features of Minangkabau society push the young people to move out as we mentioned in Chapter 3. On the other hand, the family and social attachments of Minangkabau communities appear to reduce the desire of older people to move. As Langford found in his study from Oasi data, older people with a large number of personal contacts will be less willing to move (in Barsby, 1975:11).

Table 4.3 also shows that the proportion of out-migrants aged 0-14 is quite high which indicates that family migration among the Minangkabau people may be much more significant than usually assumed. Using the proportion of migrants aged less than 15 as an indicator, the level of family migration varied from one region to

TABLE 4.3

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AT THE TIME OF ARRIVAL*;
LIFETIME OF OUT-MIGRANTS FROM WEST SUMATRA PROVINCE IN 1971

Age	Urban Areas				Rural Areas				Urban + Rural Areas					
	Males		Females		Males + Females		Males		Females		Males + Females		Males + Females	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0 - 4	0.7	11.7	10.7	9.5	13.8	11.2	0.7	12.2	10.8	0.7	11.2	12.2	10.8	10.8
5 - 9	9.2	9.9	9.5	8.4	11.8	9.8	9.0	10.4	9.6	9.0	9.8	10.4	9.6	9.6
10 - 14	11.3	12.0	11.7	10.5	12.5	11.3	11.1	12.2	11.6	11.1	11.3	12.2	11.6	11.6
15 - 19	17.6	19.0	18.2	17.2	20.4	18.5	17.5	19.3	18.3	17.5	18.5	19.3	18.3	18.3
20 - 24	19.4	17.9	18.7	16.9	14.1	15.8	18.6	16.9	17.9	18.6	15.8	16.9	17.9	17.9
25 - 29	12.0	10.0	11.1	15.0	11.2	13.4	12.9	10.3	11.7	12.9	13.4	10.3	11.7	11.7
30 - 34	8.3	6.0	7.2	8.8	6.8	8.0	8.4	6.2	7.4	8.4	8.0	6.2	7.4	7.4
35 - 39	4.9	3.9	4.4	6.1	3.8	5.2	5.3	3.9	4.6	5.3	5.2	3.9	4.6	4.6
40 - 44	3.1	2.6	2.8	3.3	2.6	3.0	3.1	2.6	2.9	3.1	3.0	2.6	2.9	2.9
45 - 49	1.7	2.4	2.0	1.9	1.1	1.6	1.7	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.6	2.1	1.9	1.9
50 - 54	1.1	1.7	1.4	1.4	0.8	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.3
55 - 59	0.8	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.8
60 - 64	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.5	0.5
65 - 69	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3
70+	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Calculation was computed by subtracting the duration of residence of migrants from their current ages in 1971 on an individual basis.

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

another. Family migration was more prominent for the movement to North Sumatra and Riau than to Jakarta, the proportion of migrants aged 0-14 being 34.9, 33.5 and 30.5 per cent respectively. Some consequences of these differences in the level of family migration between these provinces are the differences of the age dependency ratios, i.e. 'the ratio of the combined child population (under 15 years of age) and aged population (65 and over) to the population of intermediate age (15 to 64)' (Shryock, 1975:235) and the age structure of the migrants. For example, the age dependency ratio was much lower for migrants to Jakarta and the age structure was much older. The age dependency ratios were 56, 53 and 47 for migrants in North Sumatra, Riau and Jakarta provinces respectively. These figures reflect the differences from region to region in the burden of dependency. The median ages of the migrant populations at the time of arrival were 19.8, 19.9 and 20.8 years for migrants in North Sumatra, Riau and Jakarta provinces respectively.

The pattern of age composition of migrants at the time of arrival is different between male and female migrants. The proportion of female migrants under 20 years of age at the time of arrival is greater than that for male migrants. Between 20 to 44 years of age, the proportion of males exceeds that of females, and over 45 years of age, again, the proportion of females is larger than males for each age group. While both of the age structures have only one peak, the age structure curve reaches its peak earlier for females than for males (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 also indicates the differential pattern of age composition of migrants at the time of arrival by urban or rural

destination. Generally, the patterns of these two age distributions are almost the same. The modal age at arrival is 17 in rural areas and 20 in urban areas, with about 4.8 and 4.3 per cent of total migrants having arrived at these ages in urban and rural areas respectively. Furthermore, the proportion arriving at each age declines more dramatically in urban than rural areas after the peak ages. The largest difference between the urban and rural age structures occurs at ages 20-24.

Other features of the age structure of migrants at the time of arrival can be examined much more clearly using age specific sex ratios of migrants at the time of arrival as shown in Table 4.4. The sex ratio of migrants at the time of arrival is the same as the sex ratio of total lifetime migrants. However, the pattern of age specific sex ratios was different when measured in terms of age at arrival compared with current age. Under age 15 and over age 45, the sex ratios based on current age were higher than those based on age at the time of arrival. Changes over time in the age structure of migrants and the trend of lifetime migration complicate the interpretation of the sex ratios according to both measurements.

Table 4.4 also shows that the sex ratios of migrants at the time of arrival were significantly higher in rural areas than in urban areas. The inescapable inference from these figures is that migration to rural areas has been strongly selective of females. Our statistical data also show how distance may operate as a limiting factor in sex selection in rural areas. The sex ratios were higher for short distance migrants to rural areas than for long distance migrants in the young ages at the time of arrival. For example, the

TABLE 4.4

AGE SPECIFIC SEX RATIOS OF MIGRANTS AT TIME OF ARRIVAL*;
LIFETIME OUT-MIGRATION OF WEST SUMATRA PROVINCE

Age	Urban Areas	Rural Areas	Urban + Rural Areas
0 - 4	97.5	101.4	98.6
5 - 9	109.5	104.5	108.0
10 - 14	110.5	124.8	114.2
15 - 19	109.0	124.8	113.2
20 - 24	127.6	177.0	138.1
25 - 29	142.2	197.8	157.5
30 - 34	162.6	192.1	170.8
35 - 39	149.2	234.1	170.7
40 - 44	139.9	184.0	151.3
45 - 49	82.5	240.3	104.4
50 - 54	72.0	261.1	97.4
55 - 59	87.4	377.4	108.8
60 - 64	54.6	55.6	54.7
65 - 69	60.2	143.2	73.7
70+	59.3	28.2	56.2
Total Sex Ratios	117.6	147.7	125.3

* Calculation based on age distribution of migrants at the time of arrival.

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

sex ratios of migrants to rural areas of Riau were 166.7 and 149.6 males per 100 females under the age of 40 and over 40 respectively, while the sex ratios of migrants to rural areas of North Sumatra were 118.2 and 161.4 for ages less than 40 and over 40 respectively. These patterns could be related to the lack of suitable work for women and a lower frequency of inter-marriage between women from Minangkabau with men from other provinces in these rural areas. These would tend to reduce the number of female migrants in young ages. Also, there appears to be a tendency for migrants going to urban areas to leave their daughters aged 5 and over at home.

4.2 Marital Status

Table 4.5 shows that about 63 per cent of the Minangkabau migrants 10 years of age and over were currently married. Unfortunately our data could not supply information on how many per cent had married before moving. Here Naim has provided some statistical information which shows that about 86 per cent of married migrants among his respondents were married by the first time that they went to merantau, and 69 per cent of them had married in their home village (Naim, 1974:261-264). Evidently in some parts of the Minangkabau area where adat pressures are still strong, out-migrants usually return to perform their marriage ceremony in the presence of their family at home. In this respect, social-cultural values predominate over economic values for Minangkabau society.

The pattern of marital status of out-migrants was clearly differentiated from the West Sumatra population. The out-migrants

TABLE 4.5

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OUT-MIGRANTS 10 YEARS
OF AGE AND OVER BY AGE, MARITAL STATUS AND SEX, IN 1971

Age	Males				Females				Males + Females			
	S*	M	D	W	S	M**	D***	W	S	M	D	W****
10 - 14	99.4	0.4	0.2	0.0	98.3	1.1	0.2	0.0	99.1	0.7	0.2	0.0
15 - 19	97.7	2.0	0.3	0.0	65.9	31.2	1.9	1.1	83.2	15.3	1.0	0.5
20 - 24	80.3	18.7	0.9	0.0	28.9	68.4	1.4	1.3	57.1	41.1	1.1	0.7
25 - 29	34.0	63.9	1.4	0.7	6.1	90.2	1.8	1.9	21.3	75.9	1.6	1.2
30 - 34	7.9	89.2	1.5	1.4	3.0	92.0	2.0	3.0	5.8	90.5	1.7	2.0
35 - 39	3.1	95.2	0.7	1.0	2.1	89.5	2.2	6.3	2.7	92.8	1.3	3.2
40 - 44	2.3	93.6	1.4	2.7	1.3	85.5	3.0	10.2	1.9	90.4	2.1	5.6
45 - 49	2.2	93.3	1.6	2.8	1.1	76.3	3.7	18.9	1.7	86.2	2.5	9.6
50 - 54	1.1	93.5	3.0	2.4	0.4	66.1	6.8	26.7	0.8	82.6	4.5	12.1
55 - 59	1.7	92.3	1.4	4.6	0.5	52.4	6.0	41.2	1.2	75.5	3.4	19.9
60 - 64	0.0	90.0	0.5	9.5	0.0	36.1	3.9	60.0	0.0	65.1	2.1	32.8
65 - 69	0.0	85.8	0.4	13.8	0.0	31.4	5.4	63.2	0.0	60.5	2.7	36.8
70 - 74	3.5	81.4	1.0	14.1	0.0	25.4	1.6	73.0	2.0	56.9	1.3	39.8
75+	10.4	61.4	3.8	24.4	2.1	24.9	1.3	71.7	5.9	41.5	2.5	50.1
Average	36.2	60.9	1.1	1.8	22.3	65.6	2.3	9.8	30.1	63.0	1.7	5.2
Number of Cases	60975	102715	1891	3038	29511	86901	3083	13004	90486	189616	4934	16042

* Single ** Married *** Divorced **** Widowed

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

contained a higher proportion of married persons than the West Sumatra population (see Tables 4.5 and Appendix 1). A clearer picture of the marital status distribution, however, is given by an analysis of the age specific proportions for both sexes. For example, under age 30 male migrants were much less likely to be married than the West Sumatra population. On the other hand, female migrants under age 30 were more likely to be married than their sisters still living in West Sumatra.

As we mentioned in Chapter 3, most of the out-migrants choose urban areas as their area of destination, while most of the West Sumatra population lived in rural areas. Therefore, out-migrants tend to be more urbanised than the West Sumatra population. Moreover, according to a study of levels and trends in fertility in Indonesia, urban people tend to marry at a later age than rural people (McDonald *et al.*, 1975:49-53). This may have effected the differences of marital status below age 30 for males between out-migrants and West Sumatra population.

The relative stability of conjugal life in rantau is evident from Naim's study if remaining with one spouse can at all be considered as a measure of congenial conjugal life. On the other hand, people in West Sumatra, especially males, frequently practised polygamy and multiple marriage (Naim, 1974:270-274). This behaviour was allowed by the adat and not forbidden by Islam, and was also supported by the society as a symbol of prestige (see Chapter 2). Again, all of these conditions would have influenced the differences of marital status among migrants and non-migrants.

To some extent the differences in marital status between migrants and non-migrants, specifically the proportions of women married, were caused by the differences in the sex ratios. As Thomson found in his study of the United States population, the differences in the proportion of married women in several regions was directly attributable, in part, to their differences in sex ratios (Thomson, 1933:212). Caldwell (1962:270) also found, for the Malayan population, that the marriage pattern is affected by radical changes in the sex ratio of eligible partners for marriage.

Among out-migrants, the number of currently married males was higher than that for females. There were 102,715 married males and 86,901 married females. This indicates that the number of Minangkabau men who are married to women from other ethnic communities was significant or that some wives may have been left in West Sumatra. It has been shown by Naim (1972:36) that 14 per cent of male migrants were married to women from other ethnic groups and 3 per cent of married male migrants had left their wife at home.

The proportion of divorced females was higher than for males among out-migrants. This might have been expected because of the lower proportion of females who remarry compared with males, especially after the childbearing ages. Other reasons may have been the difference of the time period between divorce and remarriage for females and males where men can marry directly after divorce, but females should wait for at least 100 days (Yunus, 1968:31).

The proportion of widows was also higher than the proportion of widowers. These differences can be interpreted in a

number of ways. Firstly, more marriages may be broken by the death of the husband than the death of the wife, because most husbands are older than their wives and the expectation of life of men is usually lower than for women. Secondly, more widowers may be re-married than widows. Thirdly, the mourning time before remarriage may be longer for females than for males. Lastly, there may be more widows following their children or children in-law to rantau than widowers.

The composition by marital status of out-migrants is significantly different in rural and urban areas for both sexes. The proportion of married males and females is higher in rural than urban areas, the proportions being 65.9 and 58.7 for males and 72.4 and 62.2 for females respectively (see Appendix 1). This would be caused by the differences in the levels of education, occupation and the type of social life of the rural and urban societies. Besides, the sex selectivity among migrants is stronger in urban than rural areas.

4.3 Education

It is also possible to analyse the educational characteristics of Minangkabau out-migrants from our data, mainly the level of education reached by migrants and the relationship between the duration of residence and the educational level of migrants. Unfortunately, our discussion will emphasise only formal education because our data contained only this information.

Generally, migrants had higher levels of education than the West Sumatra population (see Table 4.6). Among the migrants only 9.1 per cent had no education, 59.5 per cent had attended elementary school, 28.3 per cent had completed junior or senior high school and more than 3.1 per cent had finished academy and university level. In comparison, the proportion of people aged 10 and over in West Sumatra who had no education was 24.3 per cent, 9.5 per cent had finished high school and only a few people had graduated from academy and university. So the higher the level of education, the more marked was the difference between the percentage of migrants and people in West Sumatra who had finished that level of education.

The differences of the levels of education between migrants and people in West Sumatra can be explained in three main ways. Firstly, the sex ratio of migrants was higher than among people in West Sumatra and most migrants lived in urban areas. The level of education according to the 1971 population census of Indonesia was usually higher for males than females and also urban populations were more educated than rural populations (University of Indonesia, 1974:33). Secondly, most migrants who had finished their education in rantau, did not come back to their villages or West Sumatra (Naim, 1974:357). Thirdly, it is the more educated people who tend to migrate.

The proportional distribution by education for both migrants and people in West Sumatra was concentrated at the elementary level, to a point where less than one-tenth of West Sumatra's population and 30 per cent of migrants had completed junior or senior high

TABLE 4.6

MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS: LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SEX IN 1971
(percentages)

Highest Level of Education	Out-Migrants*		People in West Sumatra**			
	Male	Female	Male + Female	Male	Female	Male + Female
No Schooling	5.4	13.7	9.1	16.7	31.0	24.3
Some Primary Schooling	60.5	58.2	59.5	71.8	60.5	65.8
Completed Junior or Senior High Schooling	29.8	26.4	28.3	10.9	8.3	9.5
Completed Academy or University	4.3	1.7	3.1	0.6	0.2	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	168619	132499	301118	327420	1573733	1901153

Source: * 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

** Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E, No.03, Table 16, p.69.

school. Roughly speaking, merantau does not lead to the drop out of pupils from the earlier levels of education, as few migrants moved before elementary school and many would have continued their studies in rantau.

From Table 4.6 we can also see that the proportion of female migrants with no education exceeds the proportion for male migrants while the proportion of females who had graduated from academy and university levels was only one-third of the proportion of male migrants. Social restrictions were the main obstacle to the continuation of education for girls, besides economic factors.

The pattern of educational distribution among male and female migrants 10 years of age and over shows that persons going to urban areas were more highly educated than migrants to rural areas (see Appendix 3). This table also indicates that the differences of education between males in urban and rural areas was higher than the differences for females between urban and rural areas. In other words, the selectivity of the level of education of migrants was stronger for males in urban areas.

Generally, the education of migrants has improved and is more evenly distributed among the younger generation. The economic and political situation of Indonesia following Independence and the implications of the population problem since the earlier part of the 1960s have motivated people to seek education mainly to higher educational levels. In fact, educational attainment is a factor in the achievement of economic rewards (Shryock & Siegel, 1975:325).

There is a relationship between the educational level and the duration of residence of migrants related to the secular trend towards higher education. Migrants with no education had been longer in rantau than migrants with education. About 45.6 per cent of migrants with no education had duration of residence over 15 years and only 23.8 per cent of them had duration of residence less than 5 years. In comparison, for migrants with some education the percentages of persons who had been in rantau over 15 years and less than 5 years were 28.4 and 31.5 per cent respectively. These patterns are also related to the occupational characteristics of migrants in rantau (see Chapter 4, Section 5).

4.4 Literacy

Table 4.7 shows the level of literacy of migrants by age and sex. It indicates that among migrants 10 years of age and over, the proportion able to read and write was 92.1 per cent, consisting of 91.4 per cent literate in Latin character, 0.6 per cent literate in Arabic and 0.1 per cent Literate in other characters.

The trend in the proportion literate for migrants from the youngest to the oldest age group indicates a general historical increase in literacy. These changes in the proportion literate are closely related to the changes in the distribution of migrants by educational attainment, age and sex as we mentioned earlier. Although literacy was increasing for both sexes, the proportion of males literate always exceeds that for females for every age group, as an effect of the differential level of drop outs between males

TABLE 4.7

PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY LITERACY AND SEX, 1971

Age	Male				Female				Male + Female			
	Latin	Arabic + Chinese	Others	Illiterate	Latin	Arabic + Chinese	Others	Illiterate	Latin	Arabic + Chinese	Others	Illiterate
10-14	95.1	0.0	0.3	4.6	94.0	0.0	0.2	5.8	94.6	0.0	0.3	5.1
15-19	97.9	0.3	0.0	1.8	95.0	0.9	0.0	4.1	96.6	0.6	0.0	2.8
20-24	98.4	0.4	0.0	1.2	94.9	0.5	0.0	4.6	96.8	0.4	0.0	2.8
25-29	98.7	0.0	0.1	1.2	96.2	0.3	0.0	3.5	97.5	0.1	0.0	2.4
30-34	98.7	0.0	0.0	1.3	89.1	0.2	0.3	10.4	94.4	0.1	0.1	5.4
35-39	95.4	0.2	0.0	4.4	85.3	0.7	0.1	13.9	91.1	0.5	0.0	8.4
40-44	94.3	0.8	0.0	4.9	83.3	1.1	0.2	15.4	90.0	0.9	0.1	9.0
45-49	92.9	0.6	0.0	6.5	78.8	2.2	0.5	18.5	87.0	1.2	0.2	11.6
50-54	91.5	0.2	0.0	8.3	67.1	2.1	0.0	30.8	81.8	0.9	0.0	17.3
55-59	90.9	0.4	0.0	8.7	68.8	4.0	0.0	27.2	81.6	1.9	0.0	16.5
60-64	79.8	4.0	0.0	16.2	44.6	3.4	0.0	52.0	63.7	3.7	0.0	32.6
65-69	87.8	0.3	1.1	10.8	54.7	1.2	0.3	43.8	72.4	0.7	0.7	26.2
70-74	69.0	2.8	0.0	28.2	33.9	4.9	0.0	61.2	53.6	3.7	0.0	42.7
75+	65.5	11.4	0.0	23.1	33.3	2.9	0.0	63.8	47.5	6.7	0.0	45.8
Total	95.4	0.4	0.1	4.1	86.3	0.9	0.1	12.7	91.4	0.6	0.1	7.9
No. of Cases	160863	674	169	6913	114348	1192	132	16827	275222	1807	301	23758

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

and females in the schools and larger proportion of females who had no schooling.

An examination of urban and rural migrants by literacy and sex shows that migrants have higher literacy levels in urban than rural areas, and the proportion of males literate is greater than females in each area. About 2.6 and 7.5 per cent of male migrants were illiterate in urban and rural areas, while 7.5 and 20.6 per cent of female migrants were illiterate in both destinations respectively.

The difference between migrants and people in West Sumatra in levels of illiteracy is shown in Appendix 4. It shows that the trend of age specific illiteracy rates for both populations is the same. However, the age specific illiteracy rates of out-migrants were much lower than people in West Sumatra.

4.5 Occupation

According to the 1971 census, the concept of the economically active population is used as a substitute for the labour force concept (University of Indonesia, 1974:51). The labour force data in 1971 refer to the week prior to the census, with two days' work constituting employment (Cho, 1976:80). It is classified into employed and unemployed. The employed comprise 'all persons who worked during one week prior to census date with intention of earning any income or profit, with a minimum number of two working days; permanent workers, government or private employees who are temporarily absent from work because of illness, strikes, etc.; peasants waiting for

harvest time and people working in professional fields such as doctors, barbers are included in this category. The unemployed consist of all persons who were seeking work during the above reference period'

(Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E).

Based on the definitions above, the activity composition of migrants 10 years of age and over was computed (see Appendix 5). It indicates that only 51.3 per cent of migrants were among the economically active population. The labour force participation rates for out-migrants were 47.5 per cent in urban areas and 60.9 per cent in rural areas. These labour force participation rates were higher than those of the West Sumatra population for whom the labour force participation rate was 47.7 as a whole, 34.7 per cent in urban areas and 50.4 per cent in rural areas. The differences of labour force participation between the two populations may be influenced by the occupational composition at the particular time (Shaw, 1975:25). It is also likely to be affected by educational level and age structure (see Section 4.3).

One important aspect of merantau is the occupational contrast between out-migrants and the people in West Sumatra. The 1971 census found that more than one-third of the total labour force of male migrants were retail traders, and only one-tenth were farmers, fishermen and hunters (see Table 4.8). The second largest sector of migrant occupations was the production, operators and labourers sector with about one-fifth of male migrants in the labour force involved in this sector. As a comparison, among economically active males in West Sumatra, 64.3 per cent were farmers and only 9.2 per cent of the total male labour force were retail traders (Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E, No.03, Table 34, p.177).

TABLE 4.8

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION, REGION AND SEX, 1971
(percentages)

Occupation	Urban Areas		Rural Areas		Urban + Rural Areas	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Technical and Related	4.7	23.4	2.3	8.2	3.9	18.2
Administrative and Managerial	3.2	0.6	1.4	0.6	2.6	0.6
Clerical and Related	18.6	14.4	6.6	1.0	14.6	9.8
Sales	37.1	31.2	27.1	20.8	33.7	27.7
Service	5.5	8.7	5.0	2.3	5.3	6.5
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	1.2	0.6	29.3	43.7	10.6	15.4
Production and Related Transportation, Equipment Operators and Labourers	24.4	6.3	22.2	3.7	23.7	5.4
Others	5.3	14.8	6.1	19.7	5.6	16.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	87015	15604	43565	8129	130580	23753

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

Table 4.8 also identifies that the agricultural sector was the largest sector among migrants in rural areas. One-third of rural migrants in the labour force were active in this sector while only one-quarter were salemen. In both urban and rural areas occupational composition was quite different for males and females. Whereas the proportions of male migrants in the production and clerical sectors were relatively high, for female migrants the reverse situation held. The gap between the proportion of female migrants engaged in the agricultural and sales sectors was very high in rural areas in contrast to the distribution for males.

The distribution of economically active out-migrants by industry and occupational status is demonstrated in Table 4.9. In the trading sector, over 70 per cent of the migrants were own account workers with a relatively high proportion of unpaid family workers. Very few of those engaged in trade were employees. Also, few migrants in agriculture worked as employees or employers.

The overall low proportion of employers shows that the migrants were not engaged in big enterprises. Consequently, the proportion of own account workers was relatively high. According to my personal observation, in Pekanbaru, Medan and Jakarta the low proportion of unpaid family workers indicates that the large number of women, relatives and children who help their family business without receiving money wages or salaries are not classified as engaged in economic activity in the capacity of unpaid family workers. Our statistics also show that the proportion of unpaid family workers and own account workers was much higher in rural than urban areas.

TABLE 4.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MIGRANTS BY
INDUSTRY AND STATUS DURING THE CENSUS WEEK IN 1971

Industry	Own Account Workers	Employers	Employees	Unpaid Family Workers	Total
Agriculture	42.3	1.1	26.8	30.2	100.0
Mining	1.4	1.4	96.8	0.4	100.0
Manufacturing	28.6	8.9	54.5	8.0	100.0
Electricity	3.8	8.8	87.4	0.0	100.0
Construction	16.6	5.5	76.1	1.8	100.0
Trade	70.7	4.1	13.0	12.2	100.0
Transport	21.4	3.1	72.8	2.7	100.0
Financing, Insurance Services	19.0	2.8	73.9	4.3	100.0
Not Adequately Defined	20.5	3.6	50.9	25.0	100.0
Total	39.9	3.5	45.1	11.5	100.0
Number of Cases	61579	5402	69604	17748	154333

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

There were 18.4 and 44.1 per cent respectively in these statuses in rural areas compared with 8.0 and 37.8 per cent in urban areas. These figures indicate that the proportion of migrants who were wage earners was greater in urban areas.

A discussion of the differences of occupational sectors and types of industry of migrants will be clearer by considering employment at the regional level. Migrant male employment in North Sumatra, Riau and Jakarta provinces is used to show these differences as about 67 per cent of migrants were concentrated in these areas. Among the occupations of migrants, sales workers were the major sector in Riau and Jakarta, while production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers were the predominant sector in North Sumatra (see Appendix 6). From the detailed classification of occupations of employed male migrants, we can observe that the proportion of migrants employed as government executive officials and clerical and related workers was higher in Jakarta than the other provinces, and those of farmers and material-handling and related equipment operators, dockers and freight handlers was higher in North Sumatra than the other provinces (see Appendix 7). The consistency of the results obtained for the occupational characteristics of migrants (Appendices 6 and 7) with their industrial characteristics is presented in Appendices 8 and 9.

Compared with Riau and North Sumatra, Jakarta had a larger percentage of male migrants engaged in public administration and defence and related community services. North Sumatra had a higher percentage of employed migrants in personal and household

services and restaurants, cafes and other eating and drinking places, while the migrants in Riau had a larger percentage of persons employed in crude petroleum and natural gas production (see Appendix 9).

The differences in occupational sectors and types of industries among migrants by region as discussed can be explained in several ways. The main factor is the education level of migrants going to the different regions. Education influences occupation, as is well known. People involved in professional, technical and administrative occupations require a higher level of educational attainment. The differences of the structure of the educational attainment among male migrants in the areas used above is demonstrated in Table 4.10.

TABLE 4.10

PERCENTAGE OF MALE MIGRANTS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN NORTH SUMATRA, RIAU AND JAKARTA, 1971

Education	North Sumatra	Riau	Jakarta
No Schooling	10.2	11.1	5.0
Not Yet Finished Elementary	28.9	28.4	17.5
Elementary	39.9	37.9	27.7
Junior High School	9.7	8.5	16.2
Special Junior High School	2.5	4.7	4.0
Senior High School	4.5	4.0	17.0
Special Senior High School	3.2	4.4	7.6
Academy	0.7	0.6	4.7
University	0.4	0.4	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

The level of educational attainment of male migrants was relatively high in Jakarta compared with other areas or regions. Nearly 50 per cent of male migrants in Jakarta had high school education, while only 21.0 and 22.6 per cent of male migrants reached this level in North Sumatra and Riau. Therefore, the proportion of migrants occupied in the administrative and services sectors are larger in Jakarta. Conversely, the lower level of educational attainment of migrants 10 years of age and over to North Sumatra and Riau is reflected by the proportion of migrants engaged in non-white collar occupations.

The economic background of migrants in their villages and the tendencies of some migrants to follow the same occupations in rantau as previous migrants from their families was another reason for the variation in migrant's occupations as was found by Maude in his survey. Maude pointed out that migrants from nagari, where the level of education was low and a tradition of trading and cottage industry was lacking, mostly became labourers or carpenters. For example, most migrants from nagari Kamang Mudik who moved to Riau or North Sumatra became labourers or carpenters. Migrants from nagari which had a tradition of trading or cottage industry became traders or tailors (Maude, 1977:18-19), for example, migrants from nagari Pasir living in Jakarta became traders.

The ecological and economic structure of the area of destination also has much influence on individual decisions to enter particular occupations and types of industry. Some migrants had no idea about the types of activities in rantau before moving. The composition of economic activities and the benefits of each sector in

the area of destination influenced the possibility that migrants entered particular jobs. Sometimes the migrants even had less consideration of their educational attainment. For example, some migrants who had high school or academy degrees became retailers. On the other hand, as Naim mentioned, some migrants prefer to work independently although they have to struggle with the weather conditions or competition with other retailers (Naim, 1974:229).

4.6 Family Status in Rantau

Our observations about the family status characteristics of Minangkabau migrants in rantau are very general, because no detailed information relating to this point was obtained in the census. Thus, our analysis is restricted to the household information only rather than to family organisation.

Overall, there were more than 106 thousand heads of household among out-migrants from West Sumatra who were living outside their region at the time of the 1971 population census of Indonesia. The mean number of members of migrants' households was three which was lower than the level for the West Sumatra population, where the mean household size was 4. More details about the composition of households of migrants are presented in Table 4.11. It shows at least two interesting points related to the transition process of the family system among the members of households of Minangkabau society in rantau. Firstly, the proportion of migrants whose relationship with the head of the household was 'other family member' is larger than for people in West Sumatra. This indicates that the

TABLE 4.11

PROPORTION OF OUT-MIGRANTS AND PEOPLE IN WEST SUMATRA
BY RELATIONSHIP TO THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IN 1971

Category	Out-Migrants*	People in West Sumatra**
Head of Household	33.1	20.4
Wife	23.5	14.6
Child	19.8	50.8
Child-in-Law	1.1	1.2
Grand Child	0.8	4.5
Parent	2.1	1.0
Parent-in-Law	5.7	1.7
Other Family Member	15.1	4.2
Servant	0.6	0.3
Others	1.8	1.0
Not Stated	0.3	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	322854	2792221

Source: * 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

** Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E,
No.03, Table 2.

relationship among members of large families may have been closer in rantau than in their villages. In rantau the family is the first stepping stone to ensuring the livelihood of migrants for a short or long time depending on the situation or the condition of their lives in rantau (Naim, 1974:258). Members of large families (suku and paruik) are more likely to have at least one member in rantau so that people closely related to that member are more likely to migrate. Most migrants from Minangkabau used people in rantau as

examples or as the power of attraction for them before they left their villages. Of course, the possibility to migrate was usually greater for members of families with many relatives than for small families with few relatives. Consequently, among the members of large families only the older people remained in their villages to control their properties or to fulfil their social obligations in their society. It does seem that there is a relationship between the family system and the possibility to migrate in Minangkabau society. Secondly, the difference between the ages of the members of the households and the heads of household was wider among the people in West Sumatra than among migrants. Thus, intimacy and the assimilation process are easier among the members of the household of migrants, although this conclusion would be misleading as children born in rantau were not classified as migrants.

4.7 Summary

The characteristics of the Minangkabau migration examined in this chapter have been divided into six categories: the biological factors of age and sex, marital status, education, literacy, occupation and family life in rantau. These characteristics of out-migrants differed from the West Sumatra population in many ways. Compared with people in West Sumatra, migrants were much more highly concentrated in the age range 15 to 49 and the level of family migration among the Minangkabau people was much more significant than expected. Migrants were also more likely to have education than the West Sumatra population; migrants were more likely to be males and

with the exception of males under 30, more likely to be married.

Furthermore, those characteristics were associated with the occupational differentials among migrants and West Sumatra population.

CHAPTER 5

THE LEVEL OF FERTILITY OF MINANGKABAU OUT-MIGRANTS

The main discussion in this chapter is limited to an analysis of the level of fertility of migrants or Minangkabau people in rantau. The discussion is based on the special tabulation runs of the 1971 census as we have mentioned in earlier chapters. The analysis concentrates upon the fertility level of out-migrants in North Sumatra, Riau and Jakarta, as selected areas of destination without discriminating rural and urban destinations. These areas covered more than 67.0 per cent of the total migrants from West Sumatra and 28.0 per cent of them were ever married women in the childbearing ages, especially aged 15 to 54, corresponding to 61,208 persons. Comparison is made with the level of fertility of the population of West Sumatra, Riau, Jakarta and North Sumatra provinces, that is people who had those provinces as their present residence at the time of the 1971 population census.

The fertility measure utilised is total number of children ever born to ever married women in the age groups 15-19 to 50-54, without distinguishing their current marital status or the system of marriage. No consideration is made of the place of birth of the children or the duration of residence of the women in rantau. It is, therefore not possible to tell if a birth or marriage occurred before or after migration. Also, it is possible that some of the migrants had spent more of their childbearing period in rantau than

other migrants. It is also possible that some respondents had shifted from another province so that their fertility may have been influenced by fertility patterns in their previous place of residence.

The differences of fertility level between migrants and people in West Sumatra and among the migrants in different provinces is presented in Table 5.1. For all women, the average number of children ever born was 4.09 for migrants compared with 4.22 for people in West Sumatra. However, this result is influenced strongly by the structure of the age distribution of women, which varies from province to province. To reduce the effect of the variation of age composition, the age standardisation method was applied. Using the age standardized measure, the mean number of children ever born was relatively high for migrants compared with the people in West Sumatra with average parity being 4.37 and 4.22 per ever married women for migrants and people in West Sumatra respectively. The fertility level of migrants in Riau and North Sumatra was significantly higher than for persons in West Sumatra province corresponding to the higher level of fertility applying in the populations of these two provinces. On the other hand, migrants in Jakarta had lower fertility than the West Sumatra population, again corresponding to the fertility level of the entire Jakarta population. The migrants, therefore, have tended to adopt the fertility patterns applying in the area of destination.

In analysing the differential fertility level among migrant women at different areas of destination, we would like to examine the effect of two factors which influence the average parity of women, namely the proportion of women ever married and the level of educational attainment of women at ages 15-54.

TABLE 5.1

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN, EVER MARRIED WOMEN*:
 OUT-MIGRANTS FROM WEST SUMATRA AND PEOPLE IN NORTH SUMATRA,
 RIAU AND JAKARTA PROVINCE, 1971

Age of Mother	Out-Migrants in:			
	N. Sumatra	Riau	Jakarta	N. Sumatra + Riau + Jakarta
15 - 19	0.50	0.66	0.56	0.58
20 - 24	1.64	1.80	1.48	1.64
25 - 29	3.33	3.22	2.66	3.05
30 - 34	5.07	4.86	3.94	4.61
35 - 39	5.64	5.67	5.16	5.51
40 - 44	6.23	6.67	5.53	6.13
45 - 49	6.62	6.71	5.73	6.28
50 - 54	5.82	5.80	4.83	5.52
Mean	4.42	4.16	3.69	4.09
Std. Mean**	4.58	4.64	3.92	4.37

Age of Mother	People in:			
	N. Sumatra	Riau	Jakarta	West Sumatra
15 - 19	0.69	0.78	0.75	0.61
20 - 24	1.87	1.86	1.85	1.73
25 - 29	3.62	3.50	3.19	3.23
30 - 34	5.07	4.86	4.34	4.50
35 - 39	6.25	5.73	5.10	5.57
40 - 44	6.54	6.22	5.03	5.76
45 - 49	6.34	6.12	5.08	5.50
50 - 54	5.82	5.84	4.98	5.10
Mean	4.52	4.13	3.57	4.22
Std. Mean**	4.78	4.58	3.99	4.22

* Including ever married women with issue not stated who are assumed to have parity zero as is usual for Indonesian census results (McDonald *et al.*, 1975:11).

** Direct standardisation method: the age specific average numbers of children born for each given population are applied to the population of ever married women by age in West Sumatra.

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.
 Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E,
 Nos.02, 03, 04 and 09:20, 135.

Table 5.2 presents data on the proportion of women ever married by region and age groups at the time of the census. It can be seen that for every age group, the migrant women in Jakarta had a lower proportion ever married than migrant women in the other regions. Even women in West Sumatra had a higher proportion ever married than that of migrant women in Jakarta. When the proportions ever married are low in the younger age groups, this means that the average duration of marriage of women in a given age group will be shorter than in an area where the proportions ever married are high. Table 5.2 indicates that the higher fertility of migrants in North Sumatra and Riau, the lower fertility of migrants in Jakarta may have been influenced by their marriage pattern in this way.

TABLE 5.2

PROPORTION OF WOMEN EVER MARRIED BY AGE AND REGION:
MIGRANTS IN NORTH SUMATRA, RIAU AND JAKARTA
AND WEST SUMATRA'S WOMEN, 1971

Age of Women	Migrants in:			Women in:
	North Sumatra	Riau	Jakarta	West Sumatra
15 - 19	43.7	33.4	23.1	24.2
20 - 24	77.7	79.2	57.0	75.9
25 - 29	98.4	95.8	85.3	94.8
39 - 34	99.2	98.5	91.7	98.8
35 - 39	96.3	98.9	96.3	99.3
40 - 44	99.8	100.0	95.1	99.7
45 - 49	99.8	100.0	96.5	99.4
50 - 54	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.
Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E,
No.03, Table 06.

The differences in fertility level among migrant women in different provinces can also be examined in terms of the educational level and the relationship between education and fertility. These data are presented in Tables 5.3 and 5.4. Table 5.3 shows that migrant women in Jakarta are more educated than in other provinces. More than 57.2 per cent of them had high school, academy or university education, compared with 20.2 and 15.6 per cent for migrant women in Riau and North Sumatra respectively. Most migrant women in North Sumatra and Riau had elementary education only and the proportion of migrant women with no education was relatively higher in North Sumatra than other provinces. Evidence of the relationship between fertility and the educational level of women can be seen in Table 5.4.

TABLE 5.3
THE PROPORTION OF EVER MARRIED MIGRANT WOMEN
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1971

Level of Education	Migrants in:		
	North Sumatra	Riau	Jakarta
No Education	15.8	11.1	4.3
Some Elementary School	30.6	28.6	8.6
Finished Elementary School	38.0	40.1	30.9
General Junior High School	5.8	6.2	18.9
General Senior High School	2.1	2.1	12.3
Special Junior High School	4.6	7.2	8.8
Special Senior High School	2.6	4.0	12.0
Academy	0.1	0.5	2.2
University	0.4	0.3	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	20171	20631	20406

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

TABLE 5.4
 MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN TO EVER MARRIED MIGRANT WOMEN*
 BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN 1971

Age of Mother	No School	Some Elementary School	Finished Elementary School	Junior High School	Senior High School and Above
Migrant Women in North Sumatra					
15 - 19	0.00	0.57	0.47	0.81	0.00
20 - 24	1.63	1.64	1.85	1.42	1.03
25 - 29	3.23	3.69	3.43	3.51	1.51
30 - 34	5.88	5.48	4.92	4.16	3.21
35 - 39	5.51	5.76	5.80	5.93	5.28
40 - 44	5.94	6.58	6.18	5.89	4.33†
45 - 49	5.80	6.98	6.80	6.61	5.15
50 - 54	5.38	6.77	5.01	8.66	9.00†
Mean	5.19	4.73	4.20	3.90	2.57
Std. Mean**	4.47	4.91	4.56	4.74	3.71
Migrant Women in Riau					
15 - 19	1.25	0.74	0.52	1.18	0.00
20 - 24	1.21	2.90	1.83	1.71	1.02
25 - 29	3.89	3.54	3.32	3.01	2.14
30 - 34	4.45	5.63	5.11	3.72	3.34
35 - 39	6.08	5.16	6.19	5.00	6.13
40 - 44	5.79	7.06	6.09	7.77	9.91
45 - 49	5.00	8.10	5.23	9.86	4.05
50 - 54	5.50	4.86	7.16	6.79	7.00
Mean	4.84	4.68	4.64	4.09	3.17
Std. Mean**	4.37	4.98	4.65	4.94	4.43
Migrant Women in Jakarta					
15 - 19	0.49	1.06	0.52	0.79	0.00
20 - 24	2.95	1.92	1.80	1.62	0.86
25 - 29	5.00	3.52	2.98	2.79	2.04
30 - 34	3.83	4.48	4.90	4.04	2.57
35 - 39	4.64	6.95	5.86	5.57	3.55
40 - 44	4.97	5.11	6.24	5.48	4.49
45 - 49	3.26	7.50	5.59	5.53	5.89
50 - 54	5.49	4.98	4.22	5.41	4.80
Mean	4.28	4.62	4.12	3.87	2.53
Std. Mean**	4.09	4.66	4.28	4.08	3.12

* Including ever married migrant women with issue not stated.

† Averages based on small number of cases (below 20).

** Direct standardisation method: the age specific average numbers of children ever born for each given population are applied to the population of ever married women by age in West Sumatra.

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

Generally, there is no clear relationship between educational attainment of the migrants and their level of fertility before they have reached high school level. However, the fertility level of those migrants who have no schooling (no education) is always lower than that of migrants who have some elementary schooling. The fertility level drops significantly for those migrants who had completed senior high school and above. In the academy and university level, the standardised mean number of children ever born is 2.43 for ever married women (1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations), which shows that the negative relationship between the educational level of women and the level of fertility which becomes evident at the senior high school level is more pronounced at the academy and university level. These phenomena are evident in all provinces. It has also been analysed by Hull and Hull (1977:46) using the 1971 Census of Indonesia. Again, for all levels of education, the fertility of migrants in Jakarta is lower than that of migrant women in other areas.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The process of merantau has been well known among Minangkabau people for a long time. Formerly the process of merantau was limited to areas just beyond the borders of their region, however, recently Minangkabau people have been moving throughout all of Indonesia's regions.

There are many factors which cause the people to emigrate. Social-cultural and economic factors of the village's life can push people to leave their home villages. Minangkabau people in rantau have many characteristics which are not the same as Minangkabau people who stay in their home land, West Sumatra. In this study we tried to discover and explain the relationship of these phenomena. This study has examined the basic features of Minangkabau society: the social and economic organisation, educational conformation and demographic characteristics; has provided some figures on the volume and direction of merantau; and has presented the variation of the basic and life characteristics of migrants who are covered by the statistical data available from the 1971 population census of Indonesia. A comparative analysis of the characteristics of migrants and West Sumatra population has also been carried out.

According to the analysis of the reason for merantau, economic factors seem to predominate over other factors, however, we have found that there are interdependent variable links among

all of the socio-cultural and economic factors as causative factors of merantau of the Minangkabau people. So, it is rather difficult to conclude that the economic factor specifically is the dominant factor in merantau.

Although West Sumatra has the highest proportion of lifetime out-migrants among other regions in Indonesia according to the 1971 census, the study shows that the proportion of out-migration from West Sumatra region hardly changed between 1930 and 1971. In addition, we have found that the area of destination of migrants has changed dramatically from 1930 to 1971, mainly as a result of the improvement in transportation and communications within Indonesia during this century. Furthermore, we could conclude that most migrants preferred urban areas as their destination, related to their occupational characteristics.

The basic characteristics of out-migrants are clearly differentiated from people in West Sumatra. The study found that migration is selective of demographic characteristics such as age, sex, etc. Although migrants moved mostly in younger ages, the age structure of the lifetime migrants was older on average than the West Sumatra population's age structure. Because there were more male migrants than female migrants, the sex ratio among migrants was higher than that for the West Sumatra population. The selectivity of female migrants was stronger as distance increased.

A statistical comparison between West Sumatra people and Minangkabau migrants in rantau shows that migrants have a higher level of educational attainment than the people in West Sumatra.

This characteristic is one of the supports to the success in rantau of Minangkabau people. Consequently, their occupational and industrial characteristics are quite different. Most of the Minangkabau people in rantau were engaged in the sales and retail trade sectors, while the majority of people in West Sumatra remain in the agricultural sector. Again, the differential level of educational attainment of migrants in different areas of destination, the economic background of migrants in their villages and the ecological and economic structure of the area of destination influenced the variation of the occupational and industrial characteristics of migrants from region to region.

From the data reported in the 1971 census relating to 61,208 ever married female migrants from West Sumatra, it was found that out-migrants' wives had relatively higher fertility than the ever married women in West Sumatra. However, the fertility level of migrants varied from region to region (area of destination), which showed that they have tended to adopt the fertility pattern applying in the area of destination. It was found that the average duration of marriage of women and the level of education of women were influential in accounting for fertility differentials.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WEST SUMATRA POPULATION
10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY AGE, MARITAL STATUS AND SEX, IN 1971

Age	Males				Females				Males + Females			
	S*	M	D	W	S	M**	D	W	S	M	D***	W****
10 - 14	99.3	0.6	0.0	0.1	99.3	0.6	0.0	0.1	99.3	0.6	0.0	0.1
15 - 19	97.3	2.3	0.2	0.2	75.8	21.6	2.0	0.6	86.5	12.0	1.1	0.4
20 - 24	64.7	32.3	2.2	0.8	24.1	68.0	4.8	3.1	42.4	51.9	3.6	2.1
25 - 29	20.5	73.3	4.8	1.4	5.2	85.2	6.1	3.5	11.6	80.3	5.5	2.6
30 - 34	7.3	87.5	3.4	1.8	1.2	88.0	6.3	4.5	4.0	87.8	5.0	3.2
35 - 39	3.3	91.6	2.4	2.7	0.7	82.3	6.6	10.4	1.9	86.7	4.6	6.8
40 - 44	2.1	92.5	2.8	2.6	0.3	78.5	7.4	13.8	1.1	85.0	5.2	8.7
45 - 49	1.7	92.8	2.6	2.9	0.6	70.0	8.6	20.8	1.1	81.0	5.7	12.2
50 - 54	2.1	89.6	3.4	4.9	0.1	56.2	10.7	33.0	1.1	72.7	7.1	19.1
55 - 59	0.9	89.7	4.5	4.9	0.3	46.6	9.9	43.2	0.6	67.5	7.3	24.6
60 - 64	1.9	86.7	3.8	7.6	0.4	30.6	9.1	59.9	1.1	56.3	6.7	35.9
65 - 69	2.1	80.3	5.3	12.3	0.0	27.0	8.6	64.4	0.9	51.1	7.1	40.9
70 - 75	2.5	77.0	5.3	15.2	0.5	11.9	8.7	78.9	1.3	38.9	7.3	52.5
75+	2.2	71.0	3.6	23.2	0.4	11.0	5.3	83.3	1.0	32.7	4.7	61.6
Average	44.3	51.2	2.1	2.4	32.2	49.0	5.1	13.7	37.9	50.0	3.7	8.4
No.Cases	577113	667001	27357	31266	451010	686329	71433	191889	1024584	1351695	100025	227085

* Single ** Married *** Divorced **** Widowed

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E, No.03:26.

APPENDIX 2

 PERCENTAGE OF OUT-MIGRANTS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY
 AGE, MARITAL STATUS, SEX AND URBAN/RURAL, 1971

Age	Urban Areas								Rural Areas							
	Males				Females				Males				Females			
	S*	M	D	W	S	M**	D	W	S	M	D***	W	S	M	D	W****
10 - 14	99.2	0.5	0.2	0.0	98.9	0.8	0.3	0.1	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	98.0	2.0	0.0	0.0
15 - 19	98.3	1.4	0.3	0.0	73.0	25.7	0.7	0.6	95.9	3.7	0.4	0.0	47.4	45.5	4.8	2.2
20 - 24	82.9	16.5	0.6	0.1	33.5	64.9	1.1	0.5	71.8	26.2	2.0	0.0	12.5	80.8	2.5	4.2
25 - 29	38.5	60.5	0.7	0.3	8.0	88.4	1.8	1.7	23.0	72.0	3.2	1.7	0.4	95.5	1.7	2.3
30 - 34	8.5	89.8	0.9	0.7	3.9	91.0	2.3	2.8	6.5	87.8	2.7	3.0	0.5	94.9	1.1	3.4
35 - 39	3.8	94.8	0.6	0.8	1.8	90.6	1.6	6.0	1.9	96.0	0.8	1.3	2.6	87.2	2.3	6.9
40 - 44	3.1	94.3	1.2	1.4	1.8	85.4	3.6	9.1	0.8	92.2	1.8	5.2	0.0	85.8	1.4	12.8
45 - 49	2.6	93.9	0.9	2.6	1.4	73.6	3.4	21.6	1.3	92.1	3.3	3.4	0.0	85.2	5.0	9.8
50 - 54	1.9	95.2	0.2	2.8	0.6	64.7	6.2	28.5	0.0	90.9	7.2	1.9	0.0	69.2	8.2	22.6
55 - 59	0.9	94.0	1.4	3.7	0.5	51.3	7.3	40.9	4.0	87.2	1.5	7.2	0.0	57.5	0.0	42.5
60 - 64	0.0	88.6	0.7	10.6	0.2†	36.4	5.1	58.3	1.4	91.7	0.0	6.9	0.0	34.8	0.0	65.2
65 - 69	0.4†	85.8	0.4†	13.3	0.0	28.9	5.5	65.6	0.0	86.1	0.0	13.9	0.0	98.1	0.9	0.9
70 - 74	0.0	81.8	0.0	18.2	0.0	27.2	1.7	71.2	7.9	80.9	2.9	8.2	0.0	0.7†	0.0	99.3
75+	11.8	62.8	6.7	18.8	1.7	18.8	1.6	78.1	4.7	58.6	0.0	36.7	0.0	62.8	0.0	37.2
Total	39.1	58.7	0.7	1.4	24.3	63.2	2.2	10.3	29.3	65.9	2.1	2.6	16.5	72.4	2.7	8.4
No. Cases	46069	69154	811	1692	23899	62324	2178	10135	14906	33561	1080	1346	5612	24577	905	2869

* Single ** Married *** Divorced **** Widowed † Less than 19 persons

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

APPENDIX 3

LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MIGRANTS
10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY SEX AND RURAL/URBAN, 1971
(percentages)

Highest Level of Education	Urban Areas		Rural Areas	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
No Schooling	3.9	11.2	8.9	21.1
Limited Elementary Schooling	54.4	55.3	74.5	66.5
Completed Junior or Senior High Schooling	36.0	31.3	16.0	12.1
Completed Academy or University	5.7	2.2	0.6	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	117726	98536	50893	33963

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

APPENDIX 4

MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS: AGE SPECIFIC

ILLITERACY RATES* FOR MIGRANTS AND PEOPLE IN WEST SUMATRA, 1971

Age	Out-Migrants From West Sumatra ¹	People in West Sumatra ²
10 - 14	0.052	0.106
15 - 19	0.028	0.092
20 - 24	0.028	0.099
25 - 29	0.022	0.144
30 - 34	0.054	0.198
35 - 39	0.084	0.267
40 - 44	0.090	0.325
45 - 49	0.116	0.368
50 - 54	0.173	0.483
55 - 59	0.165	0.496
60 - 64	0.326	0.643
65 - 69	0.262	0.650
70 - 74	0.427	0.779
75+	0.458	0.813
Standardised Rate**	0.089	0.245

* The age specific illiteracy rate is expressed as: $\frac{I_a}{P_a} \times 1.00$

where I_a = Number of illiterates in age group a;
 P_a = Population in age group a.

** Calculation based on the direct standardisation method with the total population of West Sumatra 10 years of age and over taken as the standard population and the age specific illiteracy rates of out-migrants being applied to this standard population.

Source: (1) 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

(2) Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, 1974:Series E, No.03, Table 14, p.58.

APPENDIX 5

PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER
BY SEX AND TYPE OF ACTIVITY DURING THE WEEK BEFORE ENUMERATION, 1971

Type of Activity	Male	Female	Male + Female
Employed	118,244	19,869	138,113
Looking for Work	12,336	3,884	16,220
Attending School	20,863	15,045	35,908
Housekeeping	2,218	80,900	83,118
Income Recipient	3,914	2,422	6,336
Others	10,182	9,103	19,285
Not Stated	862	1,296	2,158
Total	168,619	132,519	301,118

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

APPENDIX 6

EMPLOYED MALE MIGRANTS BY MAJOR GROUPS OF OCCUPATION IN 1971

Occupation	North Sumatra (%)	Riau (%)	Jakarta (%)
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	2.18	3.76	6.94
Administrative and Managerial Workers	1.48	1.95	5.29
Clerical and Related Workers	9.13	12.24	27.50
Sales Workers	29.20	30.30	36.23
Service Workers	5.81	10.71	3.25
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fisherman and Hunters	12.96	8.32	0.30
Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers	36.99	29.24	17.53
Workers Not Classifiable by Occupation	2.25	3.48	2.96
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Number of Cases	25408	27237	29332

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

APPENDIX 7

EMPLOYED MALE MIGRANTS BY MINOR GROUPS OF OCCUPATION* IN 1971

Occupation	North Sumatra (%)	Riau (%)	Jakarta (%)
Clerical and Related Workers	<u>9.13</u>	<u>12.24</u>	<u>27.50</u>
Clerical supervisors	0.00	0.55	1.12
Government executive officials	3.10	6.24	10.26
Stenographers, typists and card and tape-punching machine operators	0.13	0.73	2.62
Bookkeepers, cashiers and related workers	0.07	0.22	0.64
Transport and communications supervisors	0.90	0.54	0.92
Transport conductors	0.04	0.00	0.50
Telephone and telegraph operators	0.02	0.14	0.14
Clerical and related workers not elsewhere classified	4.78	3.82	11.30
Sales Workers	<u>29.20</u>	<u>30.30</u>	<u>36.23</u>
Managers (wholesale and retail trade)	0.00	0.00	0.29
Working proprietors	0.29	0.21	0.57
Sales supervisors and buyers	0.00	0.00	0.14
Technical salesmen, commercial travellers and manufacturers' agents	0.13	0.37	0.78
Insurance, real estate, securities and business servicers salesmen and auctioneers	0.07	0.35	0.28
Salesmen, shop assistants and related workers	27.88	27.76	30.43
Sales assistants	0.75	1.51	3.61
Sales workers not elsewhere classified	0.08	0.10	0.13
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	<u>12.96</u>	<u>8.32</u>	<u>0.30</u>
Farm managers and supervisors	0.22	0.02	0.00
Farmers	11.18	7.92	0.00

Contd. over/

APPENDIX 7 (contd.)

Agricultural and animal husbandry workers	0.00	0.00	0.15
Forestry workers	0.00	0.36	0.00
Fishermen, hunters and related workers	1.56	0.02	0.15
Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers	<u>36.99</u>	<u>29.24</u>	<u>17.53</u>
Production supervisors and general foremen	0.30	0.34	0.14
Miners, quarrymen, well drillers and related workers	0.02	0.48	0.00
Metal processors	0.07	0.07	0.07
Wood preparation workers and paper makers	1.38	3.16	0.14
Chemical processors and related workers	0.56	1.42	0.21
Spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers	0.00	0.00	0.07
Food and beverage processors	2.12	0.35	0.07
Tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers	0.02	0.00	0.00
Tailors, dressmakers, upholsterers and related workers	8.41	4.46	5.03
Shoemakers and leather goods makers	2.11	0.14	0.13
Cabinet makers and related workers	1.30	2.40	0.14
Blacksmiths, toolmakers and machine-tool operators	0.09	0.21	0.21
Machinery fitters, machine assemblers and precision instrument makers (except electrical)	0.80	2.22	1.76
Electrical fitters and related electrical and electronics workers	0.09	0.62	0.52
Broadcasting station and sound equipment operators and cinema projectionist	0.07	0.00	0.00
Plumbers, welders, sheet metal and structural metal preparers	1.42	0.58	0.28

Contd. over/

APPENDIX 7 (contd.)

Jewellery and precious metal workers	1.69	0.51	0.00
Glass formers, potters and related workers	0.08	0.08	0.21
Rubber and plastics product makers	0.43	0.68	0.28
Paper and paperboard product makers	0.10	0.47	0.00
Printers and related workers	0.54	0.14	0.58
Painters	0.02	0.47	0.07
Production and related workers not elsewhere classified	2.32	4.62	1.15
Bricklayers, carpenters and other construction workers	0.00	0.01	0.14
Stationary engine and related equipment operators	0.68	0.73	0.36
Material-handling and related equipment operators, dockers and freight handlers	12.36	5.01	5.83
Labourers not elsewhere classified	0.01	0.07	0.14

* Selected major groups.

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

APPENDIX 8

EMPLOYED MALE MIGRANTS BY MAJOR DIVISIONS
OF INDUSTRY IN 1971

Industry	North Sumatra (%)	Riau (%)	Jakarta (%)
Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry and Fishing	13.40	8.84	0.86
Mining and Quarrying	0.79	8.75	0.57
Manufacturing	9.91	8.72	4.04
Electricity, Gas and Water	0.37	0.58	0.51
Construction	2.54	6.29	2.99
Wholesale and Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels	29.45	31.05	38.05
Transport, Storage and Communication	14.25	5.79	9.56
Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services	0.87	0.44	5.09
Community, Social and Personal Services	26.09	26.27	34.60
Activities Not Adequately Defined	2.32	3.27	3.72
Total	99.99	100.00	99.99
Number of Cases	25408	27237	29332

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.

APPENDIX 9

EMPLOYED MALE MIGRANTS BY DIVISIONS OF INDUSTRY* IN 1971

Industry	North Sumatra (%)	Riau (%)	Jakarta (%)
Mining and Quarrying	<u>0.79</u>	<u>8.75</u>	<u>0.57</u>
Coal mining	0.00	0.14	0.00
Crude petroleum and natural gas production	0.79	7.81	0.38
Metal ore mining	0.00	0.18	0.00
Other mining	0.00	0.62	0.19
Wholesale and Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels	<u>29.45</u>	<u>31.05</u>	<u>38.05</u>
Wholesale trade	0.33	0.66	4.39
Retail trade	20.10	23.78	29.64
Restaurants, cafes and other eating and drinking places	9.02	6.40	3.67
Hotel, rooming houses	0.00	0.21	0.35
Transport, Storage and Communication	<u>14.25</u>	<u>5.79</u>	<u>9.56</u>
Land transport	12.03	3.69	5.96
Water transport	1.72	1.56	2.20
Air transport	0.00	0.03	0.35
Services allied to transport Communication	0.31	0.07	0.42
Communication	0.19	0.44	0.63
Community, Social and Personal Services	<u>26.09</u>	<u>26.27</u>	<u>34.60</u>
Public administration and defence	16.82	6.90	16.74
Sanitary and similar services	0.20	0.09	0.07
Social and related community services	2.61	4.34	6.87
Recreational and cultural services	0.30	0.12	1.29
Personal and household services	16.16	14.82	9.42
International and other extra territorial bodies	0.00	0.00	0.21

* Selected major divisions.

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census Special Tabulations.