THE VALUE OF CHILDREN AMONG TEA ESTATE WORKERS' FAMILIES

A Case Study in a Village of West Java, Indonesia

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D E C L A R A T I O N

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

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A B S T R A C T

This case study conducted in a village of Cibodas - Cikajang, in December 1977 - February 1978, obtained data on the value of children in a special type of Sundanese agricultural society, the estate worker community. The village is situated in the regency of Garut, one of the regencies under the authority of the West Java Government. Eighty per cent of the economically active population in this village were directly involved in agricultural activities and 74 per cent of them were agricultural workers. The social character of the community was determined on one hand by the traditional and religious values and on the other hand by the work conditions of the estate.

There have been some previous studies on the value of children in Indonesian societies but none of them specifically on the peasant Sundanese society and no special information has ever been obtained on the estate worker community. This study attempts to fill some of the gaps in existing knowledge on the value of children in peasant society who are the majority of the Indonesian population.

The Cibodas - Cikajang case study has succeeded in finding the socio-cultural background behind the attitude of the community towards their children, such as, children's socialization, family size, sex preferences, motivation of having children, and limitation of the number of children. In regard to the positive and negative values of children, the advantages and disadvantages of having many children, the economic benefits and economic costs of children, and various factors affecting positive and negative values were examined. The economic condition of the family and work condition were also studied to see their influence on the costs of children and the perception of children's work in the future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	 1
1.1 Studies of the Value of Children	1
1.2 The Area of the Field Study	5
1.3 Methodology	10
1.4 Some Characteristics of Respondents	12
 CHAPTER 2: CHILDREN AND THEIR SOCIALIZATION IN SUNDANESE CULTURE	17
2.1 The Role of the Family	17
2.2 Facilities in Bearing and Rearing Children	22
2.3 The Influence of Education and Religion	26
2.4 The Function of Children in Family Life	30
 CHAPTER 3: FAMILY SIZE AND FAMILY PLANNING ATTITUDES	 37
3.1 Ideal Family Size	37
3.2 Sex Preferences	45
3.3 Family Planning Attitudes and Practice	51
3.4 Effort to Have Children	55
3.5 Motivation for Additional Children	58

CHAPTER 4:	POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE VALUES OF CHILDREN	62
4.1	Advantages and Disadvantages of Having Children ...	62
4.1.1	Advantages	63
4.1.2	Disadvantages	66
4.2	Factors Affecting Positive and Negative Values of Children	69
4.3	Economic Benefits of Children	73
4.4	Economic Costs of Children	79
4.5	Correlation Between Income of Parents and Cost of Children	85
4.6	Perception of Expected Job for Children	90
CHAPTER 5:	CONCLUSION	98
REFERENCES		102
APPENDICES		109

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1.1	Educational Characteristics of Respondents	13a
1.2	Number of Respondents whose Parents or Siblings had ever Worked or were still Working in the Estate	14
1.3	Number of Couples by Duration of Marriage	16
2.1	The Member of Family teaching Family Activities to the Children as stated by Male Respondents as the Head of Household	19
2.2	People Caring for the Baby while Respondents went to Work or did Housework	25
2.3	Number of Respondents' Children finishing School by Grade and Type of School	29
2.4	Reasons Respondents' Children finished School by Sex of Children	29
2.5	Family Activities assisted by Children as stated by Male Respondents	32
2.6	The Age at which Respondents' Children became engaged in Household Activities	33
2.7	People Expected to Care for Respondents in Old Age when They were no longer able to Work	34
2.8	Feeling of Respondents before Having a Child	35
3.1	Comparison between the Ideal Number of Children obtained from the Case Study and the Ideal Number of Children obtained from the Rural Sundanese VOC Survey	39
3.2	Number of Female Respondents by Age Group and Number of Children Still Living	40
3.3	Number of Female Respondents by Children Still Living and Ideal Number of Children	41
3.4	Number of Female Respondents by Age Group and Ideal Number of Children	42
3.5	Number of Male Respondents by Age Group and Ideal Number of Children	43

Table

3.6	Number of Female Respondents by Desired Number of Children (Children Still Living plus Additional Children) and Ideal Number of Children	44
3.7	Sex Composition of the Ideal Number of Children amongst Female and Male Respondents	46
3.8	Reason for stated Sex Preference by Sex Composition Selected	48
3.9	Reason for the Sex Preference of the First Children by Sex of Child	49
3.10	Number of Respondents stating Agree with Limiting the Number of Children by Reasons and Sex	52
3.11	Number of Female Respondents using Family Planning by Reasons and Dwelling Place	53
3.12	Course of Action to Have a Child after being Married for a long time by Sex of Respondents	57
3.13	Number of Respondents by Number of Children Still Living and Additional Children	59
3.14	Number of Respondents wishing Additional Children by Reasons and Sex	60
4.1	General Advantages of Having Many Children (Number of Respondents by Sex)	65
4.2	General Disadvantages of Having Many Children (Number of Respondents by Sex)	67
4.3	Economic Support expected from the Children	75
4.4	Average Cost of Bearing a Baby (As stated by the Wives) ..	82
4.5	Average Cost of Clothing for a Child in a Year (As stated by the Husbands as the Head of Household)	82
4.6	Average Cost for One Thanksgiving Ceremony for a Child (As stated by the Husbands as the Head of Household)	83
4.7	Average Cost for the Circumcision Ceremony for a Child (As stated by the Husbands as the Head of Household)	83
4.8	Average Cost for the Marriage Ceremony for a Child (As stated by the Husbands as the Head of Household)	84

Table

4.9	Correlation Between Income of Parents and Costs of Children (Pearson Correlation Coefficient)	87
4.10	Cost of Bearing a Child by Income of Parents (In Rp.)	88
4.11	Cost of Clothing for a Child in a Year by Income of Parents (In Rp.)	88
4.12	Cost of Thanksgiving Ceremony for a Child by Income of Parents (In Rp.)	89
4.13	Cost of Circumcision Ceremony for a Child by Income of Parents (In Rp.)	89
4.14	Cost of Marriage Ceremony for a Child by Income of Parents (In Rp.)	90
4.15	Reasons of Respondents for wanting Their Children to Work in the Estate	92
4.16	Reasons of Respondents for not wanting Their Children to Work in the Estate	92
4.17	Preferred Job for Daughters outside the Estate (Number of Respondents by Sex)	94
4.18	Preferred Job for Sons outside the Estate (Number of Respondents by Sex)	94

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

- 1 West Java Province 6
- 2 The Field Area (A Part of Desa Cibodas and Mekarjaya 8

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A case study on the value of children in the peasant family in a village in South Sulawesi (Saefullah, 1975) found that the attitude towards children in such a poor agricultural society was influenced by both socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions. From a very young age, children were taught how to cultivate the land and to do household activities for the benefit of their family. Children were also considered as a source of happiness, a stimulus of work, a binder of the husband-wife relationship, bearers of luck and a great present of God, while male children could continue the family name. In practice, the shortage of daily needs did not induce parents to stop having children and the preference for a big family was therefore understandable. These findings have stimulated this further study in another type of society, a community of agricultural labourers.

1.1 Studies of the Value of Children

The value of children in many discussions has been thought of in terms of the functions they serve or needs they fulfil for parents, but the discussions are laced with terminology. Espenshade (1977:4) mentions such terms as satisfactions, benefits, utilities, rewards, gains, gratifications, advantages and positive general values. So far this topic has caught the attention not only of demographers, but also of economists, psychologists and anthropologists. The conceptual approach of each, of course, could not be free from their own disciplines, but as Fawcett (1972:5) concluded, an underlying similarity can be discerned that children are viewed as functional for parents or for the socio-cultural system, but each discipline tends to emphasize different types of functions served by children. For example, Liebenstein (1957:161), emphasizing the economic side distinguishes three types of utility derived from the child: (1) as a productive agent, (2) as a consumption good and (3) as a potential source of security. On the other hand, based on their psychological perspective, Hoffman and Hoffman (1972:46-47) mention nine categories as basic values that are important in studies of the value of children: (1) Adult status and social identity, (2) Expansion of the self,

the tie to a larger entity and "immortality", (3) Morality, religion, altruism, the good of the group, norms regarding sexuality, impulsivity and virtue, (4) Primary group ties and affection, (5) Stimulation, novelty and fun, (6) Achievement, competence and creativity, (7) Power, influence and affectance, (8) Social comparison and competition, (9) Economic utility. Thus, evaluation of children can be seen from several points of view. In his Taxonomical Essay on the value of children, Berelson (1972:19-27) attempts to give an overall view by discussing briefly the motives for having children from the biological, cultural, political, economic, familial and personal points of view.

The viewpoints given so far tend to be general in nature, while, in fact, the value of children will depend upon the particular circumstances in a family or community. Caldwell's intergenerational wealth flows concept (1976:343) for example, mentions that children in the primitive and traditional societies do a great deal of work for or with their parents not only when young, but usually during adulthood as well; they accept responsibility for the care of parents in old age; they eventually bolster the family's political power and hence give it economic advantages; they ensure the survival of the lineage or family name and in many societies undertake the necessary religion services for the ancestors. Fawcett (1972:9) expresses the viewpoint that the satisfaction and costs of children should be studied in relation to the family building process and the life cycle. In this context he considers that psychological maturation of parents, their experience with first-born children and child rearing and changes in the family's social and economic circumstances all would be expected to affect perceptions and reality concerning the satisfactions and costs of children. Clausen and Clausen (1973:186), as an example, state that the mother with four children under the age of six and no help is likely to be extraordinarily hard pressed most of the time and perhaps overwhelmed when illness occurs, but a dozen years later she may be quite relaxed and pleased that the children are sufficiently grown up for her to feel comfortable about taking a part-time job. Nag (1972:64) accepts an argument saying that within any society, children of farming households are expected to be economically active at an earlier age than those of non-farming households. Nevertheless, the nature and organization of agricultural activities will vary across societies and this variation may influence the economic participation of children. The differences of geographical situation, manner, customs and way of life would also affect

the views and attitudes of the society to the role of children. Lee (1972:309) underlines the involvement of moral and ethical issues in the study of the value of children in Asian societies and proposes three important aspects of the oriental value system which have a bearing on the value of children: (1) orientation to the past, (2) emphasis on obedience of children to parents and (3) strong affective affiliation of parents with children.

There have been some previous studies on the value of children in Indonesian societies but each study had different scope and methodology. The White study of "Production and Reproduction in a Javanese Village", in Yogyakarta (1976:273 & 279) emphasizes the value of children as contributors in the household economy. Parents begin with asking or telling children to help with small tasks from the age of four years and their contribution increases rather rapidly between the ages of 6 and 20. This problem has also caught the attention of Sugito in his case study of a village in Central Java (1976:50) but there was a remarkable difference in the results found by those studies. Sugito (1976:56) found that the average number of daily hours of all work contributed by children was 0.29 hours for males and 0.42 hours for females whereas White (1976:288) found that the lowest average daily hours of all work done by children, 6-8 years, was 3.7 hours for males and 3.4 hours for females. The correlation between childrens' work and the type of the household economy was observed in Hull's study in Maguwoharjo, a village in Yogyakarta (1975:252). In the village studied the aspect of childrens' work was not very important as a whole because a large proportion of the population engage in non-farming activities, and because of the existence of many landless agricultural labourers who were willing to offer their services to anyone who demanded them. On the other hand, in a poor Buginese peasant society in South Sulawesi (Saefullah, 1975:41-42) children had to be exhorted to assist the family activities because cultivating and harvesting depended primarily on the participation of the members of the family. The Indonesian Value of Children (VOC) survey carried out among Javanese families in Central Java and Sundanese families in West Java, in 1975, to determine and measure the values and costs - economic, social and psychological - of children as perceived by parents in a variety of different cultures (Singarimbun, Darroch, Meyer, 1977:ii) is so far available only in the form of preliminary tabulations. Finally, based on observations during a survey on the scale and impact of population mobility in West Java, Hugo (1975:3) concluded that the Sundanese derive

considerable emotional pleasure from their children, value them greatly and the normative system of their society is supportive of high fertility. He also points out that children have important economic roles and value in Sundanese society.

The study of the value of children is relevant for designing population policies. Various authors proposed reasons as to why knowledge and information on the value of children is important in policy formulation. Hoffman and Hoffman (1973:20) suggest four basic reasons for studying the value of children to their parents, namely: (1) to affect motivations of fertility, (2) to anticipate compensations that might be necessary should a smaller family size be achieved, (3) to predict fertility motivations and (4) to consider the value of children as a possible influence on the parent-child relationship. Fawcett (1972:11) mentions three important implications of study of this topic: (1) for population policies, (2) for family planning communication programs and (3) for understanding and prediction of fertility behaviour. Due to the fact that more than 80 per cent of the Indonesian population are still involved in agricultural activities, it would be pertinent if value of children studies were carried out among peasant families spread over a large number of villages with a wide variety of ethnic groups. Any study should also take into account the sociological and anthropological background of the given society. An Indonesian anthropologist, Koentjaraningrat, proposed to the Seminar on the National Law and Population in Indonesia in 1975, that there was a need to study the value of children in Indonesian peasant families before introducing the idea of small family size.¹⁾

This study is a case study of the value of children among tea estate workers' families in a village of West Java to find out the impact of the socio-cultural setting in the general context of having children. The social character of this community is quite different to the peasant agricultural societies normally studied. Their socio-economic life depends primarily upon the work conditions and the situation in the estate and these will directly affect community life. As a consequence, the attitudes and behaviour of the members of the community cannot be free from the policy and rules made by the estate authority. Children are not expected to be engaged in cultivating as commonly happens in other agricultural societies, because most workers do not have any land to be cultivated and they even usually live in the house prepared by the estate.

1) The statement was also published in the daily newspaper, KOMPAS, Jakarta, 29 May 1975.

1.2 The Area of the Field Study

The province of West Java is divided into 20 regencies and 4 municipalities. Each regency consists of districts named "Kecamatan" and each district is divided into villages named "Desa". Desa is the lowest administrative unit and is headed by the "lurah" / "kepala desa" (the head of the village), who is directly elected by the people from among the influential persons in the desa concerned. At the 1971 Census, Cikajang was still a village among 149 villages in the Regency of Garut. However, since 23 July 1977, desa Cikajang has been divided into three villages: desa Cikajang, desa Mekarjaya and desa Cibodas, but these villages are still headed by one lurah. Desa Cibodas is the main area to be studied because 85 per cent of the estate workers of P.T. Perkebunan Cisaruni live in this area.

Desa Cibodas is situated at a distance of about 95 kilometers by road to the south-east of the city of Bandung, the capital of West Java, and about 28 kilometers by road to the south of the city of Garut, the capital of the regency. It is located about 1250 meters above sea level. Respondents were interviewed from 11 kampung (hamlet) among the 21 kampung in desa Cibodas, namely: Giriawas, Situayu, Legokgede(Bunisari), Ciparay, Jolok Tengah, Jolok Babakan, Jolok Cikuray, Cibeureum, Sukamanah, Ciroke and Ciparay. Four kampung from desa Mekarjaya: Ciarileu, Mangunreja, Sukasirna and Sukarasa were added because there were only eleven hamlets in Cibodas in which estate workers lived.

At the beginning of 1978 the registered population in Cibodas was 6,132 consisting of 3,014 males and 3,118 females. The proportion of population aged 0-14 was 46.1 per cent. Eighty per cent of the economically active population were directly involved in agricultural activities and 74 per cent of them were agricultural workers. A greater part of the land area in desa Cibodas consisted of forest (59.13 per cent) and estate (36.06 per cent), but a small part of the forest had been cultivated by the people under the control of the Forestry Department.

The village had 4 public primary schools, 2 Islamic primary schools (madrasah), 1 pesantren (special Islamic education) and a number of places where children learn the reading of the Qur'an and general Islamic education. Two public primary schools were situated in the estate area with the school buildings being provided by the estate. Although 60 per cent of the pupils in these schools were the estate workers' children, the school-fees paid by the estate workers' children and other children were the same. However,

Figure 1. WEST JAVA PROVINCE

the estate paid the school-fees for the estate workers' children in advance with subsequent deductions from the wage of the workers concerned. A junior high school was situated at the Capital of Kecamatan Cikajang, about 7 kilometers by road from the housing area of the estate. In this town, besides the public junior high school there was also a vocational religious school called Pendidikan Guru Agama (School for teachers of religion).

The government had built a polyclinic at the capital of Kecamatan Cikajang under the control of one doctor, one midwife and some nurses. Most estate workers' families, however, went to the estate clinic which was situated near the central office under the control of two nurses. A family planning clinic was available both at the public clinic and at the estate clinic. In some cases, the family planning field-worker had to be in contact with an informal leader in the kampung concerned due to the fact that informal leaders were still influential among the society. To avoid the problem of objection from informal leaders or relatives that persons were being forced to use methods of contraception, all family planning acceptors in the estate had to sign a statement made under the instruction of the estate administrator which showed that they had voluntarily agreed to use family planning.

The tea estate of "Perkebunan Cisaruni" is a fusion between the estates of "Cisaruni" and "Giriawas". Before Indonesian independence, Giriawas was known as the biggest estate in the regency of Garut producing tea and quinine. Giriawas which was set up in 1911 by the Dutch, occupied the greater part of agricultural land in desa Cikajang and had more than five thousand workers. During the period of 1942 - 1945 Giriawas was under the management of the Japanese authorities, in 1945 - 1948 it was under the management of the Indonesian and Dutch Governments in sequence. In the 1949 clash between the Dutch and the Indonesians, the offices, factories and housing of Giriawas were completely burned down. Today, the estate area has been much reduced by the return of some part of the land to the original owner before 1911.

The second estate was the tea estate of "Cisaruni" set up in 1829. This estate was originally situated in desa Cikandang, in the north-west part of Kecamatan Cikajang. The factory and a greater part of the buildings belonging to Cisaruni avoided being burnt down in the clash. After the clash, Cisaruni continued its production activity while Giriawas only sold raw-tea to Cisaruni.

Figure 2. THE FIELD AREA (A PART OF DESA CIBODAS AND MEKARJAYA)

The fusion between Giriawas and Cisaruni took place in 1960 taking the name of tea estate of Cisaruni. The central office and factory were located in Cisaruni and the division office was located in Giriawas. In 1963 - 1971 the estate of Cisaruni was under the control of the governmental management called "Perusahaan Perkebunan Negara (PPN) Aneka Tanaman XI". In 1971 - 1975 the organizational structure was changed and the estate of Cisaruni came under the management of "Perusahaan Negara Perkebunan XIII" (PNP XIII). In 1975, the government withdrew from the direct management of tea estates, and so since 1975 the tea estate of Cisaruni has been a private estate under the indirect control of the Department of Agriculture, called "Perusahaan Terbatas (P.T.) Perkebunan XIII - Perkebunan Cisaruni". After the setting up of new buildings, since 1971, the central office and factory have been located in the area of Giriawas.

The estate employed 1768 workers consisting of 836 men and 932 women, but the number of married couples among the workers was only 324 couples. The workers were divided into staff and field-workers and they were classified into daily workers, monthly workers and permanent staff. Daily workers were all field-workers both in the plantation and in the factory activities. Monthly workers consisted of clerks and field supervisors. Permanent staff were all people working in the office at higher levels than the clerks. The manager of the estate was called the Administrator and he was appointed by the top manager of "P.T. Perkebunan XIII". Facilities provided for workers included housing, a health clinic, a baby care centre, a mosque, a cooperative and a school-building. Two television sets were placed on two blocks of estate housing in Giriawas and Situayu. Rice and other daily needs were sold to the workers at normal (market) prices by the cooperative. About one-fourth of the workers, especially all permanent staff stayed in the estate housing. Since these people were involved in estate activity they were under the control of two authorities - the government authority and the estate authority. This situation had in some part been confusing for most workers and other people. At some community occasions, the estate authorities claimed to be higher in status than the village government itself.

Staff workers were appointed based on several conditions, such as education, experience and the skill required for the job to be done. The main condition for the field workers was the confidence of the estate that a worker was physically able to do the job concerned. The salary system in the estate was divided into daily workers' wages, monthly workers' wages,

staff salaries and social security. The lowest wage of field workers was Rp.8.520 (all inclusive) per month, whereas the salary of the staff ranged from the minimum of Rp.38,920 to the maximum of Rp.123,270 (not all inclusive) per month.

The estate population consisted of all workers, their families and dependents. There were 1,715 living children among 324 families. This means that the mean number of living children among the estate population was 5.29 per family. No data about other dependent people was available either in the desa-office or in the estate-office.

1.3 Methodology

Data for the present study were collected in two ways, a structured questionnaire and participant-observation. Separate questionnaires were administered to the wives and husbands respectively (see Appendix B).

The questionnaire for the wife consisted of 63 items divided into 6 major topics :

- 1) General information, such as age, birth place, religion, marriage history, parents, etc.
- 2) Education and occupation.
- 3) Information about children, such as number of living children, children dying, birth of children, looking after and caring for young children and detailed information for each child as described below.
- 4) Perception of economic benefits from children.
- 5) Psychological and general advantages and disadvantages of having children.
- 6) Family size, sex preference and family planning behaviour.

The detailed information on each child included name, sex, age, status (adopted, step child, own child), whether still living with parent, education, marriage and occupation of each child.

The questionnaire for husbands or heads of household (some heads were widowed females) consisted of 64 items divided also into 6 major topics :

- 1) General information.
- 2) Education and occupation.
- 3) Costs and activities of children.
- 4) Perception of the economic benefits from children.
- 5) Psychological and general advantages and disadvantages of having children.

6) Family size, sex preference and family planning.

The questionnaires for husbands and wives differed in two aspects : firstly, section 3 was totally different, and secondly, the question on family planning practice in section 6 was only asked of wives.

Some questions were structured in form while others were open-ended questions. There were 15 questions referring to the various costs of children, childrens' activities and the age at which the child began to join various family activities. The questionnaire was drawn up in Indonesian but before pre-testing each item had been discussed in its Sundanese version with the field assistants as most interviews had to be conducted in the Sundanese language. Interviews were conducted by 6 field assistants, 5 males and one female, who were familiar with the area of the survey; 2 interviewers were statistical officials, two were high school teachers and the two others, both of whom had previously been involved in surveys, were a student and a married woman. The interviewers went through three days of training in the use of the questionnaire, both in Indonesian and in Sundanese languages including one day of field-practice on at least two couples who had been selected before the training.

The respondents interviewed came from 166 households consisting of 147 wives, 148 husbands as the head of household and 18 widows who were interviewed both as mothers and as the head of the household. The data obtained from the widows has not been included with other female respondents so that a real comparison between wives and their husbands could be obtained. Up to the end of field work, one wife could not be located for interviewing. A limitation on the number of respondents was set by the period of time allowed by the authorities to conduct the study.

Respondents were taken from 15 kampung surrounding and within the area of the estate. To obtain an interview with the respondents outside the estate housing was not as easy as for those inside the estate housing. Firstly, the interviewer had to know the houses in which the estate workers lived. Secondly, the interviewer had to know when the worker is usually available in the house. Sometimes the head of the kampung or other people did not know precisely when the workers were free from their job, because there were some jobs which were divided into three shifts. The number of respondents in each kampung were 37 couples and one husband at Giriawas, 16 couples at Situayu, 18 couples at Legokgede, 10 couples at Ciparay, 6 couples at Jolok Ciparay, 6 couples at Jolok Tengah, 7 couples at Jolok Babakan, 6 couples at Jolok Cikuray, 6 couples at Cibeureum, 5 couples at

Sukamanah, 3 couples at Ciroke, 3 couples at Ciarileu, 8 couples at Mangunreja, 10 couples at Sukasirna and 15 couples at Sukarasa. The respondents at Giriawas and Situayu were those who stayed in the estate housing (see Figure 2).

Most interviews were conducted after the normal work-hours between 3.30 and 10.00 p.m., except on holidays and Sundays when interviewing was conducted for the whole day. Husbands and wives were always interviewed separately, sometimes simultaneously by different interviewers and sometimes on different occasions. The length of interviews ranged from about 30 minutes to two hours but most interviews were completed in about one hour. About 77 per cent of wives and 85 per cent of husbands were interviewed without any problem. Difficulty and confusion in answering some given questions was the main problem met by interviewers. Other problems were the disturbance of children, timidity, house activities and, rarely, the interference of husband or wife in answering of a question.

Analysis of the data is also complemented by information collected during field-work as participant-observer between 29 December 1977 and 11 February 1978. The observation began two weeks before interviewing by the field assistants. Information was collected from many people who were considered as key-persons, including, the head of each kampung, the religious leaders, the family planning workers, the estate nurse, the pensioners or retired estate workers, the primary school masters, the government officials, the estate administrator and other influential persons either in the kampung, desa or kecamatan. The second objective of observation was to gather information on estate workers' activities, general population activities, childrens' activities either inside or outside their houses, children-parent relationships and other daily activities. In these situations, care was taken to understand and interpret the various terms and sentences which had been used by respondents, so that these could be discussed with field-assistants before going on further interviews.

1.4 Some Characteristics of Respondents

The ages of wives interviewed ranged from the lowest of 16 years to the highest of 71 years and ages of husbands ranged from the lowest of 20 years to the highest of 79 years. Ninety-five per cent of respondents were aged under 55 years for the wives and 90 per cent for the husbands. For the total respondents, the mean ages of wives and husbands were 33 and 38 respectively. Three wives and 9 husbands aged above 60 years were still working because they were included in the status of daily workers.

While a worker was still in the status of daily worker, it was difficult for him to get pension facilities.

Educational attainment was slightly higher among the husbands than among the wives (Table 1.1). Wives who had been to high school were the wives of the staff : one of them was the primary school teacher. The husbands who had been to high school were the staff or field supervisors. The proportion with religious education was also slightly higher among the husbands than among the wives, but attainment of religious schooling does not fully identify a person's level of religious education because most basic religious education is not given in the classroom but is taught from generation to generation in the family and community. Religious education in this study includes several types of Islamic schools but does not include lessons in Qur'anic reading and general Islamic education that are usually taught in the mosques under the instruction of religious teachers¹⁾, or at home under the instruction of parents or other family members. In fact, most people going to school had received basic religious education from the age of four years. There were many cases of children going to school in the morning and to religious school at noon.

Almost all the respondents were born in the regency of Garut : none were born outside West Java. Since West Java is the homeland of the Sunda people and Garut is known as a pure Sundanese speaking area (Harsoyo, 1971:305), the respondents could be judged as descendants of the original Sundanese population. Seventy-five per cent of wives were born in the village in which the study was done, 23 per cent in other villages in the regency of Garut, 2 per cent in other villages in the province of West Java. For husbands these percentages were 73, 21 and 6 per cent respectively.

Among the 148 estate workers' families interviewed, there were 82 couples where both the husband and the wife worked in the estate. In other families, only the husband or the wife worked in the estate. With the percentages of 77 and 56 per cent respectively, the proportion of husbands working in the estate was higher than for the wives. There were two husbands who had pensions from the estate and one husband who did not have

1) There are several names for the religious teachers. The highest one is called "mu'alim", the general name is "ajengan" or "kyai", and the lowest one who is still under the supervision of ajengan or kyai is called "santri". The santri, actually, is a term for the person who is joining the pesantren education. Among the community the religious teacher has other functions as the religious leader.

TABLE 1.1

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Type and Grade of School	Number of Respondents	
	Wives	Husbands
<u>General Education:</u>		
1. Never been to school	33	14
2. First grade of primary school	7	6
3. Second grade of primary school	27	23
4. Third grade of primary school	24	29
5. Fourth grade of primary school	14	18
6. Fifth grade of primary school	11	16
7. Completed primary school	21	29
8. First grade of junior high school	2	1
9. Second grade of junior high school	3	4
10. Completed junior high school	2	4
11. Second grade of senior high school	1	-
12. Completed senior high school	2	2
13. Higher than senior high school	-	2
	147	148
<u>Religious Education:</u>		
1. Never been to religious school	45	25
2. Less than one year study	-	1
3. 1 - 3 years study	65	75
4. 4 - 6 years study	19	30
5. 7 - 9 years study	11	6
6. 10 - 12 years study	7	10
7. More than 12 years study	-	1
	147	148

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q13 and Q14)

a definite job. Twenty-seven per cent of wives considered themselves as not having a main job. These wives consisted of seasonal workers, those assisting their husbands in the effort to supplement low wages and housewives or retired persons.

For a majority of those interviewed, the parents of the respondent had worked or were still working in the tea estate of "Perkebunan Cisaruni" or "Perkebunan Giriawas" while for about 50 per cent of the respondents, their brothers or sisters had worked or were still working in the estate (Table 1.2). These facts show us that estate-working is hereditary for most estate workers. A vacancy for any field-work was opened to anyone

TABLE 1.2

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHOSE PARENTS OR SIBLINGS
HAD EVER WORKED OR WERE STILL WORKING IN THE ESTATE

Parents / Siblings	Number of Respondents	
	Wives	Husbands
<u>Parents :</u>		
1. Father	31	38
2. Mother	15	7
3. Both Parents	34	39
4. None	65	62
5. Do not know	2	2
	147	148
<u>Siblings :</u>		
1. Elder brother / sister	19	28
2. Younger brother / sister	26	19
3. Elder and younger brother / sister	27	27
4. None	75	74
	147	148

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q21 and Q22).

interested but generally a member of an estate worker family had first chance to fill the vacancy because the information was known first among the workers themselves. An estate worker's child or an estate worker's relative would join the field-workers as long as the field-supervisor approved of it. When a vacancy became available in that field, the child would be first to be chosen with the recommendation of the supervisor. There were also some cases where a daily worker resigning from the job was directly replaced by his/her child who had been known by the supervisor.

For the total respondents 29 per cent of wives and 34 per cent of husbands had been married more than once. The number of times married ranged from once to four times among the wives and once to five times among the husbands. The mean age at first marriage for wives was 16 years with the youngest at 11 years and the oldest at 22 years. Ninety-one per cent of wives married for the first time in the age group of 11-19 years. The mean age at first marriage for husbands was 21 years, ranging from the lowest of 15 years to the highest of 31 years with 91 per cent of them marrying in the age group of 15-24 years. Most respondents considered that their first marriage had been their own choice. The proportion of first marriages considered to be the choice of the parents was 15 per cent for the wives and 2 per cent for the husbands. Table 1.3 shows us that the two highest duration of marriage groups were duration 2-5 years and 6-10 years with percentages of 23 and 18 per cent respectively.

During the year before the time of interviewing, 47 per cent of wives and 70 per cent of husbands had been working for the full year. The reasons why wives did not work for a full year were, 27 per cent because of pregnancy or a small baby, 48 per cent went on leave, 11 per cent were new workers while 14 per cent stated the reason that they had no job. A leave for two weeks with full wages was given to every worker who had been working for at least 6 years.

A greater part of respondents had their own parents alive. The percentages with their mother only, father only and both parents still living were 24, 10 and 38 per cent respectively among the wives, and 24, 5 and 36 per cent respectively among the husbands. There were 8 couples who lived together with their parents or their parents in law.

The respondents had two different types of dwelling place : those who were staying in the estate housing and those who were staying in their own house. Among the respondents, 54 couples were staying in the estate

housing and the remainder were staying in their own houses. "Own house" is defined as a house belonging to either the respondents themselves or to their parents. Estate housing consisted of field-worker housing, field-supervisor housing, staff housing and a special house that was occupied by the administrator.

TABLE 1.3

NUMBER OF COUPLES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE

Duration of Marriage	Number	Percentage
0 - 1	3	2.1
2 - 5	34	23.1
6 - 10	26	17.7
11 - 15	21	14.3
16 - 20	20	13.6
21 - 25	16	10.9
26 - 30	16	10.9
31 - 35	8	5.4
36 - 40	1	0.7
41 +	2	1.4
	147	100.0

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q6).

CHAPTER 2

CHILDREN AND THEIR SOCIALIZATION IN SUNDANESE CULTURE

The value of children is not only the perception of individual parents, but it is also a product of the process of socialization, that is, the transmission to an individual of the basic knowledge of a society which allows him to employ his skills intelligently in a given situation. Through socialization, individuals personalize or inculcate the skills, knowledge, and values of their society into their own self-conceptions (Lawry and Rankin, 1969:78). By observing the process of socialization in Cibodas - Cikajang, it can be seen how the conditions of the society affect on one hand the way in which parents value their children and on the other hand, the function of children in the family life. This chapter examines some aspects involved in the process of socialization, such as, the role of the family, facilities in rearing children, the influence of education and religion, and the function of children in family life.

2.1 The Role of the Family

Generally a nuclear family in Cibodas - Cikajang exclusively occupies a single house although there are several cases of related families living together in one house. Before they have their own house, a young couple lives together with the parents of the wife but a new family will usually set up their own house as soon as possible. Most of the respondents observed during field-work had set up their house with support of both the husband's and the wife's parents; some of them had been supported by their relatives. The extended family was not very clearly delineated. There was a tendency for respondents to claim most people in the village as their relatives except some respondents who lived in the estate housing. This evidence is similar to Koentjaraningrat's observation (1967:262) that a Javanese peasant very rarely knows about kinsmen of his grandfather's generation and even sometimes only a little about those of his father's generation. A nuclear family did not always consist only of father, mother and their own children; there were many families which included other relatives, such as younger brother, younger sister, the children of relatives or other children who had been adopted.

Sundanese tradition and customs as mentioned by Palmer (1967), Harsojo (1971) and Surjadi (1974) are still prominent in a greater part of the society particularly the practice of several life-cycle ceremonies. During pregnancy there are at least three ceremonies, at five months, at seven months and at nine months. Other childhood ceremonies are at the day when a baby is revealed, at the time of the dropping of the umbilical cord, at forty days after birth, and at the first hair-cut of the baby. Based on Islamic tradition, between the day of revealing and the time of the dropping of the umbilical cord, the special ceremony, Marhaba¹⁾, is held every evening. These ceremonies only involve relatives and close neighbours but most ceremonies are completed with a big-meal for the participants. Two important ceremonies in connection with the life-cycle are the "sunnat" (circumcision) ceremony and the marriage ceremony. The costs of performing ceremonies are sometimes supported by relatives, parents or other people. It is common that people fall into debt after performing a ceremony.

A marriage is a source of pride for the family and it is thought to be a blessing given by Allah. Therefore, marriage is generally performed with a special ceremony attended by the members of family, relatives and neighbours. The marriage ceremony among high status families is celebrated with various forms of entertainment for which as many neighbours and acquaintances as possible are invited with the ceremony continuing for more than one day. Although a hundred per cent of the population were adherents of Islam, the early age at marriage is more affected by traditional manners and customs (adat) rather than by religious doctrine. Most parents would feel ashamed if their daughters had not been married by the age of 17 years. Never married women and never married men not marrying early are judged as "perawan jomlo" (old maid) and "belum baligh" (has not grown up yet) respectively. Social prestige of people was influenced somewhat by social strata, religious orientation, education and marital status.

1) The term "Marhaba" or "Marhabaan" is given to the traditional religious ceremony which is usually held after the time of revealing and other ceremonies that are connected with the baby. The main ritual of marhaba is to read the history of the Prophet Muhammad.

The basic unit of family or household was called "kuren"¹⁾ and a new married couple was said to be "kurenan" (has their own household). The head of the household was the husband or the mother in cases where the husband had died or divorce had occurred. The husband and the wife worked together for the maintenance of the family. Cultivating, cutting grass, collecting fire-wood or feeding cattle were done either by the husband or by the wife. However, children, both daughters and sons, were commonly involved in doing housework and helping with other household activities which were done by their parents. They were taught to do these tasks by either their mother, their father or both parents (Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1

THE MEMBER OF FAMILY TEACHING FAMILY ACTIVITIES TO THE CHILDREN
AS STATED BY MALE RESPONDENTS AS THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

The Member of Family	Number of Respondents	
	Response for Daughter	Response for S o n
1. Mother	45	29
2. Father	2	19
3. Mother and Father	63	60
4. Grandparents or other members of the family	-	1
5. No children, no son or no daughter	38	39
	148	148

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q41/H).

Some of the family activities that were taught by the mother were, housework and caring for younger children. Most family activities outside the house, such as cultivating and collecting fire-wood, were taught by the father, whereas cutting grass was usually taught either by

¹⁾ The term, "kuren" is also known in Balinese society as a household or kitchen (Koentjaraningrat, 1974:104).

the father or by the mother. As Palmer (1967:315) observed in the Sundanese village of Situraja, the nuclear family is the unit of the budget, the unit of most decisions about consumption, savings and investment, and the unit of production. Other decisions among the estate workers' families were based on compromise between the nuclear family and other members of the extended family. In some decisions, the extended family had more authority than the nuclear family, for example, the role of grandparents in arranging important ceremonies such as marriages and circumcisions, the role of parents in the way of life of their married children, and the role of married children in education of their younger brothers or sisters.

Many young couples in Cikajang were still influenced by their parents, especially if they lived together or their houses were situated in the same kampung. Many cases of divorce were observed which were decided by the parents or had been caused by the interference of parents in the household business of the couple concerned. When a baby was born the grandfather had first priority to give the baby a name or to decide which was the best name from among all names proposed by both the husband and the wife. To get a good baby's name, it was also common to ask the religious leader during the ceremony of "marhaba". Most people believed that the name given to a baby had a bearing on the baby's success in life and death and that the name would influence the character of the child. The sickness of a baby or a child was often considered to be connected with the name given at birth. If a religious leader or another person who was expected to know the solution to the problem said that the sickness of the child was because of an unsuitable name, then the name would be changed and be completed with a small thanksgiving ceremony.

After learning how to walk, to eat and to know the family members, from the age of about two years a child is gradually trained to learn the norms and values of the family with a minimum application of punishment such as admonishment or a little corporal punishment. Another common method of inculcation and discipline, frequently found among peasant societies (Koentjaraningrat, 1967:254), was the threatening of the child with external sanctioning agents, such as ghosts, evil spirits, bogeymen or strangers. As a result, most children were shy, nervous and afraid of strangers and, on the humorous side, most little children in the estate-housing were afraid of the estate leader personally. Younger children were likely to be petted and appeased by their mother rather than by their

father. It was a common sight to see a mother doing housework, collecting fire-wood, cultivating the yard or other jobs while carrying a little child in her sarong (samping or selendang: Sundanese). Twenty-one per cent of respondents stated that they carried their babies while doing their housework (See Table 2.2). The mother was the first to be blamed by the father for the mistakes of children. Fifty-seven per cent of female respondents who had living children stated that their work had not been disturbed by babies who were being suckled. Interviewers reported that most respondents who stated that their work had been disturbed by their babies added the words "kadang-kadang" or "sekali-kali" (sometimes or occasionally).

Married children, especially elder children, often represented their parents in solving problems for their younger sisters or brothers. A parent who found it boring to teach a younger child, would ask his married child to teach him or even to give suitable punishment. Frequently a married child takes the younger brother or sister to stay for some days in his house. Some parents staying in the estate-housing told me that they sometimes asked the estate officials to advise them on child rearing and this situation had been used as a reason for the estate to suggest that estate workers' families join the family planning program.

Social contact between boys and girls was restricted after they had reached puberty, and to a greater extent if they had been judged to be baligh (grown up). Parents taught their children the norms of social contact but this did not necessarily involve the imparting of sexual knowledge. They avoid mentioning matters of sexual significance in the presence of their children. Sexual knowledge is generally obtained through indirect observation, the overhearing of adult conversation or the imparting of information by grandparents. Prior to the marriage ceremony, a girl is almost secretly taught by her mother how to service her husband whereas the arrangement of housework and other household activities had been taught since she began assisting her parents' work. Boys and girls who worked together in the estate had the opportunity to meet in the plantation and on other occasions related to their work. Some respondents stated that their marriage had been based on their own choice but this does not mean that couples could arrange their marriage by themselves. Most parents interviewed said that the marriage of their children, particularly their first marriage, was an agreement decided by both sets of parents of the couple. It is impossible for a girl to get married without

the permission of her father or her wali (person responsible for a girl in the absence of her father) because only her father or wali has the right to state the validity of their marriage. A boy could not be accepted by the girl's parents if he proposed to marry her without the permission of his father or the representative of his father because the formal offer of marriage must be made through his father.

2.2 Facilities in Bearing and Caring for Children

The study did not include questions related to the respondents' impression of and attitudes towards children but on the basis of 41 informal short interviews with mothers among field worker families having various numbers of living children, none said that child-bearing was a heavy burden when compared with the benefits they received. Because children were regarded as a great gift from God, bearing a child was considered as a kind of sacrificial duty that had to be borne by any married woman. People believe that if a mother died when she was bearing a baby, she would die as a martyr and her spirit would go to heaven. They were not concerned about the costs of child bearing because they could ask any paraji (traditional midwife) to help them voluntarily at any time. They were aware that the bidan (trained midwife) was available in the capital of Kecamatan Cikajang and they may have sought assistance from the bidan but for certain difficulties and reservations. Firstly, they felt ashamed if they had to seek assistance from a trained midwife at any time outside of her working-hours. The midwife was viewed as a person included in the high status group in Cikajang, and most people were reluctant to see her without some form of introduction. Secondly, they knew that a trained midwife was only available in the clinic during working-hours. To get treatment from the clinic they had to wait for some hours; there were even some experiences where treatment was obtained only after waiting for almost one day. Thirdly, if they would like to be helped by the trained midwife, they had to report to her throughout the pregnancy. Finally, they said that the costs of child bearing with the help of the trained midwife had to be paid on the basis of a fixed fee and had to be paid promptly.

The preferences of respondents in obtaining help to bear their babies was shown in their response to a question about people who helped during the birth. Almost 90 per cent of female respondents who had living children had borne their babies with the help of a traditional midwife. Slightly less than 10 per cent of them had ever been helped by both a

traditional midwife and a trained midwife at different births of their children. The only respondent who had never been assisted by a traditional midwife was the wife of the head of a division who had completed senior high school and whose husband was a graduate from an academy. The income of this family was more than Rp.100,000 per month, not all inclusive, the highest income among respondents in this study.

Based on questions concerning the responsibility for the costs of child-bearing, 92 per cent of respondents had covered the costs of child-bearing with their own funds. The estate did not give a fixed maternity allowance. A married woman who had a baby was given an amount of money to compensate for wages not paid during her absence of three months. The money commonly given some days after the birth called "uang pengganti paraji" (allowance to subsidise of a traditional midwife) was not sufficient to cover the expenses because the amount of money given was in accordance with the common-fee paid to a traditional midwife without taking into account the other expenses. The only married woman who was paid full wages during three months was a worker who had already worked for 6 years.

Most of the traditional midwives were illiterate, but they were respected by the people in the village. They worked as a peasant or a lower worker, and assisting in childbirth was not their principal source of income. They did not have fixed fees. As was also evident in another village of West Java (Lubis, Neihof, Amal, 1974:69), traditional midwives were trained by their parents or other relatives of their extended family, such as their aunt or grandmother. Some of the traditional midwives in Cibodas had even received special training in modern medical treatment usually performed by trained midwife. Besides helping to deliver babies, they were used for massage and the treatment of some diseases, particularly the complications of childbirth by using herbs, sometimes in conjunction with incantations. Traditional midwives in Cibodas were followers of Islam practising the five obligatory Moslem prayers.

Male respondents were asked the number of thanksgiving ceremonies for a child which they had performed from the time that their wife became pregnant, excluding the circumcision ceremony and the marriage ceremony. The mean number of ceremonies conducted by respondents for a child was 4 ranging from twice to 7 times and the average cost of ceremony ranged from less than Rp.5,000 to Rp.25,000. When they were asked about which people supported the expense of ceremonies, only 22 respondents answered more than one source. About 73 per cent of respondents had to cover the costs of

ceremonies with their own funds, 25 per cent with the support of parents or relatives and the remainder with the support of other people, the estate or the local community. This means that the capability for performing ceremonies did not depend only on the prosperity of the nuclear family. As Palmer (1967:315) said, the ceremony was based on the desire of the nuclear family unit but in practice it was performed with the support of other families. Each nuclear family gave an amount of money, rice or other goods to a family performing a ceremony. The gift was not compulsory but people would be ashamed to join the ceremony without giving a gift and even when they were not able to come, they sent their gifts through other people.

The performance of ceremonies could be divided into two categories : the ceremonies that are usually performed by the family and the ceremonies that are also performed by other people who do not have family relationship. The ceremonies for a child during pregnancy until the ceremony at the time of the dropping of the umbilical cord were only performed by the nuclear family concerned or by their parents. It was common in Cikajang for a young mother to go to her parents home to bear her baby and return home forty days after the childbearing, in which case the ceremonies were performed by her parents. The marriage ceremony in particular was performed by the parents, but in some cases was also performed by elder married children or other relatives such as the uncle or aunt. The only ceremony that is usually arranged by either the family concerned or by other people is the circumcision ceremony. The estate or community usually holds the circumcision ceremony, called "sunnat massal",¹⁾ on certain important holidays, either religious holidays or public holidays. The children circumcised in this ceremony were the children of the families who were classified as being poor. Some years ago, those children would be asked by some prominent persons in the village to be circumcised together with their children. In some villages, circumcisions used to be organized by the religious leaders or the committee of the mosque.

Child care as seen in Table 2.2 was not only provided by the nuclear family but also by members of the extended family and neighbours.

1) The term, "sunnat massal", is used to show the circumcision is performed for many children. This ceremony is usually conducted by offices or institutes at one session on historical or religious ceremonies such as the independence ceremony, the 'Idul Adha ceremony, the anniversary ceremony, etc.

TABLE 2.2

PEOPLE CARING FOR THE BABY WHILE RESPONDENTS
WENT TO WORK OR DID HOUSEWORK

People Caring for the Baby	Female Respondents	
	When Going to Work	When Doing Housework
1. Elder Children	60	62
2. Parents	35	21
3. Estate Baby Caring	6	-
4. Sister / Brother	13	4
5. Other Relatives	2	1
6. Household servant	3	3
7. Neighbour / neighbour's children	8	1
8. Carried by Respondent	3	28
9. Husband	-	14
10. Put on a baby bed	-	1
	130	135

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q36/W and Q37/W)

It seems that caring and watching the baby is not a big problem for the estate workers' families. If a family did not have an elder child or the elder children went to school, their baby could be cared for by their parents or other members of the extended family such as the respondent's brother or sister. If there was no member of the extended family who could give help at a given time because they lived in different villages, a neighbour who did not have a job at the time could help the family. The other common source of help to care for a baby or young children was from neighbouring children who did not go to school or were free from their other jobs at certain times. All this assistance was given as a part of social or familial solidarity without hoping for any compensation. It was rather ironic that the child care centre provided by the estate was used by only 6 respondents. People did not like sending their babies to

the baby care centre because the facilities needed for feeding the babies had to be prepared by the family concerned. Respondents who sent their babies to the baby care centre were respondents whose houses were close to the centre and they did not have time to ask other people. Among 28 respondents who said that they carried their baby while doing housework, 11 respondents considered that their babies disturbed their housework while the remainder considered that their babies did not disturb them. Forty-six per cent of respondents whose babies were watched by their husband or elder children and 35 per cent of respondents whose babies were watched by parents or other members of the extended family, still considered that their babies disturbed their housework. This means that there is no significant correlation between the facilities for child care and disruption from the baby while doing housework. Over all, we could see one important point; that the facilities for caring and watching children among estate workers' families were not difficult to obtain.

2.3 The Influence of Education and Religion

Child socialization among the estate workers' families did not differ substantially from other groups. They met together at school, at the mosque when they were learning Qur'anic reading, in the garden when they were cutting the grass or collecting firewood and on other occasions when they were playing together or when they were watching television. The difference in their behaviour lay specifically with family education about norms relating to contact or association with other people. Interviewers did not ask about the religious education of children but in mosques in all the kampungs studied, the number of children learning Qur'anic reading was not as high as those who went to school. Each kampung had at least one mosque in which about 50 children learned Qur'anic reading and basic religious education, with the exception of the mosques in kampung Legokgedede, Jolok Babakan and Situayu outside the estate area where the number of children attending was more than 50. There were 693 pupils registered at the beginning of 1978 in the two primary schools that were situated in the estate area, consisting of 342 males and 351 females. Among the 201 children attending Qur'anic reading in the mosques in kampung Legokgedede, Jolok Babakan and Situayu at the end of January 1978, only 93 children also went to school. The ages of children attending Qur'anic reading were between 4 and 15 years whereas the minimum age of a child going to school was 6 years.

About ten years ago, children were only allowed to play outside until the time of maghrib (the Islamic prayer time at dusk). Most parents firmly believed in punishing their children who did not attend Qur'anic reading. When the children heard the sound of bedug or kohkol and azan¹⁾, they stopped playing and went to the mosque; some of them went to feed cattle before going to the mosque. The Qur'anic learning began after performance of the prayer of maghrib and ended when the prayer of Isha was performed, that is between 6 and 7.30 p.m. For younger children it was also conducted in some kampung at noon between 4 and 6 p.m. Religious songs or other songs were sung by children while they were collecting firewood or grass.

By the time this field study was done, the situation had changed, especially in the kampung close to the estate area. Children had the chance to watch television programs in two blocks of the estate housing every evening. Some of them went to watch it after learning Qur'anic reading and they were even accompanied by their parents; some others went without going to the mosque. Some parents still firmly believed in punishing their children who did not go to learn Qur'anic reading and some others just accepted the fact that their children went to watch television without going to the mosque. In fact, television programs in some part had changed the childrens' behaviour as well as that of the parents who often watched it. Religious songs were generally not heard in the yards, gardens or other places in which children played because it had been replaced by discussions of a program that they had watched on television the previous night or by the acting of a given story. They did not wake as early as they had done before the advent of television. The head of the primary school said that he often found pupils dozing off in the class-room.

The number of children who had ever been or were still going to school constituted 61 per cent of all living children as stated by female respondents. However, 88 per cent of children who did not go to school were

1) Bedug, is a kind of big drum hung outside or inside part of the mosque, as an instrument to be beaten for calling people when the time of prayer is coming. Kohkol, is also an instrument that has the same function as bedug but it is made from wood. Bedug and kohkol are beaten before performing azan. Azan, is an original religious instruction to call people for performing prayer. There are some mosques in Cibodas, including the estate mosque, which do not use bedug and kohkol anymore but they use a loud speaker system when azan is being performed.

considered by respondents as under the age and 3 per cent had not yet obtained a place in the school. The children considered under the age were the children who had not reached the age of 7 years when the interview was done although in fact, there were many children who were going to school before the age of 7 years. The increase of children going to school was also due to the availability of schooling in the estate, because there were some parents who did not like taking the risk of their children going to school a long distance from their house. In 1950, for example, there were only about ten children going to school from the kampungs that were included in the study. Those children were the children of the highest status families in the kampung or the higher employees in the estate of Giriawas; some of them came from the family of retired lurah (the head of the village/desa) of Cikajang in the period of the Dutch occupation. Among other factors affecting education in that time, the parents were still influenced by the colonial thinking that sending children to public school was meant to indirectly assist the colonizer and it was even said that the higher the level of education, the closer to hell. Most reasons given for children leaving school were financial and related to the economic condition of the family. The cost of schooling was not only the school-fee that had to be paid every month but there were irregular costs such as the regulation of pramuka (boy/girl scout) uniform that had to be worn on particular school occasions. This reason confirmed the statement that one of several items considered expensive by respondents was school expenses. Some children had to assist their parents' work or to begin their own work for the benefit of the family. The reason, "children did not like going to school anymore", reflects the respondent's own attitudes towards school. They did not give any motivation to their children to attend school because of lack of understanding. As seen in Table 2.4 this reason was the second highest proportion after financial reasons.

Table 2.3 shows us that the greater part of children among estate workers' families finished their schooling before the fifth grade of primary school. Completing primary school after finishing the sixth grade was the common target but in fact, the proportion achieving this aim was only about 18 per cent. One child had been to junior high school but did not finish. In addition, eight children were still going to junior high school (Appendix A.1). They were children of the field supervisor and staff of the estate.

TABLE 2.3

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN FINISHING SCHOOL
BY GRADE AND TYPE OF SCHOOL

Grade and Type of School	Number	Percentage
Grade 1 - 2, primary school	50	29.4
Grade 3 - 4, primary school	83	48.8
Grade 5, primary school	5	2.9
Completed primary school	31	18.2
Grade 1 - 2, junior high school	1	0.7
	170	100.0

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q29/W)

TABLE 2.4

REASONS RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN FINISHED SCHOOL BY SEX OF CHILDREN

R e a s o n s	Number of Children		
	S o n	Daughter	Both
1. Financial reasons	50	35	85
2. Marriage	-	6	6
3. Sickness	4	9	13
4. Obtained work	7	3	10
5. To assist parents' work	3	6	9
6. Taken away by elder brother/sister	1	1	2
7. Taken away by grandparent	1	-	1
8. Moved to <u>pesantren</u> school	2	1	3
9. Child did not like going to school anymore	17	24	41
	85	85	170

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q29/W)

To sum up the influence of education and religion on child socialization among estate workers' families, it seems that school and religious education were no longer the dominant factors. Religious education tends to be less rigid among children in the estate areas compared with those in other areas. Television programs that are watched for several hours every evening seem to be a more frequent source of information for children. On the other hand, television could also influence parents attitudes towards their children. Religious education has declined and the public schools have been receiving better facilities, except for families living in kampungs with strong religious leaders such as the three kampungs mentioned above. Youth in those kampungs were regarded as having a more critical religious approach than the youth in other kampungs.

2.4 The Function of Children in Family Life

Children were involved in almost all daily activities of the nuclear family. They had at least two tasks to perform at particular times from their mother and father, and if they lived in a big family, they would have some tasks from an elder brother or sister. The involvement of children in family activities could influence on one hand the progress of child socialization and on the other hand, the view of their parents in evaluating children in family life. In a broad sense, children's activities were of the type generally found in agricultural societies where children are considered as participants in the productive and service activities of the household (Nag, 1972:58). From a detailed observation of daily activities and questions about family activities in which children assisted, questions about care for old aged persons and some attitudes regarding children, the functions of children could be classified into economic, social and psychological functions. Social and psychological functions are functions having no economic value, but are perceived by parents as satisfying their psychic and family needs.

To obtain information about children's activities, respondents were given the opportunity to answer up to three kinds of economic activities that are usually done either by a daughter or by a son. The questions were only asked of male respondents or husbands as the heads of households. One activity was given by almost all respondents, a second activity was given by about 42 per cent and less than 10 per cent gave a third response. The majority of respondents stated that the function of both a daughter

and a son in household activities was about the same. The difference lay in the selectivity of tasks carried out by children. The main task of a daughter was housework and in the second response "caring for little children". Besides cutting grass and collecting fire-wood, household chores were also included in the higher proportion of activities among male children but was not as high as among female children. It can be seen that the second response for a son still indicated that a higher proportion of male children were involved in collecting fire-wood and cutting grass. The proportion of male children who were given the task of caring for little children was very small compared with female children. There were many cases which indicated that female children carried out their task of caring for small children more carefully than did the male children. Female children were also more able to care for the little children while doing other activities, such as going to the warung (a kind of food-stall) or sweeping while carrying a little child in her sarong; on the other hand, male children were more likely to punish little children in imitation of their parents.

The age at which children began to be engaged in some kind of family or household activity ranged from a low of 3 years for both sexes to a high of 10 years for a daughter and 11 years for a son; the highest number of responses were between the ages of 4 and 7 years (Table 2.6), with the mean age of 5.7 for a daughter and 6.4 for a son. This question was asked in respect of all activities including simple tasks that are sometimes given to young children such as handing some small object to the parent which could be done by a 2-3 year old child. One of the few detailed studies of the economic role of children in rural Java has been made by White (1975:136) and it seems that the work patterns he observed among children in a Javanese village were not much different from those in the estate workers' families. He found that children can be involved in productive work from the age of 5. This evidence is similar to what Hugo (1975:4) observed in other Sundanese villages, that the child began to contribute to the income of the household from the age of 5 years. Hugo's observation also reveals that one of the important functions of children in Sundanese villages is to care for younger children and that girls assist with housework tasks such as washing, cooking and clearing from a very early age. In peasant household families with their own sawah or land of the type that was observed in a Bugis village in South Sulawesi (Saefullah, 1975) as well as those observed by White (1975) and Hugo (1975),

TABLE 2.5

FAMILY ACTIVITIES ASSISTED BY CHILDREN
AS STATED BY MALE RESPONDENTS

Activities	D a u g h t e r			S o n		
	First Activity	Second Activity	Third Activity	First Activity	Second Activity	Third Activity
1. Housework (cooking, going to stall/ shopping, washing up, sweeping, etc.)	85	6	-	25	6	3
2. Cutting grass	-	5	1	32	20	-
3. Collecting fire-wood	-	8	21	21	22	4
4. Cultivating	1	2	1	3	2	3
5. Caring for little children	6	40	5	4	12	1
6. Child is still baby	25	-	-	31	-	-
7. Watching stall (<u>warung</u>)	-	2	-	-	-	1
8. No daughter / no son	23	-	-	28	-	-
9. No response	8	-	-	4	-	-
	148	63	7	148	62	12

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q40/H)

elder children were engaged in the cultivating and weeding of land. From my observation of the estate workers' families, cutting grass and collecting fire-wood were the tasks that are usually done by elder children from the age of at least 8 years. Fire-wood was collected not only for domestic consumption but also for sale to the market in the capital of Kecamatan Cikajang or to people met on the way to the market. Cutting or collection

of grass was done by children to feed either their own animals or the animals of neighbours. The economic function of children and its close relationship with the economic perceptions of parents will be discussed in another chapter.

TABLE 2.6

THE AGE AT WHICH RESPONDENT'S CHILDREN BECAME ENGAGED
IN HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

Age of Children in Years	Daughter	Son
3	7	5
4	17	11
5	32	20
6	10	14
7	25	26
8	6	10
9	3	6
10	2	7
11	-	1
No response, no daughter or no son	46	48
	148	148

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q42/H).

Social and psychological functions of children would not directly influence child socialization because those functions were determined by the perception and feelings of the parents. These perceptions and feelings are modified by socio-cultural change to influence the attitude of parents towards child rearing. The product of this process would be transmitted to the children individually as basic knowledge about the norms and the value of family and society which would determine appropriate codes of behaviour in particular situations. Lowry and Rankin (1969:79) mention three important aspects of socialization : (1) socialization is a continuing process in society both collectively and individually, (2) it may vary from one group to the next in degree and form, and (3) some situations call for processes of desocialization or resocialization. The parents

perception of their children would ultimately determine desired behavioural norms for the child within family life.

The functions of children as progeny to continue the family and children as a source of good fortune were classified as social functions because these aspects were related to values within social life. Caring for parents in old age, classified by Liebestein (1957:161) as one of the economic advantages of children, is also connected with some social aspects. If a society had the tradition of caring for parents in old age, the society would disapprove of children who did not care for their parents. There were some cases concerning families in Cibodas who were a subject of criticism in the village because they let their parents live alone in poor conditions even though the villagers knew that the parents concerned did not like staying with their children.

It can be seen in Table 2.7 that 92 per cent of female respondents and 95 per cent of male respondents expected their children to care for them in old age. The majority of respondents did not give a preference for either daughter or son, but if they were not given the alternative of

TABLE 2.7
PEOPLE EXPECTED TO CARE FOR RESPONDENTS IN OLD AGE WHEN
THEY WERE NO LONGER ABLE TO WORK

People Expected	Number of Respondents	
	Female	Male
1. Herself/himself	10	6
2. Daughter	25	26
3. Son	12	11
4. Daughter or son	98	104
5. Younger brother/sister	1	-
6. Step children	1	1
	147	148

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q42/W and Q47/H)

"daughter or son", there would be a tendency to answer "daughter" rather than "son". This situation was similar to the local custom where the young married couple formerly lived in the wife's parents house before

having their own home.

The frequency of the response, "afraid of not having a descendant", shown in Table 2.8 indicates that one of the several functions of children was to continue the family. The value attached to the family can be seen from a Sundanese proverb, influenced by religious tradition, stating that a person should choose a partner in life from "keturunan yang baik" (a family who have a good ancestry). Continuance of the family as one of the reasons for having children was given in a high proportion of responses in the VOC survey (Singarimbun, Darroch and Meyer, (1977:27-34), especially among Sundanese respondents both in urban and rural areas.

TABLE 2.8
FEELING OF RESPONDENTS BEFORE HAVING A CHILD

F e e l i n g	Female Respondents		Male Respondents	
	First Feeling	Second Feeling	First Feeling	Second Feeling
1. Nothing	59	-	66	-
2. Sad	17	3	15	2
3. Lonely	40	11	31	10
4. Afraid of not having a descendant	28	13	36	14
5. Ashamed of other people	1	1	-	1
6. Feel free	1	-	-	-
7. Want to have additional children	1	-	-	-
	147	28	148	27

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q44/W and Q49/H).

In Sugito's case study (1976:5-6) in agricultural Javanese village it was found that more than 50 per cent of respondents in all age groups stated "continuing the family" as the reason for having children. Another aspect that could be included in the context of social attitude is the impact of religious thinking, such as the statement that children are one of the gifts given by Allah (God). Eighty-one per cent of female respondents and 76 per cent of male respondents agreed to the statement that children were regarded as good fortune. Among 24 female respondents with living children

who disagreed with this view, 11 gave the reason that in fact children made great demands on their time. All female respondents who had not had a child agreed with the statement.

The term "psychological function of children" is viewed here in the sense of fulfilling some psychological satisfaction for the parents. This function is not given directly by the children but parents expected or received some psychological benefit from having children. The feelings of being "sad", "lonely" and "ashamed to other people" were answers relating to the psychological function of children (Table 2.8). Another psychological response was given by many respondents when they were asked how they felt if their children were not at home. Many responded that they felt "worried". The answer, "happiness" (see Table 4.1) also indicated the parents satisfaction from having children. The social function, in fact, is closely related to the psychological function because of its impact on individual feeling. For example, because of social value, children are considered as descendants to continue the family, but it would also make the parents uneasy if they had not had a child. The proportion of respondents who directly stated "ashamed to other people" when they had not had a child was very small compared with those stating "lonely" and "sad". When respondents were asked about their feelings if children were not at home, one female respondent and one male respondent stated "nothing", the remainder stated "lonely", "worried" or both "worried and lonely". From the question of the advantages of having children (See Table 4.1) it can be seen that the response of "happiness for parents and family" was the second highest proportion among all responses. The proportions giving the response in this study, 15.6 per cent of female respondents and 19.6 per cent of male respondents, are higher compared with the same response among Sundanese respondents obtained in the VOC survey (Singarimbun, Darroch and Meyer, 1977:28 & 30). The response of "happiness for parents" was the highest response when respondents were asked about their feeling after having the first child among both female respondents and male respondents. Motivation for having children will be further considered in a subsequent section.

CHAPTER 3

FAMILY SIZE AND FAMILY PLANNING ATTITUDES

Since involvement in the family planning program is a condition of employment for every worker, demand for the program is obviously high. This demand, however, does not guarantee a significant downward effect on family size among the estate workers' families as long as the condition does not apply to other members of estate families and the program is accepted without taking into account future family life. As Chilman (1973:179) says, the attitude of people toward family planning is determined by their past life histories, their present situation, and their hopes and fears for the future. The practice of family planning among the estate workers' families seemed to be more influenced by outside forces than by their own awareness while they believed that their future life depended partly on the assistance of children and partly on God's will. Under these circumstances, this chapter is limited to describing the comparison between actual family size and what the respondents considered as an ideal family size, the reasons for limiting the number of children and for practising family planning, the factors behind the sex preference of children, additional children desired and efforts to have children. To obtain a broader picture, the data are compared with other findings such as the Indonesian Value of Children (VOC) survey.

3.1 Ideal Family Size

The question designed to ascertain the respondent's ideal family size asked how many children would the respondent consider to be the best number if they had never had a child. In accordance with the ideal number stated by the respondent, they were asked the reasons for preferring one to three children, four to five children, more than five children or reasons for having children according to the will of God. As seen in Table 3.1, a greater part of the respondents mentioned numbers between three and five. The mean number for female respondents was 3.60 and that for male respondents was 3.76. Those figures were relatively low when compared with findings both in other rural Sundanese communities and in other areas of Java. The Indonesian Fertility and Mortality Survey found that the ideal family size among rural married women in West Java in 1973 was 3.99

(Lembaga Demografi, 1974:17). The figure was still lower when compared with figures obtained from the Indonesian VOC survey conducted in 1975 which found that the mean ideal number of children among female respondents in rural Sundanese communities was 4.03 and in rural Javanese communities was 4.14 (Singarimbun, Darroch, Meyer, 1977:65-66). Moreover, the mean ideal number of children in this study was much lower when compared with the Mojolama survey, which found the figure of 5.00 as the ideal number wanted by female respondents in all ages (Singarimbun and Manning, 1974:33).

The conspicuous difference between this study and the rural Sundanese VOC survey is the proportion of responses showing the uncertainty of respondents. The frequency of the answer, "up to God", seems to indicate that social values influenced the respondents answer to that question. The words "insya Allah" (God willing), "keresa Pangeran" (because of God), "kumaha Pangeran" / "kumaha Anu Kawasa" (up to God), are popular expressions in the society which are used with the intention of demonstrating that a person is a good Islamic adherent. When respondents were asked about the reasons for their preference for the ideal number of children, 69 per cent of female respondents and 62 per cent of male respondents who stated "up to God" considered that human life was indeed merely up to God. One other important point in Table 3.1 is that the highest proportion of respondents, both in the case study and in the VOC survey, expressed a preference for four children.

In respect of the response "up to God", the type of question and the level of education were examined. The question on ideal family size in the VOC survey was connected with the economic conditions of the family and led respondents to mention the given number of children: "If you were starting your family all over again, things being pretty as they were, how many children would you most want to have?" The question in the case study was referred to the general idea of the respondents: "If you had no children as yet, what do you think would be the best number of children to have?" To answer the question in the VOC survey, respondents were asked to consider the economic conditions they had experienced. In the case study, respondents were merely asked to give their view. The community opinion could have easily influenced the answer in the case study. As to how the respondents actually decided to answer the question, to some extent depended upon the level of education. Appendix A.4 and Appendix A.5 give evidence that none of the female respondents and only one of the male respondents whose education was higher than primary school gave the response of "up to

God". Other data suggested that 22.4 per cent of female respondents and 9.5 per cent of male respondents in the case study had never been to school, compared those with 5.6 per cent and 2.5 per cent in the rural Sundanese VOC survey. The proportion of respondents in the case study whose education was higher than primary school were 6.8 per cent among the wives and 8.8 per cent among the husbands, whereas this proportion in the rural Sundanese VOC survey was 17.9 per cent and 33.2 per cent respectively (Singarimbun, Darroch and Meyer, 1977:6).

TABLE 3.1

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN OBTAINED FROM
THE CASE STUDY AND THE IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN OBTAINED FROM
THE RURAL SUNDANESE VOC SURVEY

Ideal Number of Children	Female Responses			Male Responses		
	Case Study		VOC Survey	Case Study		VOC Survey
	Number	%	%	Number	%	%
1	2	1.4	0.3	-	-	-
2	13	8.8	8.4	12	8.1	7.5
3	35	23.8	20.3	36	24.3	25.8
4	42	28.6	40.6	46	31.1	34.4
5	11	7.5	13.6	12	8.1	17.8
6	1	0.7	8.1	-	-	6.2
7	1	0.7	1.8	3	2.0	2.3
8	2	1.4	0.8	1	0.7	1.3
9	-	-	0.1	-	-	-
10 or more	-	-	0.3	1	0.7	0.3
Up to God	39	26.5	4.2	37	25.0	2.3
No response / Do not know	1	0.6	1.5	-	-	0.5
T o t a l	147	100.0	100.0	148	100.0	100.0
$\bar{x}$		3.60	4.03		3.76	3.98
			(n = 762)			(n = 481)

Sources : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q56/W and Q61/H)
Singarimbun, Darroch, Meyer (1977:66)

The majority of estate worker women interviewed had between one and five children still living and most women aged thirty and over had between three and seven children still living. Of all female respondents, just 8 per cent had never had a living child, the highest proportion of respondents being in the age groups 15-19 and 20-24 (Table 3.2). The mean number of children still living for all age groups was 3.52 and it was understandable that the 40-44 and 45-49 age groups were the two highest figures of all. The VOC survey found that the mean number of children still living was around 3.50, for rural and for urban Sundanese respondents.

TABLE 3.2

NUMBER OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP AND
NUMBER OF CHILDREN STILL LIVING

Age Group	Number of Respondents and Children Still Living													n
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	$\bar{x}$	
15-19	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.6	9
20-24	5	12	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	28
25-29	1	3	10	7	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.7	29
30-34	-	-	1	4	2	6	2	-	1	-	-	-	4.5	16
35-39	1	-	5	4	2	3	1	8	-	-	-	1	4.7	25
40-44	1	2	2	1	1	2	4	5	2	-	-	1	5.2	21
45-49	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	5.7	7
50 +	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	-	-	4.5	13
All Groups	12	23	28	20	14	17	10	15	4	2	-	2	3.5	147

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q2 and Q29/W).

The mean number of children who had died in this case study was 0.9 ranging from nil to eight children (Appendix A.2). Again this figure was close to the rural Sundanese VOC survey who had an average of 0.83 children dead but it was higher when compared with the urban Sundanese respondents who had an average of 0.51 children dead. The average number of children ever born among the tea estate workers' families was 4.4 and that for the 40-49 age group was 6.6 (Appendix A.3). Compared with the 1973 Fertility-Mortality Survey which showed average children ever born for the age groups of 40-44 and 45-49 of 5.7 and 5.2 respectively (McDonald, Yasin and Jones, 1976:6),

the fertility rate among the estate workers' families was very high.

Table 3.3 shows that there was a tendency for respondents who had more than three children still living to answer "up to God" rather than to mention an exact ideal number. Correspondingly, older respondents preferred the "up to God" answer more than respondents aged below 35 (Table 3.4 and Table 3.5). Without taking into account the respondents who stated "up to God", the older the respondents the higher the number of children they considered to be ideal. Although the difference between the ideal family sizes of wives and husbands was not large, the ideal number for older wives was on average lower than for older husbands. The majority of both wives and husbands preferred three or four children with the highest proportion preferring four children. Older workers may not have been greatly influenced by the family planning campaign or they have been free from the pressure of working conditions to use contraception.

TABLE 3.3

NUMBER OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS BY CHILDREN STILL LIVING
AND IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of Children Still Living	Ideal Number of Children										n
	No Response	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Up to God	
0	-	-	3	4	5	-	-	-	-	2	12
1	-	1	5	7	6	2	-	-	-	2	23
2	1	-	3	9	9	1	-	-	1	3	28
3	-	-	-	8	7	2	-	-	-	3	20
4	-	-	1	1	5	-	-	-	-	7	14
5	-	-	1	3	4	3	-	-	-	6	17
6	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	8	10
7	-	-	-	3	3	2	-	1	1	5	15
8	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	4
9	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
11	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
n	1	2	13	35	42	11	1	1	2	39	147

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q29/W and Q56/W).

The number of children still living that respondents had and the number of children that they still desired influenced respondent's thinking in answering the question on the ideal number of children. Table 3.6 shows the result of a crosstabulation between the desired number of children and the ideal number of children. Desired number of children is defined as the sum of the children still living and the number of additional children desired by respondents. The table excludes women who had not had a child because the question on additional children was only asked of respondents who already had at least one child. In addition the table excludes women who gave the response, "up to God". Fifty-five per cent of female respondents stated their ideal number of children as being equal to their desired number of children, whereas the proportions of respondents stating a large or smaller desired number were 33 and 12 per cent respectively. The greater proportion having a higher desired family size compared to their ideal family size was conditioned by those whose present number of children was greater than their ideal number.

TABLE 3.4

NUMBER OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP AND IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Age Group	Ideal Number of Children											n
	No Response	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	$\bar{x}$	Up to God	
15-19	-	-	2	4	1	1	-	-	-	3.1	-	8
20-24	1	2	1	9	11	1	-	-	-	3.2	3	28
25-29	-	-	3	6	12	2	-	-	-	3.6	6	29
30-34	-	-	-	3	5	3	-	-	-	4.0	5	16
35-39	-	-	1	8	8	1	-	-	1	3.7	6	25
40-44	-	-	3	2	3	1	-	1	-	3.6	11	21
45-49	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	4.3	4	7
50 +	-	-	3	3	-	1	1	-	1	3.8	4	13
All Groups	1	2	13	35	42	11	1	1	2	3.6	39	147

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q2 and Q56/W).

Family size among the nuclear families of estate workers in Cibodas - Cikajang will tend to be slightly lower in the future compared with the situation at the beginning of 1978, because the younger the age group of respondents, the lower the mean number they considered ideal, although the size would still be higher than advocated by the family planning program (see Table 3.4 and Table 3.5). The recent family planning campaign suggested that the ideal family size was a family of two or three children. There was a tendency for husbands in all age groups to want a larger family size than their wives.

TABLE 3.5

NUMBER OF MALE RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP AND IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Age Group	Ideal Number of Children										n
	No Response	2	3	4	5	7	8	12	$\bar{x}$	Up to God	
20-24	-	1	7	4	3	-	-	-	3.6	1	16
25-29	-	2	5	11	1	-	-	-	3.6	2	21
30-34	-	3	10	10	1	-	-	-	3.4	3	27
35-39	-	1	5	8	4	-	-	-	3.8	7	25
40-44	-	1	-	7	-	1	-	-	4.1	7	16
45-49	-	-	4	2	1	-	1	-	4.1	6	14
50+	-	4	5	4	2	2	-	1	4.2	11	29
All Groups	-	12	36	46	12	3	1	1	3.8	37	148

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q2 and Q61/H).

The highest proportion among reasons given for the preference of one to five children was that children were considered easier to rear with that size family. This proportion was 73 per cent among the wives choosing one to three children and 68 per cent among those choosing four to five children. The same reason was stated by 77 per cent among the husbands choosing one to three children and 63 per cent among those choosing four to five children. It seems that rearing children was considered by respondents as meaning the physical care of children without considering whole expenses needed to rear children. They considered that the stated number of children was easy to rear because of the many sources of help to care for younger children either from a member of the family or from

people outside the family concerned. Other reasons given for the choice of a particular ideal number were to obtain economic help in old age, to have alternative sources of support, that children bring luck, and to have sufficient descendants. The specific reason referring to government policy on number of children was stated by only 8 per cent of wives and 13 per cent of husbands all of whom stated one to three children as ideal. Therefore, the economic value of children and the ease of rearing children were the most important factors influencing the choice of a particular ideal family size. As has been expressed in the previous chapter, rearing children is not merely related to the family income but it is also due to the fact that there were certain supportive facilities for parents in the rearing of their children.

TABLE 3.6

NUMBER OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS BY DESIRED NUMBER OF CHILDREN (CHILDREN STILL LIVING PLUS ADDITIONAL CHILDREN) AND IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Desired Number of Children	Ideal Number of Children								n
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	<u>1</u>	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
2	1	<u>4</u>	1	1	-	-	-	1	8
3	-	2	<u>21</u>	5	-	-	-	-	28
4	-	1	2	<u>19</u>	1	-	-	-	23
5	-	1	4	5	<u>6</u>	-	-	-	16
6	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
7	-	-	3	3	2	-	<u>1</u>	1	10
8	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
9	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
11	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
12	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
n	2	10	33	36	10	1	1	2	95

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q29/W, Q51/W and Q56/W).

Socio-cultural norms, of course, still play an important role in setting a general context of expectations of the number of children as it was found that the second highest proportion among the wives and the husbands expressed the preference of "up to God". As people living in traditional society, their response was not surprising because "traditional" living

(Pohlman, 1969:361) would seem to involve a greater acceptance of life as it comes. The pattern of life may be complex, but what is to be done has been decided by culture, by nature, or by heaven, so that there are fewer rational decisions expected of individuals.

From the figures in general it was difficult to determine the central factor which influenced the respondents' choice of ideal family size. Askham (1975:33) said that it was impossible to think in terms of preferences when one's life was controlled not only by oneself but by external forces and the individual was powerless to alter the environment. The impact of the role of the estate, however, is difficult to assess because it depended only on the policy of the estate administrator rather than the collective responsibility of the staff. Thus during absences of the administrator, there was a slackening of psychological pressure from the family planning campaign. Education had not had a significant effect on alteration of the ideas of workers who had been to school lower than the junior high school level, the proportion of this group being 97 per cent among wives and 95 per cent among husbands. The two husbands and one wife who had been to senior high school chose five children as their ideal (Appendix A.4 and Appendix A.5). It was found that all female respondents who chose an ideal of more than five children and one male respondent who chose the ideal number of twelve children were illiterate. There was no other evidence showing that the higher the grade of schooling the respondent had attended the lower the ideal number of children they chose. Yet 77 per cent of female respondents and 46 per cent of male respondents who stated as their preference "up to God" were illiterate or had attended school for only one to three years. With regard to the religious schools, 74 per cent of female respondents and 89 per cent of male respondents who gave as their preference "up to God" or chose an ideal number of more than five children had never attended a religious school or had received formal religious education for less than four years.

3.2 Sex Preferences

The sex preference for children among estate workers' families in Cibodas - Cikajang confirms the result of the VOC survey which revealed a strong preference for the same number of girls and boys (Singarimbun, Darroch, Meyer, 1977:66 & 68). However, the proportion of respondents who replied "no preference" was almost as high as those who stated the preference of "same number". Of all respondents who chose the above preferences the

proportion of respondents who replied the "same number" was 54.2 per cent among female respondents and 49.5 per cent among male respondents (Table 3.7). Although this is the most common pattern in Javanese families, the proportion was not as high as figures obtained by Singarimbun and Manning (1974:46) amongst men and women in Mojolama. There is little data on this aspect for Indonesian society in general, but a case study in an agricultural village of South Sulawesi (Saefullah, 1975:59) found a tendency for wives to prefer more daughters and husbands to prefer more sons. A further

TABLE 3.7

SEX COMPOSITION OF THE IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN
AMONGST FEMALE AND MALE RESPONDENTS

Preference	Female Respondents	Male Respondents
Same number of girls and boys	52	50
More girls	29	27
More boys	15	22
No preference	51	49
	147	148

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q57/W and Q62/H).

difference between Singarimbun and Manning's finding in Mojolama and the figures from this study is that in Mojolama women showed a slight preference for girls and men for boys, whereas in the estate families both wives and husbands showed a slight preference for girls. Based on the data obtained from the 1973 Indonesian Fertility-Mortality Survey, Kartoyo (1976:28) concludes that the preference for a given sex is not very significant, but most women tend to want both girls and boys. In this case study, two important reasons given for equal numbers of boys and girls were "want to have children in pairs" and "to harmonize the family activities". The first one was influenced by the psychological notion that children in pairs could ideally satisfy the parents. The second reason, to harmonize the family activities, was influenced by the ideal economic combination provided by the same number of each sex, that is, respondents could expect adequate help of the type provided by both girls and boys. The reasons that were

coded into the category "to harmonize the family activities" were: "girls help their mother at home, boys help their father in the garden", mother gets suitable help from the daughter, father gets suitable help from the son", "in order to obtain equal help from daughter and son".

The majority of respondents who gave higher preference for daughters gave reasons that daughters were more able to help with housework than sons. This reason confirms the data on household activities which depended primarily on the assistance of daughters. The dependence upon the daughter's assistance in household chores was obvious when respondents were asked the reasons for their preference for the first or the eldest child. More than 80 per cent of respondents who wanted a girl for their first or eldest child, either among the wives or the husbands, gave the reason that girls could assist with household chores sooner than boys (Table 3.9). Due to the fact that the majority of female respondents were full-time workers, this reason was very understandable. Most female workers were tea-leaf pickers who went to the tea-field at about 6.00 a.m. and returned home at about 3.00 p.m. Therefore they did not have much time to do housework and to prepare the daily meal. Since the society does not condone the habit of a husband or a man organizing the housework, the eldest daughter is considered to be responsible for housework activities when the mother is not at home. Table 3.9 shows that a high proportion of both male and female respondents preferred their first child to be a girl. This finding agreed with the findings of the Sundanese VOC survey, which showed that 89.7 per cent among rural female respondents and 88.4 per cent among rural male respondents preferred their first child to be a daughter. A reason given by older respondents for having a daughter first was that grandchildren came sooner. This may have been determined by the practice of some families to take the first grandchildren in with them. A family who had only one or two children took in the first grandchild to replace their married children especially if they lived in a different kampung. The reason that "a daughter stays closer to her parents" that was often stated in the rural Sundanese VOC survey was due to a tradition that a newly married couple had to live in the wife's parents home for some time before obtaining their own home and the process of socialization resulted in daughters being more likely to live at home than sons who had more freedom to move away. On the other hand, the reason that "a daughter will marry and be maintained by her husband" implied that children were a financial burden to a poor family.

TABLE 3.8
REASON FOR STATED SEX PREFERENCE BY SEX COMPOSITION SELECTED

Reasons	Selected Sex Composition of Children							
	Same Number		More Girls		More Boys		No Pref.	
	FR	MR	FR	MR	FR	MR	FR	MR
1. More able to help with housework	-	-	13	18	-	-	-	-
2. Want to have grandchildren soon	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
3. The difficulties of training sons	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
4. Daughters stay closer to parents	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	-
5. Daughter will marry soon to be maintained by her husband	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
6. Help in parents' work/father's work	-	-	-	-	6	7	-	-
7. Responsibility of son to care for younger sister/brother	-	-	-	-	6	9	-	-
8. The need for religious rituals	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
9. Son will not marry early	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
10. Economic help in the old age	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
11. Harmonize the family activities	17	22	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Want to have children in pairs	19	22	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. The wish of equal ceremonies	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. There is no difference between daughters and sons	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	4
15. Up to God	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	28
16. No reason	13	6	8	4	2	2	3	7
	52	50	29	27	15	22	51	49

Note: FR = Female Respondents; MR = Male Respondents

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q57/W and Q62/H)

TABLE 3.9

REASON FOR THE SEX PREFERENCE OF THE FIRST CHILDREN BY SEX OF CHILD

R e a s o n s	Sex of Child					
	G i r l		B o y		No Preference	
	FR	MR	FR	MR	FR	MR
1. Able to help with housework sooner	54	40	-	-	-	-
2. Want to have grandchildren soon	2	3	-	-	-	-
3. Want to do marriage ceremony soon	1	5	-	-	-	-
4. Practical help in parents' work/father's work	-	-	7	12	-	-
5. Want to do circumcision ceremony soon	-	-	1	2	-	-
6. Responsibility for younger sister/brother	-	-	7	11	-	-
7. Son will not marry early	-	-	3	7	-	-
8. Replace father in some circumstances	-	-	1	7	-	-
9. Every child is the same	-	-	-	-	37	30
10. Up to God	-	-	-	-	21	26
11. No reason	7	-	3	4	3	1
	64	48	22	43	61	57

Note : FR = Female Respondents; MR = Male Respondents

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q58/W and Q63/H)

The more frequently cited reasons for wanting more sons were the need for practical help in the parents' work and responsibility of a son to care for a younger sister or brother. These two reasons that seem to be more economically based, were also mentioned by most respondents wanting the first child to be a boy. It can be seen in Table 3.8 and Table 3.9 that the greater part of all reasons for boy-preference had

economic motives, either in the short term or in the long term, such as the reason that "a son will not have to marry soon" because the parents wished the son to contribute to their family activities. Other important reasons for choosing a son, cited especially by smaller percentages of male respondents, were to conform to religious norms and for the performance of religious rituals. Islam allows a son to assume some responsibilities in replacing his father in some circumstances, such as the right to perform and to declare the validity of marriage for his sister if their father had died, to be a witness in certain religious problems, to have authority in the case of inheritance, etc. Overall, however, this proportion was not very significant compared with those who stated the response "up to God".

The preference for children in relation to the performance of traditional ceremonies emerged particularly when the respondents were asked about their preference for first or eldest children. Big ceremonies such as a circumcision ceremony and a marriage ceremony were considered as being socially prestigious ceremonies which determined and demonstrated the family's level of property. Generally this had no specific effect on the sex composition of children, because there were those who wanted the marriage ceremony performed first whereas some people considered that it was better if the circumcision ceremony was performed first. Other people wanted an equal number of ceremonies for both sexes without stating a preference as to which ceremony should be first performed. Circumcision and marriage are obligatory for every Muslim, but the big parties that are usually held to complete the ceremonies are in keeping with traditional social customs and values. Some people would feel ashamed if they did not perform ceremonies as their relatives or other people in the village had done. Among the higher strata, ceremonies tended to be conducted as a means of gathering relatives and colleagues together and because high ranking and prominent people in the village received special invitations. In the estate social life, the field supervisor and staff workers were included in the higher strata, because they were able to join such group activities as playing tennis and other recreational activities.

Another aspect of the data suggests that although most of the estate workers wanted to have children of both sexes, they attached more importance to having at least one girl rather than at least one boy. For instance, the majority of respondents would have liked their first child to have been a girl although in response to the open-ended questions concerning reasons for wanting girls or boys, respondents mentioned more reasons for wanting boys than for wanting girls.

3.3 Family Planning Attitudes and Practice

There were two key questions referring to family planning attitudes. One question that was prepared for both wives and husbands asked about opinion or agreement with respect to limiting the number of children. The other question that was only prepared for wives asked about family planning participation. Those questions were followed by open-ended questions about the reason for their answer. Ninety-six per cent of female respondents and 95 per cent of male respondents agreed with the idea of limiting the number of children. The majority of respondents of both sexes gave the reasons that by limiting the number of children it was easier to rear children and to space children. The third highest proportion among the wives stated health reasons and among husbands economic considerations (Table 3.10). The reason that family planning was "government policy" or "due to the government's suggestion" was a dubious response because it was difficult to know whether the respondents agreed with the idea of limiting the number of children or were merely playing lip service to the government directive. The motivation of support for government programs was popular among community leaders to encourage workers in doing their activities well. When female respondents were asked their reasons for using family planning, this particular reason only appeared among respondents who lived outside the estate housing area. Other reasons in favour of family planning seemed to be the result of a personal decision or the respondent's interest and motivation. Several of the reasons given by respondents who did not agree with limiting the number of children were, "want to have additional children", "has not yet had a child", "not yet old enough", "want to have children by a new wife" (husband). Two reasons frequently given by respondents opposed to family planning were

TABLE 3.10

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS STATING AGREE WITH LIMITING
THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY REASONS AND SEX

R e a s o n s	Female Respondents	Male Respondents
1. Children easier to rear	46	61
2. Government policy/ government's suggestion	13	11
3. Spacing of babies	40	24
4. Do not like many children	3	5
5. Health reasons (mother and her baby)	20	13
6. Do not want to have any more children	5	1
7. Economic reasons	11	22
8. No reason	4	4
	142	141

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q59/W and Q64/H)

that there was no method which suited her and because of the failure of using a given method.

The estate introduced family planning in 1970, but only 9 respondents had joined the program by 1973. Unfortunately, there was no data on the progress of acceptors, and the figures given by an estate official were over-enumerated when compared with the number of recently married women workers. A nurse in charge, both as a local medical official and as a local family planning worker could not give detailed information. As can be seen in Table 3.11 the number of respondents using family planning was slightly less than three-fifths of the total female respondents. Among them, 21 respondents had been using family planning since 1977 and this was the highest proportion of all. At that time the estate had attempted to increase the number of acceptors by using a kind of "agreement letter".

TABLE 3.11

NUMBER OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS USING FAMILY PLANNING
BY REASONS AND DWELLING PLACE

R e a s o n s	Number of Respondents	
	Estate Housing	Own Housing
1. Children easier to rear	-	4
2. Government policy/government's suggestion	-	4
3. Spacing of babies	17	10
4. Do not like many children	4	2
5. Health reasons	3	2
6. Do not want to have any more children	4	7
7. Economic reasons	-	1
8. Compulsory/ instructed by the estate	7	13
9. No reason	2	6
Number of Family Planning acceptors	37	49
Number of female respondents	53	94
Proportion of Family Planning acceptors	70%	52%

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q Kampung and Q60/W)

There were three methods used by respondents: the pill was used by 70 respondents, spiral used by 15 respondents and sterilization used by one respondent who had been seriously ill when she had her baby and was forced to stay in hospital for a long time. The estate tried to encourage acceptors to use the spiral rather than the pill because there were many acceptors who had not been able to use the pill successfully. There were some persons who threw away pills obtained from the clinic and reported that they had encountered difficulties taking the pill. However, some people had genuine difficulties in using either the pill or the spiral. Respondents who did not use

family planning and whose reasons were classified into "failure in using a given method" were those respondents who had used a particular method but developed some problem of side effect. A male respondent who gave the reason that limitation of children makes people unhealthy was a husband whose wife had experienced some side effects. Failure was also due to lack of information from the family planning worker or other authorities who were concerned that they would be confronted by the religious leader or other community leaders in a given kampung. The family planning workers (Kalangie, 1974:21) did not try to adapt themselves with the community life because they remained within their professional subculture. As a consequence, they were distrusted by community leaders and their presence was avoided by the members of the community.

Among 86 family planning acceptors, 61 per cent were estate workers and the remainder were wives who considered that they themselves did not have a specific job or they depended on their husbands who worked in the estate. Among all acceptors, two respondents were in the monthly wage-group of Rp. 30,000 to Rp. 39,999 and were teachers whose husbands were field supervisors, and one respondent was a farmer whose husband was also a field supervisor. The other respondents were daily workers with monthly wages ranging from less than Rp. 5,000 to the highest of Rp. 10,000 to Rp. 14,999 (Appendix A.6). Sixty-six respondents had husbands who also worked on the estate and the remainder were workers whose husbands had jobs as plantation workers (15), farmers (3), retailer (1) and estate pensioner (1). The proportion of female workers who did not use family planning was 19.7 per cent of the total respondents or 35 per cent of the female workers interviewed.

The proportion of family planning acceptors was higher among respondents living in the estate housing than respondents living in their own houses because the psychological pressure in their own homes was not as strong as that in the estate housing. The highest proportion of reasons given by respondents who lived outside the estate housing was "compulsory" or "instructed by the estate" (Table 3.11). This rather frank response may be due to the fact that interviewers assured respondents that the result of the interviews would not be forwarded as a report to the estate. Interviewers

reported that many respondents enquired about this aspect before answering questions. From discussions with the estate administrator, it appears that encouragement of the estate in introducing family planning through the working conditions was to show the public that the estate wanted to give more support to the government program than was being given by the governmental family planning institutions themselves. The agreement letter that had to be signed by a family planning acceptor in the presence of the estate official was designed as a preventive measure to avoid complaints that may come from her husband who did not work in the estate or some member of her extended family. It is difficult, however, to predict that this procedure will guarantee the continuity of the program, because family planning services (Chilman, 1973:179) should be based on a philosophy that includes an awareness of people as individual human beings who have come to a personal decision on the matter of contraceptive use. One of the aspects of the basic strategy for family planning in Indonesia (Suyono, 1974:104) is to create a positive social attitude towards supporting the family planning program, that is not only based on certainty and awareness but from some sense of pride and duty as well.

3.4 Effort to Have Children

A society (Bulatao, 1975:1) without children is a society headed for extinction, and children (Arnold and Fawcett, 1975:1) have always been an integral part of life in every society. Most fundamentally (Esphensshade, 1977:3), children provide for the continuation of the human species. In the Sundanese society a family without children is generally considered as a poor family and a childless married woman sometimes runs the risk of divorce or she has to allow her husband to take a second wife. McDonald and Abdurachman (1974:91) discussed this aspect of divorce due to childlessness in West Java especially among low social status people in rural areas. Childlessness was one of several reasons for divorce in Serpong, West Java (Lubis, Neihof and Amal, 1975:21) as stated by 6.4 per cent of men and 0.7 per cent of women.

Childlessness and social value among Sundanese people has also been described by Hugo (1975:2):

"This could equally be said of Sundanese society - the joy and happiness associated with having children is considerable. There is little distinction made between children of marriage and those adopted; in fact the 'giving' of children to a relative who is unable to have any (any more) children is common practice. This often involves a child moving from a poor to a more prosperous nuclear family. There is great abhorrence and fear of childlessness and considerable pity is extended to those without children."

Hugo (1975:3) observed that children were seen as the main purpose of marriage - the ultimate goal in the life of women, and therefore the social status of women was closely associated with their fertility. Traditional prayers are recited by parents for the newly married couple asking God to grant children as soon as possible. The young married woman who has no children is constantly asked whether or not she is pregnant. Therefore the pressure upon a young couple to have a child shortly after their marriage in Sundanese society is due to socio-psychological factors rather than personal. Yet an older couple who have never had children, would attempt to have a child to fulfil both the socio-psychological demand and the personal benefit expected from a child.

The first child for most people either in the village or in the estate community was considered as a great blessing upon the family. No longer are the couple subject to social pressure from the society or members of the extended family, especially the parents of the couple concerned. The first suggestion of pressure to have children comes generally from the husband's parents. Therefore, the effort to have a child involves other people outside the nuclear family. One direct question to obtain data on the efforts to have children was: What would you do if you had been married for a long time but had not yet had a child? The proportion of respondents who stated that they would attempt to fall pregnant was 75 per cent among the wives and 78 per cent among the husbands (Table 3.12). Respondents who stated "no effort" or "up to God" did not completely dismiss the possibility that a member of the extended family had placed some pressure upon them. There was a case of a young married

TABLE 3.12

COURSE OF ACTION TO HAVE A CHILD AFTER BEING MARRIED FOR A LONG
TIME BY SEX OF RESPONDENTS

Course of Action	Female Respondents	Male Respondents
1. Nothing	35	29
2. Look after a relative's child	65	53
3. Look after an orphan	17	18
4. Look after a relative's child or an orphan	8	14
5. Look after younger sister/ brother	2	5
6. Ask a fortune-teller	17	14
7. Ask a doctor	1	2
8. Marry another woman	-	9
9. Up to God	2	4
	147	148

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q55/W and Q60/H)

couple who had a child but had made no attempt to seek advice because they considered that it was "up to God". In the meantime their parents continually asked around as to what should be done to enable the couple to have a child as soon as possible.

The majority of respondents who mentioned such actions were influenced on one hand by religious norms generally held in society and on the other hand by traditional norms passed from generation to generation. This was evident in Table 3.12 where 85 per cent of female respondents and 78 per cent of male respondents who were considering some measures gave as choices the possibility of caring for the child of relative or of some other member of the extended family or an orphan. Clearly, the life of the Sundanese nuclear family depends in some part on the other nuclear families of their

extended family. A child moving from a poor to a more prosperous nuclear family as mentioned by Hugo (175:2) does not mean that the family had surplus wealth but was more related to their traditional sense of responsibility. One of the Islamic traditions that was popular among the people in the village was a recommendation to care for an orphan.

One aspect of social life in Cibodas - Cikajang was a practice among some people of consulting a fortune-teller when they had some problem with work, health, finance, family life, the appropriate time to perform a given ceremony, and other facets of daily life. Levels of education, position, social status or other social group identifications did not appear to influence this decision to consult the fortune-teller. There were three female respondents who had been to junior and senior high schools and one male respondent who had been to senior high school who were included in the group who stated that they would consult a fortune-teller in their efforts to have a child. There was no evidence of the practice of polygamy among the estate workers' families but the number of male respondents who choose the measure "to marry another woman" was not small compared with the total number of respondents. That statement was obviously influenced by the Islamic norm: "Marry women of your choice, two or three or four, but if you fear that you cannot treat each one equally, you should marry only one" (Holy Qur'an, IV:3). . Based on the Qur'an, however, polygamy is not easy to practise unless a husband is capable of equal justice to his wives.

3.5 Motivation for Additional Children

As we have seen in the previous section, respondents valued their children based on a personal appreciation that was influenced by social norms existing in their community. Therefore, not all children were valued equally, boys and girls being evaluated differently by their parents. Although there could be social or personal differences of opinion about wanting a certain number of children, for example, between wife and husband or between a young couple and their parents, Table 3.13 shows only a slight difference between wives and

TABLE 3.13

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN STILL LIVING
AND ADDITIONAL CHILDREN

Number of Children Still Living	Number of Additional Children												n	
	0		1		2		3		4		Up to God		W	H
	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H		
1	3	3	2	2	8	10	6	4	1	-	3	4	23	23
2	7	8	12	11	7	7	-	-	-	-	2	2	28	28
3	10	12	7	4	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20
4	13	13	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
5	16	14	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	17
6	10	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
7	15	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	15
8	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
9	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
11	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Total	81	82	24	21	18	22	6	4	1	-	5	6	135	135

Note : It was assumed that the number of children still living mentioned by husbands was the same as that given by wives

W = Wives; H = Husbands

Source : 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q39/W, Q51/W and W56/H)

husbands in the desire for additional children. Differences were apparent, however, when husbands and wives asked to give their own reasons for a certain desire. It was understandable that a higher proportion of wives than husbands stated reasons of spacing children and health for limiting the number of children, because those problems were directly experienced by the wives. As mentioned above, the preference for a boy who would contribute practical help in the parents' work and to replace the father in some circumstances was more commonly stated by husbands as were economic reasons for limiting the number of children, because the husbands had the responsibility as the head of the household to manage those matters. In like manner, the motivation for additional children among husbands varied from that of wives.

TABLE 3.14

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WISHING ADDITIONAL CHILDREN BY REASONS AND SEX

R e a s o n s	Female Respondents	Male Respondents
1. To complete the number of children desired	13	15
2. Want to have many children	1	2
3. Want to have children from new wife (husband)	1	2
4. To get a child of both sexes	10	7
5. Respondent (wife) is pregnant	1	1
6. Companion for other children	18	11
7. Replacing children who died	2	2
8. Want additional help from children	6	13
9. No reason	2	1
	54	53

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q52/W and Q57/H)

The question on additional children was addressed only to those respondents who already had children, and was followed by the number wanted and the reasons why they would like additional children. There were 54 wives and 53 husbands who wanted to have additional children. Table 3.13 shows that there is a correlation between the number of children still living and the number of additional children to obtain the number of children considered ideal by the majority of respondents. Sixty-one per cent of wives and 61 per cent of husbands having one child still living wanted two or three additional children. Sixty-eight per cent of wives and 64 per cent of husbands having two children still living wanted one or two additional children. It seemed that the majority of responses were consistent with three or four as the ideal number of children (see Table 3.1). This evidence could be related to the reasons why respondents wanted additional children.

The majority of respondents considered that completing the number of children desired and as companions for other children were the important reasons for wanting another child. In other words, the prime motivation for additional children was the number that was considered ideal by the person concerned and included the aspect of replacing children who had died.

The second motive for additional children was the sex preference of children. Nineteen per cent of wives and 13 per cent of husbands wanted additional children because they did not have a daughter or son. This reason confirmed another statement that the majority of wives and husbands had a preference for both girls and boys (see Table 3.7). The third motive that was stated chiefly by husbands was the economic expectation. The reason of wanting additional help from children that was stated by 25 per cent of husbands and 11 per cent of wives, implies that the economic situation of parents could be ideally fulfilled with additional children. The reason of wanting to have children from a new wife (husband) seemed to be influenced by socio-psychological motives. Because children were considered as a bond between wives and husbands, some people felt dissatisfied if they had only step-children. This attitude was also related to inheritance that if the husband died the childless wife did not have the right to oversee the inheritance. This situation may more commonly arise among the more prosperous families in the village.

CHAPTER 4

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE VALUE OF CHILDREN

The discussion of the value of children which is viewed functionally from the perspective of parents, refers to both positive and negative values conceived broadly to include economic, social and psychological satisfaction and the costs associated with having children. This view has been proposed by Fawcett, et al. (1974:4) as follows:

"The phrase 'the value of children' appears to emphasize the positive functions, or satisfactions, of having children. It must be recognized, however, that dysfunctions or costs are also involved. The reality of childbearing is that one cannot have satisfactions without also incurring some costs. Thus, two basic dimensions are involved: positive value or satisfactions, and negative value of costs."

The positive values in this study include the various advantages and satisfactions of having children and negative values are taken to mean the disadvantages and costs of having children. The values, therefore, are determined by various factors set in the general context of the attitudes and interests of the parents. These in turn are fashioned by experiences, feelings, and expectations.

4.1 Advantages and Disadvantages of Having Children

Respondents were asked two direct questions on perceived advantages connected with having children, and they were given the opportunity to answer up to three kinds of advantages and disadvantages. To obtain more detailed responses, interviewers were trained to use nondirective probes and they were asked to explain that the question was intended to cover economic, social and psychological advantages or disadvantages experienced and expected by respondents. The first question was: "Would you try to mention some of the advantages and happiness you have if you have many children?" The second question was: "Would you also mention some disadvantages and hardship of having many children?" 'Many children' in the survey meant more than three children. The

majority of the respondents gave one kind of response, between fifty and sixty per cent of them gave two responses and ten to twenty per cent of them answered up to three responses. Sometimes two similar responses were given by the one respondent, for example, "parents received many presents at lebaran (the 'Idil Fitri celebration)" and "child give food, clothing and firewood", or "the difficulty of sending children to school" and "some children cannot continue their education". In coding, these responses were considered as one response.

4.1.1 Advantages

The simplest but the most frequently mentioned advantage of many children was "a great help to parents" (Sundanese: seueur anu mantu-mantu sepuh). People in the village used this sentence in reference to some family activity, such as, help in housework, help in fetching some object needed, help in caring for younger siblings or other household activities. It can be seen in Table 4.1 that female and male respondents revealed very similar values of children. Substantial differences in their responses can be found in only a few categories. Wives mentioned the "great help to parents" and "able to live together with children in the village" somewhat more than their husbands. The response, "a great help to parents" was understandably more important to the wives since the majority of children were needed to help with the housework. By observing Table 4.1 it can be seen that economic factors appeared to exert some influence in the estate worker community and it confirmed the assertion (Esphensshade, 1975:5) that the economic value of children is most salient in developing countries, especially in rural areas. It was found, however, that many respondents considered economic benefits to parents as the second advantage and some of the respondents even placed it as the third advantage. The assurance of economic help in old age had relatively the same frequency among wives and husbands.

Evidence that children are considered as an economic benefit to parents in Indonesian societies has been found by previous studies, such as Hull (1975), White (1975), Saefullah (1975) and the Indonesian VOC survey (Singarimbun, Darroch and Meyer, 1977). The

Sugito study (1976) found that the economic value perceived by parents was less important than the need to continue the generation but the economic reasons were the highest frequency as the second reason (Sugito et al., 1976:11). Economic benefits derived from having children have also been found to be the most important benefit in other countries, such as in Thailand (Buripakdi, 1977:20), in the Philippines (Bulatao, 1975:20), in Ghana (Caldwell, 1968:53), in rural Taiwan (Arnold et al., 1975:50-51; Esphensshade, 1977:16) and even in rural and some urban Hawaii societies (Arnold and Fawcett, 1975:38; Esphensshade, 1977:16).

General advantages related to parental and family satisfaction were the second in frequency. Responses classified under this heading were, happiness for parents, happiness for family, to avoid loneliness, contentment and general satisfaction when all children come together for ceremonies or religious events. One response that did not appear but has been found in previous studies and was classified under the heading of happiness and love, was "to play with the children". The percentage of this response among the Sundanese male respondents in the VOC survey (Singarimbun, Darroch and Meyer, 1977:28) was the second in proportion after the response of happiness for parents. This omission may be due to the possibility that people did not have a special time for playing with children or they did not realize that playing with children did not only mean playing outside the house. There were actually many wives or husbands who play with their children while cooking or doing a particular task at home. People regarded those activities as a part of caring for children. Before television was available, people in the village did not have any particular recreational pastime as usually known by people in the city, except for some people who had a radio and youths who sometimes played soccer in the yard. Nevertheless, observers should realize that play with children as a way of having fun or recreation with the children of the type that is known in urban communities, could not be found in such a poor community as the greater part of their time is spent in work activities.

TABLE 4.1

GENERAL ADVANTAGES OF HAVING MANY CHILDREN
(NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX)

Advantages	Female Respondents			Male Respondents		
	FR	SR	TR	FR	SR	TR
1. Caring for parents when sick	10	7	1	19	4	2
2. Happiness for parents and family	23	20	6	29	21	6
3. Assurance of economic help in old age	14	14	2	14	16	8
4. A great help to parents	72	23	1	64	28	4
5. Parent received many presents	-	4	4	3	8	1
6. Able to live together with children in the village	5	10	6	2	13	10
7. Alternative support for parents	1	1	-	-	1	-
8. No response, could not be envisaged	22	-	-	17	-	-
	147	79	20	148	91	31

Note: FR = First Response SR = Second Response TR = Third Response

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q47/W and Q52/H)

The satisfaction of parents derived from living together with children after their marriage frequently mentioned particularly in the second response, was complex. Interpretation of this response could be taken from the social, economic or psychological points of view. The Sundanese phrase of "riung mungpulang" (live closely together with children in a village) was followed up by some people with the idea of establishing closer relationships in the village. They married their children to other people in the village and even still practised marriage between members of the extended family. This situation was

very confusing, because there were many people having more than one family relationship with other people, at one particular time, they were called uncle but in another situation, they were called brother in law, or sometimes they were called grandfather but other times they were called father in law, and so on. Closer relationships with the community were a means of sharing the economic responsibility or to ease the economic burden of the family, especially in the case of performing a particular ceremony. Another local phrase which said "kajeun dahar jeung uyah wungkul asal ngariung babarengan" (even though the meal consists of only rice with salt, what is important is being together with your relatives) was the reason why parents did not give their children permission to look for work in places far away from the village. It was also one reason why some estate worker parents preferred their children to work in the estate although they themselves had experienced that working in the estate was tiring and the wage did not meet their daily needs. Finally, living together with children was one of the means of ensuring that the parents were never lonely or that they would never miss their children.

4.1.2 Disadvantages

It was reasonable that responses which emphasized the disadvantages of many children were not dominated by economic aspects. Although the highest frequency of first disadvantages was related to general financial costs, only 26 per cent of wives and 36 per cent of husbands stated this reason. About 11 per cent of respondents put financial burden as the second disadvantage while about 5 per cent of respondents stated that they could think of no negative aspect associated with having many children. The proportion of respondents having no ideas at all was relatively high when compared with the frequencies of every other statement. Most disadvantages could be regrouped into four categories: the emotional burden, the economic burden, the educational problem and the restriction on parents' activities (Table 4.2). Since noise and nuisance, emotional strain and tiredness caused by children, could be regrouped into the emotional category, the highest frequency of all statements was the emotional burden. The statement that

TABLE 4.2

GENERAL DISADVANTAGES OF HAVING MANY CHILDREN
(NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX)

Disadvantages	Female Respondents			Male Respondents		
	FR	SR	TR	FR	SR	TR
1. General financial costs increase	38	15	3	50	16	3
2. Noise and nuisance	27	7	4	16	15	3
3. Emotional strain, worry when children get sick	16	17	2	20	20	6
4. Tiredness caused by children	10	9	3	10	10	1
5. Children cannot be perfectly reared	4	2	-	4	1	-
6. Educational problem	11	18	2	10	16	9
7. Restrictions on opportunity to work or travel	10	5	3	12	6	1
8. No disadvantage	7	-	-	7	-	-
9. No response, could not be envisaged	24	-	-	19	-	-
	147	73	15	148	84	23

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q48/W and Q53/H)

"children could not be perfectly reared" could, however, be interpreted from either the educational or emotional point of view.

The proportion of respondents who mentioned up to three disadvantages was slightly less than respondents who stated up to three advantages and the same also held for the respondents who mentioned two disadvantages. Wives and husbands expressed fairly similar feelings about tiredness, educational problems, rearing children and restriction on their activities. Husbands were more

concerned about the financial cost of having children. This statement was consistent with the reasons given by husbands for limiting the number of children (see Table 3.10). Wives were more concerned about noise and nuisance when the children were at home as an emotional burden. "Noise and nuisance" caused by children referred to unpleasant aspects of parenthood which included disorder, disobedience, quarreling and fighting, which caused more work for parents. Those statements confirmed the findings of the VOC survey among the rural Sundanese respondents which showed a comparison of the percentages between husbands and wives on the "general economic expenses" statement of 39.9 per cent to 26.4 per cent and that of "children being a bother" of 12.1 per cent to 27.8 per cent (Singarimbun, Darroch and Meyer, 1977:38).

The mothers' concentration on "noise and nuisance" as a disadvantage of children may be explained by the fact that wives remained at home more often than husbands and children were more likely to contact their mothers than their fathers. This feeling was mainly experienced by the respondents who lived in the estate housing and the wives who had more than five living children. Each dwelling house for the lower class workers consisted of three small rooms, a living room, a bedroom and kitchen, but it was common for two nuclear families to live in houses of this type. There was even a case of three nuclear families living in one house. The houses were situated very close to each other, and they were relatively smaller than most houses in other kampungs (except estate housing for the staff) that were usually surrounded by large yards with crops and sometimes with sheep-pens.

The education aspect was stated for two main reasons: (1) the problems of how to give sufficient family education and (2) the cost of sending children to the school. The first reason was stated by the respondents who did not agree with the opinion that children were born each bearing their own good fortune. Forty-two per cent of female respondents and 59 per cent of male respondents who disagreed with that opinion considered that success was only achieved with some effort and that children had to be given a good education. When respondents were asked about expenditures other

than food that were considered expensive, the school-fee/school expense was the third most mentioned among both wives and husbands. The general opinion regarding the education problem was connected by all key-persons interviewed with traditional and religious morals.

Before respondents were asked about the advantages and disadvantages of having many children, they were asked about their feelings before and after having children. One of the questions was: "What was your feeling after you had had many children? What we mean by many children is after you had more than three children." This question was only asked to the respondents who had three or more children. There were 61 wives and 53 husbands who gave their impressions. The others had no idea or gave the "nothing" response. Although less than 50 per cent of respondents were asked this question, the first and the second highest frequencies were "worry about children's cost of living" and "noise and nuisance in the house". Of the overall responses, 85.3 per cent of the wives and 84.0 per cent of the husbands considered those two responses as their main feeling after having three or more children. This means that there were some consistencies between the disadvantages of having many children perceived by all respondents and the feelings experienced by respondents who had three or more children.

4.2 Factors Affecting Positive and Negative Values of Children

From the previous discussion, we can see that differences in the values that female and male respondents attached to children were influenced by their role in the family structure. The majority of wives wanted the benefit of help from children because they were concerned with most of the children's activities in the house. This was clear when they gave the reasons for their sex preference of children. The expectation of help in housework within a short time derived from the preference of a girl for the eldest child and this preference was more prevalent for wives than for husbands. In the house, a woman was busier than her husband. Her function as a housewife was not lessened by her work outside the house. To the working class mother (Rainwater, 1960:86), caring for children

represents the central activity of her life. Rainwater points out that, for her, the children are considered mainly as her property and responsibility, and it is through them she expects to fulfil herself and her potentialities. On the other hand, husbands were not very concerned with house activities but since they were viewed as the person who was responsible for the economy of the household, the economic reasons were more often given by male respondents. The patriarchal system, which puts a priority on the male position, led to both wives and husbands stating that the son was the one who was responsible for caring for younger siblings, and this was clearer when many male respondents chose the boy as the first/eldest child so that the son could replace the father's position in some circumstances. Ceremonial events that were viewed as one of the family's source of pride were logically connected by male respondents with the reasons for wanting a son.

Older respondents appeared to be more concerned with the need to have someone caring for them if they were ill. Most respondents who stated "caring for parents when sick" as the first advantage derived from having children, were in the age group of 35 years and over with the majority being in the age group of 45 years and over. Older people also assigned more importance to the benefit of having economic help in old age. The majority of the respondents who wanted some assurance of economic help in old age, especially among the husbands, were in the age group of more than 35 years. "Noise and nuisance" were more often mentioned by older husbands who also stated the worry when children become ill. Among responses given by the respondents aged 40 years and over, the disadvantage of "noise and nuisance" was second in frequency among female respondents and the disadvantage of "emotional strain" was the second most commonly stated response among the male respondents.

Another important demographic factor affecting the importance of particular advantages and disadvantages of having many children, was the number of children still living. There was a tendency that the more children still living, the more the respondents considered the response of "children give help to parents" as the most important benefit. Fifty-eight per cent of all female respondents having more than three children still living, including two female respondents

who had eleven children still living, stated the first advantage of having many children as the notion that children greatly assist their parents. It also explains that a family with more children tend to have many older children who gave help in family activities. On the other hand, only 25 per cent of this category stated the general financial costs increase as the first disadvantage of having many children. This fact indicates that the wives who had more than three living children, tend to give more positive economic value to the existence of many children. The psychological burden such as noise and nuisance, tiredness and emotional strain or worry when children became ill, were the first disadvantages considered by the majority of these female respondents. This means that the negative value of having many children put forward by most wives who had more than three children was based on emotional feeling. On the other hand, the majority of the female respondents who had no children considered the subjective reasons such as "happiness" as the most important advantage of having many children, but three-quarters of them had no views about the disadvantages of having many children. Their responses confirmed the findings based on the question of the feeling after respondents had had their first child, which showed that the most common response both among the wives and among the husbands was happiness for the parents. Other data indicated that 88 per cent of female respondents who stated no idea about the disadvantages of having many children were those who had three and less living children.

The level of wages seems to have a strong effect on the decision concerning either the positive or the negative value of having children. All female respondents and 65 per cent of male respondents who considered that the first advantage of having many children was the assurance of economic help in old age were workers whose wages were less than Rp. 10,000 per month. These were the daily workers who had no guarantee of obtaining a pension-allowance or some other source of support in old age. Household help given by children was the first advantage of having many children mentioned by 85 per cent of female respondents and by 68 per cent of male respondents who had monthly wages less than Rp. 10,000. This finding has confirmed Rainwater's statement (Rainwater, 1960:2) that

traditionally and in reality it is the poor people - "the working class", "the lower class", who have many children. They tend to consider the more positive values of having children because they have the expectation that having many children would cover the shortage of their income. With respect to Askham's hypothesis (Askham, 1975:96-97), these people could be classified into the lower working class group as the poorest section of society who tend to have a present rather than a future time orientation because for them, the future is more uncertain and insecure than it is for other social groups. The proportion emphasising the economic benefits of children was also high among the respondents whose monthly wages were between Rp. 10,000 and Rp. 30,000 while economic benefit was not important to the staff workers whose wages were in the bracket of Rp. 30,000 to Rp. 40,000 and more than Rp. 40,000. This group viewed the advantages of having many children as a source of happiness for the parents and family and none of them considered the economic benefit.

Besides the perception of economic benefits derived from having many children, the lower wage group also emphasised the economic burden as the main disadvantage of having many children. Ninety-seven per cent of the female respondents and 74 per cent of the male respondents who stated general financial cost increases as the first disadvantage of having children were respondents in the wage group of below Rp. 10,000. All female respondents and 6 out of 7 male respondents who considered that many children had no disadvantages, as well as 91 per cent of females and 83 per cent of males who stated no idea, were also included in this wage group.

The level of education and religious education of the individual were not significant compared with the community opinions that had been influenced by both religious and traditional values. However, it was interesting that the less formal religious education received by the female respondents, the more likely they were to stress the economic benefits derived from many children. When respondents were asked to give their opinion on religious - traditional ideas that stated that children were good luck, and the more children, the more fortune, 81 per cent of wives and 77 per cent of husbands stated that they agreed with this idea. The source of this statement is: "And kill not your children for fear of poverty. We (Allah) provide (sustenance) for them and you" (The

Holy Qur'an, XV:31). This statement has been interpreted from generation to generation and it is often proposed by the religious leaders that children are a boon and a blessing given by God.

It was clear that the estate worker community placed a strong emphasis upon the economic and physical interests related to the value of children. Social and psychological interests were only in evidence among certain sub-groups. V. Hull (1976:247) hypothesizes that in a poor landless peasant society, the security value of children would be important, and White (1976:328) confirms the view of "security in old age" as a primary component of the value of children in peasant societies. In the estate workers society, the security value of children was more probably emphasized for immediate needs although there were many parents who referred directly to future security. The parents did not need an additional labour source for cultivating as is usually found in most peasant societies, but they needed extra assistance in the household activities and extra money to supplement their insufficient incomes.

4.3 Economic Benefits of Children

Two of the three types of utilities proposed by Liebenstein (1957:161) that have a direct relationship with the economic benefit of children are: the utility to be derived from the child as a productive agent, that is, at some point the child may be expected to enter the labour force and contribute to the family income, and the utility derived from the child as a potential source of security, either in old age or at some other time. The child as a productive agent and as a source of security in Javanese society has been discussed by White (1976) who concluded that the economic benefit of children depends on the age and sex of the child, and is affected by the economic and social characteristics of the community. In the estate worker community, children as productive agents were limited to the servicing activities of the household, such as, caring for younger siblings, collecting firewood, cutting the grass, tending animals and doing housework (see Table 2.5). Respondents related questions on the economic benefits of children to the present

contribution. When respondents were asked about the economic support expected from the children, economic help in old age was not mentioned as it had been when respondents were asked the general advantages of having children (Table 4.3). In the VOC survey (Singarimbun, Darroch and Meyer, 1977:104-110), it was found that 80 per cent of men in rural Sundanese societies expected their sons to give economic support in old age, compared with 69 per cent of women and 80 per cent of men who expected the same kind of support from their daughters. Similar studies in several other countries (Ware, 1978:23) found that more than 70 per cent of rural respondents expected to rely on their children when they were old. In their view, economic support implies practical support to cover the shortage of economic needs experienced during old age. This finding supports Caldwell's argument (1976:344) that the net balance of wealth flow tends to be from children to parents. Most respondents whose parents were still alive gave such economic help as clothing and daily needs. Only 7 per cent of the wives and 5 per cent of the husbands had never given their parents any economic help. Most of them were younger couples who were still living with their parents.

In the terms of V. Hull's study (1976:242) which defines gathering activities such as collecting fire-wood and grass as productive to the household economy and housework as household service, in the estate workers' family the girls were more concerned with the household services whereas the boys were more concerned with the productive activities. There was a consistency between sex preference and children assisting with family activities. Ninety-four per cent of female respondents and 83 per cent of male respondents who preferred a girl as the eldest child expected to receive some household assistance in a short time, and those who wanted more girls considered that the girl could better assist with housework. Eighty-five husbands who considered that they had sufficient children to assist family activities stated that the main task of a daughter in their family was to help with the housework.

Most female respondents who had no children in reply to the question of economic support expected from children said that they

TABLE 4.3
ECONOMIC SUPPORT EXPECTED FROM THE CHILDREN

Economic Supports	W i v e s				H u s b a n d s			
	Daughter		Son		Daughter		Son	
	FR	SR	FR	SR	FR	SR	FR	SR
1. Financing younger sibs	8	-	10	-	13	-	13	-
2. Sharing economic responsibility with the parents	69	3	78	4	63	3	76	8
3. Up to children themselves	9	-	11	-	10	-	9	-
4. Clothing	9	5	10	4	11	6	12	4
5. Daily needs	18	3	13	2	20	4	10	9
6. Assisting family work	1	2	1	3	2	2	3	2
7. Making ornaments	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
8. Paying costs when parents get sick	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
9. No expectation/ Does not have any expectation	29	-	20	-	27	-	20	-
10. No response	4	-	4	-	1	-	4	-
	147	13	147	14	148	15	148	23

Note: FR = First Response; SR = Second Response

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q38/W and Q43/.)

did not have any expectation. About six to seven per cent of respondents expected economic support with the kind of support being at the discretion of the children themselves. The expectation of economic benefit was lower for daughters than for sons among both the wives and the husbands. Again, the patriarchal system played some part in the answering of this question. The married daughter was not as capable of giving support

as was a married son because the degree to which a married daughter could support her parents depended on her husband's decision.

The response, "sharing economic responsibility with the parents", implied various types of support that would lighten the economic burden experienced by most estate workers. Supporting younger siblings, providing clothing and daily needs could actually be included in the response, "sharing economic responsibility with the parents". Those answers were intentionally placed in different codes to obtain a clear picture of those respondents who emphasized their expectation as a particular need. Although most parents expected economic support from their children, there may have been a special preference for a particular type of support. There were many people who said that they had sufficient income to cover daily needs but that they hoped that their elder children would contribute towards the cost of younger children continuing their education, to buy clothing at a particular time (usually at "lebaran/ 'Idil Fitri'), to give special food, etc. The words "mantu-mantu kasesah sepuh" that have been translated as "sharing economic responsibility with the parents" seem to reflect the poor condition of family wealth. Female respondents who expected their children to support younger children were the wives who had three or more children. The majority of the respondents who expected some sharing in economic responsibility from their children had one to three children.

The poor conditions of the estate workers were confirmed by the replies to the question of whether or not their wages were sufficient to cover their daily needs. Sixty-one per cent of the wives and 71 per cent of the husbands considered that their wages were not sufficient or less than sufficient. The real situation could be worse than what was stated by respondents because there was a tendency for workers to reply "sufficient" simply to show their loyalty to the estate. One of the most frequently mentioned responses in relation to the means of balancing the shortage of wages was the support of children. However, the two most frequent means of overcoming shortages as stated by the wives were to be in debt and for both the husband and the wife to work. Seeking additional work was another high frequency response among the husbands.

The shortage of family income forced children to work from an early age to meet the daily household needs. Nag (1972:64) assumes that the economic contribution of children is higher in agricultural societies than in industrial societies, but the assumption that the higher percentages of "economically active" children in Asian countries depends on the monsoon, is not applicable for the estate community. This is one of the important differences between the economic contribution of children in most agricultural societies and children in the estate community. For example, in the Buginese peasant community (Saefullah, 1975:39-42) it was found that the high percentage of children engaged in the harvesting and in the cultivation of land (sawah) was influenced by their training to work in those skills from the age of 4 or 5 years. At harvest time, the primary schools were practically on holiday because most pupils went to the sawah and at the beginning of cultivation time, most male pupils did not go to school because they had to assist their fathers. In the estate, people did not have to take the monsoon into account. If it were assumed that one of the general characteristics of peasant societies was the poor economic conditions, the estate workers were in an even worse position. At harvest time, the peasant could hope for sufficient income to buy the children's clothing or some household needs, to perform marriage or circumcision ceremonies, to repair the house, etc. Among the estate workers community, all those needs were considered as luxuries.

Among the 170 children who had finished their education and 5 adult children who had never been to school, 117 had recently begun to work and the others were helping their parents. Ninety children had been married. Consequently, there were three groups of children who shared the household expenses of their parents and one group who were only concerned with household services. The children who had been working and were still single could be expected to give more economic support than other groups, because they did not have any family responsibility of their own and the majority from this group were staying with their parents. The children who had been working and had been married were not able to give much financial assistance to their parents; they commonly gave some financial assistance at

festivals or when their parents were ill. The contribution of children who were not working themselves depended on the parental activities; they may help their father in the yard, or join their father collecting firewood to cover the shortage of income. At other times, they had to cut grass, or stayed at home to do housework. The contribution of children who were still going to school was limited by the time available to help their parents. There were many children who collected firewood or grass after school, but most of them were concerned only with the housework.

Economic support in old age was not mentioned either in the first or second responses, among either wives or husbands. The response may, however, have been influenced somewhat by their understanding of the terminology or sentence used in the question. Lucas and Ware (1977:234) note that ideally the person should be interviewed in the language in which she or he can be most articulate. The estate workers and people in the village were familiar with the term "economy" which in Sundanese is also termed "ekonomi", but it would seem that their understanding of "economy" is limited to direct financial and economic support, such as clothing, food and other forms of expenses. They did not realize that caring for parents in old age was included in the sense of economic support, because other data indicated that they actually understood the benefit of economic help in old age. For example, the third most frequently mentioned response related to general advantages of having many children, was the assurance of economic help in old age. When the relevant respondents were asked the reason for choosing as an ideal number of more than three children, about 3 per cent of wives and about 5 per cent of husbands mentioned "economic help in old age". This aspect was more evident when they were asked about the people whom they expected would care for them in their old age. Ninety-two per cent of wives and 95 per cent of husbands expected that their children would care for them in old age (see Table 2.7). The frequency with which respondents refer to economic help from children in old age, therefore, depends greatly on what question is asked.

4.4 Economic Costs of Children

From the economic point of view, costs of children are divided into direct maintenance costs and indirect or opportunity costs (Liebenstain, 1957; Mueller, 1972; Esphensshade, 1977; Lucas, 1977). Direct maintenance costs refer to the conventional current expenses of bearing and rearing children, such as food, clothing, housing, education, medical care and other financial expenses. Indirect costs refer to the opportunities foregone due to children, represented by such lost opportunities as the inability of mothers to work if they must attend to children, lost earnings during the gestation period or lessened mobility of parents with heavy family responsibilities. Direct maintenance costs can be measured in any currency such as in dollars for Australia and in rupiah for Indonesia, but these costs are difficult to generalize because the market costs, especially in Indonesian society, will vary from area to area and from time to time, as well as being determined by the perception and experience of the parents themselves. Sugito et al. (1976), for example, found that 65 per cent of the respondents in Pliken, a village in Central Java, mentioned the average cost of clothing for a child in a year in the range of less than Rp. 2,000 to Rp. 6,000, compared with 72 per cent of the estate workers in Cibodas - Cikajang who stated that costs ranged from less than Rp. 2,000 to Rp. 3,000. Eighty-nine per cent of respondents in Sugito's finding had spent money on medical care of children, whereas 81 per cent of estate workers received free medical care for their children.

The level of opportunity costs is likely to vary according to socio-economic conditions. In rural areas, (Esphensshade, 1977:6) where women take their children with them in the fields or can care for them at the same time as they are doing household chores, the female role of mother and worker are not incompatible. In the estate worker community, a mother did not even have the worry of caring for her children, as someone among the members of her extended family or among her neighbours could take care of her children without payment.

As discussed in the previous section, financial problems were not stated as the chief disadvantages of having children. About 26 per cent of the wives and 34 per cent of the husbands mentioned that aspect as the first disadvantage, but there were many respondents who considered this aspect only as the second disadvantage and some of them even mentioned the financial burden of children as the third response. This response was similar to the reasons for agreeing with the notion of limiting the number of children. Only 8 per cent of wives and 16 per cent of husbands agreed with the idea of limiting the number of children for economic reasons. The other reasons, of course, could be interpreted from an economic point of view; for example, the reason of "ease in rearing children" could be related to the opportunity costs, but from the perception of people in the village, economic problems meant actual financial costs.

To gauge the economic cost of children in estate workers' families is not an easy calculation. There were many kinds of costs which could not be calculated. The perception of costs as stated by the respondents, were limited to what they themselves had expended and sometimes they had forgotten particular expenses. It was difficult for the parents to calculate the maintenance costs for younger children that had been given to the elder children or to other people. Most people in the village did not like mentioning the price of presents to the people concerned, and they also felt that it was impolite to ask people about the price of a present. An attempt was made to determine how much money respondents had spent on clothing and medical care for their children over the 12 months preceding the study. Respondents were asked about expenses for thanksgivings, circumcision and marriage ceremonies, or expenses during childbirth; these questions were related to the most recent ceremony or birth, depending on the respondents' situation. Respondents who could not calculate specific maintenance costs were quite common especially in respect of expenses for marriage and circumcision ceremonies. Although the respondents were asked to give estimates for clothing for the preceding year, 5 per cent of the respondents were unable to make an estimation or had forgotten the exact amount. Expenses for thanksgivings, circumcision and marriage ceremonies were mere estimates. It was

impossible for respondents to calculate or even to remember to what extent expenses and goods had been shared by other people when they performed a particular ceremony. It may be possible for an economist to use some method to estimate the cost of children for a given ceremony in a society which has a tradition of sharing the ceremonial needs. The study did not ask respondents about the cost of food for each child, because it would have been difficult for them to estimate daily needs that were mostly obtained on credit.

Tables 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8 give a general picture of the frequency of several costs as perceived by the respondents. According to these figures, circumcision and marriage were the most expensive ceremonies related to children. The average cost of a circumcision ceremony was between Rp. 30,000 and Rp. 40,000, and average expenses incurred for a marriage ceremony were between Rp. 40,000 and Rp. 50,000. The costs of bearing a child, clothing and the thanksgiving ceremony, were concentrated in the first and the second lower cost groupings. Although the circumcision and the marriage ceremonies involved greater expense, no respondent considered those events as the major items of expenditure. Thirty-two per cent of wives and thirty-three per cent of husbands stated that clothing was the second most expensive outlay after food. This was the most common response in respect of nine considered items of expenditure. This answer was reasonable because clothing was bought every year and for 69 per cent of respondents, it was common to buy clothing for children more than once a year. The older the age of the children, the more frequently clothing was bought and the higher the total costs for clothing. The thanksgiving ceremony for children was performed between two and seven times with a mean frequency of 3.3 times. The total cost of the thanksgiving ceremony for a child should therefore be multiplied at least by three. Medical care was not a consideration for most estate workers because it was available in the estate clinic.

Nine per cent of the wives and 6 per cent of the husbands considered the main expenditure besides food was related to the rearing of children. The question of limiting the number of children revealed another aspect of the financial problem. Thirty-three per cent of the wives and 43 per cent of the husbands agreed with the concept of

TABLE 4.4
AVERAGE COST OF BEARING A BABY
(AS STATED BY THE WIVES)

Average Cost	Frequency	
	Number	Percentage
Less than Rp. 2,000	50	37.0
Rp. 2,000 - Rp. 2,999	52	38.5
Rp. 3,000 - Rp. 3,999	8	5.9
Rp. 4,000 - Rp. 4,999	9	6.7
Rp. 5,000 - Rp. 5,999	2	1.5
Rp. 6,000 - Rp. 7,499	1	0.7
Rp. 7,500 and over	7	5.2
Free	1	0.7
Could not be calculated	5	3.8
	135	100.0

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q34/W)

TABLE 4.5
AVERAGE COST OF CLOTHING FOR A CHILD IN A YEAR
(AS STATED BY THE HUSBANDS AS THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD)

Average Cost	Frequency	
	Number	Percentage
Less than Rp. 2,000	66	44.6
Rp. 2,000 - Rp. 2,999	40	27.0
Rp. 3,000 - Rp. 3,999	10	6.4
Rp. 4,000 - Rp. 4,999	7	4.7
Rp. 5,000 - Rp. 5,999	3	2.0
Rp. 6,000 - Rp. 7,499	3	2.0
Rp. 7,500 - Rp. 9,999	2	1.4
Rp. 10,000 and over	1	0.7
Could not be calculated	6	4.1
No response/ No children	10	6.8
	148	100.0

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q30/H)

TABLE 4.6

AVERAGE COST FOR ONE THANKSGIVING CEREMONY FOR A CHILD
(AS STATED BY THE HUSBANDS AS THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD)

Average Cost	Frequency	
	Number	Percentage
Less than Rp. 5,000	38	25.7
Rp. 5,000 - Rp. 5,999	30	20.3
Rp. 6,000 - Rp. 6,999	7	4.7
Rp. 7,000 - Rp. 7,999	7	4.7
Rp. 8,000 - Rp. 9,999	15	10.1
Rp. 10,000 - Rp. 14,999	15	10.1
Rp. 15,000 and over	7	4.7
Could not be calculated	19	12.8
No response/no children	10	6.8
	148	100.0

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q35/H)

TABLE 4.7

AVERAGE COST FOR THE CIRCUMCISION CEREMONY FOR A CHILD
(AS STATED BY THE HUSBANDS AS THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD)

Average Cost	Frequency	
	Number	Percentage
Less than Rp. 10,000	4	4.5
Rp. 10,000 - Rp. 19,999	8	9.1
Rp. 20,000 - Rp. 29,999	11	12.5
Rp. 30,000 - Rp. 39,999	11	12.5
Rp. 40,000 - Rp. 49,999	12	13.6
Rp. 50,000 - Rp. 74,999	5	5.7
Rp. 75,000 and over	8	9.1
Could not be calculated/ Forgotten	20	22.7
Free/ together with other persons	9	10.3
	88	100.0

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q37/H)

TABLE 4.8

AVERAGE COST FOR THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY FOR A CHILD
(AS STATED BY THE HUSBANDS AS THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD)

Average Cost	Frequency	
	Number	Percentage
Less than Rp. 20,000	1	2.5
Rp. 20,000 - Rp. 29,999	9	22.5
Rp. 30,000 - Rp. 39,999	4	10.0
Rp. 40,000 - Rp. 49,999	4	10.0
Rp. 50,000 - Rp. 59,999	2	5.0
Rp. 60,000 - Rp. 74,999	3	7.5
Rp. 75,000 - Rp. 99,999	2	5.0
Rp. 100,000 and over	6	15.0
Could not be calculated/ Forgotten	9	22.5
	40	100.0

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q33/H)

limiting the number of children because they considered that they were able to rear their children more easily. However the frequency of this response may have been somewhat influenced by the family planning campaign. Sixty-eight per cent of female respondents who considered that four to five children was an ideal number, gave the reason that that particular number was still an easy number of children to rear.

The schooling in the estate was not free to the estate community in Cibodas - Cikajang. The children from an estate worker family paid the same amount for their school-fees as did non-estate worker children. School expenses were included in items considered expensive by respondents. Among respondents, 7.4 per cent of females and 6.6 per cent of males considered that school expenses were the most expensive items. The most expensive item of the school requisites was stated as being the "pramuka" (boy/girl scout) uniform that had to be worn at particular school ceremonies or public celebrations.

With respect to the perceived opportunity cost of raising children, the study posed certain questions to the wives who had children still living. Some aspects of this subject have been

referred to in Chapter Two. Fifty per cent of the wives stated that children did not disturb their work. When they went to work or were doing housework, the children were cared for or were watched by parents, relatives, elder children, neighbours, neighbouring children or by the husband when he was free from his work (see Table 2.2). They also could entrust their babies to the estate child care centre. Twenty-one per cent of female respondents who had children still living usually did their housework while caring for their babies, and there were three female respondents whose babies were brought with them when they went to work. This evidence supports the statement (Ware, 1978:13) that the theory of women being kept from productive work by the burden of childbearing and raising is not really applicable for women in developing countries. In reality, the activities of the estate worker women in Cibodas - Cikajang were not greatly disrupted by their children. On the other hand, people involved in caring for or watching their children were able to continue their activities also. They were prepared to care for other women's children when they were not occupied in their own activities. Sometimes they also cared for the children while doing their own housework.

4.5 Correlation Between Income of Parents and Costs of Children

Income of parents in this study is meant as the total wages received by both wife and husband. Liebenstein (1957:162) hypothesizes that with rising per capita income, the value of children as consumption goods remains more or less stable, but their value as productive and servicing participants and as potential sources of security declines, although at a slightly different rate. The study does not test this hypothesis, but if the hypothesis is true, the value of children in the estate community will remain high. Seventy-one per cent of the husbands and 61 per cent of the wives considered that their wages did not meet their daily needs. One of the sources to cover the shortage of their wages was the contribution given by the children. The wage was based on the amount of work done by each worker. The only additional wage was that of the worker who had been working for twenty years and received a gratification to the amount of one month's wages; this amount, however, did not change the amount of the regular wage. When the estate was under the management of "Perusahaan Negara

Perkebunan", people were able to assume that the rise in the number of children would result in a rise in the family income. Each worker received a monthly contribution such as rice and other primary needs. The amount of rice was given in conformity with the number of members of each worker's family. Today, the amount of the family income depends primarily on the physical capability of the worker concerned. The older the age of the worker the lower the income of the family.

Table 4.9 shows the correlation between the income of parents and various costs of children. It can be seen that the correlation is not strong. Income had little impact on medical care costs and the performing of circumcision and marriage ceremonies. Any member of the worker's family could obtain treatment and medicine from the estate clinic as long as the medicine was available in the clinic. Circumcision and marriage ceremonies were performed as a mark of social prestige. Although the income did not meet their daily needs, people tried to hold these ceremonies in the same way as other members of the community. As a consequence, most people who held these ceremonies, had to sell their own property or had to obtain a loan from other people. Table 4.13 and Table 4.14 give some illustration that the workers with low incomes who had performed the circumcision or the marriage ceremony for their children, had incurred as much expense as those workers with a higher income. Thirty per cent of workers with the lowest income had had their children circumcised without a great deal of expense because they were circumcised with other children in the "massal" circumcision. If the ceremony was not viewed as a mark of social prestige, the estate workers would have preferred to circumcise their children in the "massal" circumcision which is usually held every year rather than having to sell property or suffer from the hardship of paying off the debt.

Respondents estimated an average expenditure on the marriage of the child of Rp. 44,500 or more than four times the lowest monthly income, while the average cost of circumcision was estimated to be Rp. 31,200. The average monthly family expenditure was Rp. 16,350, and the mean number of living children among the estate population was 5.29 per family. If it is assumed that the maximum daily needs for

TABLE 4.9

CORRELATION BETWEEN INCOME OF PARENTS AND COSTS OF CHILDREN
(PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENT)

Costs of Children		Correlation with Income
1.	Bearing	0.2
2.	Medical care	0.1
3.	Clothing	0.2
4.	Thanksgiving ceremony	0.2
5.	Circumcision ceremony	0.1
6.	Marriage ceremony	0.1

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q19, Q30/H, Q31/H, Q33/H, Q34/W, Q35/H and Q37/H)

a child, on average, are three-quarters of the adults' needs and the cost of each child is the same, the mean cost for a child was Rp. 2,055 a month. Based on this rough calculation, the amount of money spent on a marriage ceremony was approximately the amount spent on daily needs for a child for 22 months, and that of the circumcision ceremony, for about 15 months. Because the majority of respondents did not earn enough to meet their daily needs, a worker was not able to perform the marriage or circumcision ceremony from savings.

The level of the costs of bearing, clothing and the thanksgiving ceremony for a child seemed to be similar among all income groups. For most groups those costs were concentrated in the first and second cost groupings (Tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12). Respondents were not necessarily consistently high or low in their statements of costs. There were some respondents in the lowest income group who had performed a thanksgiving ceremony or had costs of child bearing which were high while they stated that the cost of clothing was lower than Rp. 4,000 for a child in a year. The allocation of income for clothing was also affected by the number of children still living. Ninety-four per cent of the respondents having five or more children spent less than Rp. 4,000 on clothing for each child, whereas 23 per cent of other respondents spent more than Rp. 4,000 for the same purpose, including those respondents who spent Rp. 7,500

TABLE 4.10

COST OF BEARING A CHILD BY INCOME OF PARENTS (IN RP.)

Income of Parents per Month	Cost of Bearing						Total
	Less than 2,000	2,000- 2,999	3,000- 4,999	5,000 & over	Free	Couldn't be cal- culated	
Less than 10,000	13	9	3	1	-	2	28
10,000 - 19,999	18	17	3	3	-	1	42
20,000 - 29,999	14	21	7	2	-	2	46
30,000 - 39,999	4	5	4	1	1	-	15
40,000 & over	1	-	-	3	-	-	4
Total	50	52	17	10	1	5	135

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q19 and Q34/W)

TABLE 4.11

COST OF CLOTHING FOR A CHILD IN A YEAR BY INCOME OF PARENTS (IN RP.)

Income of Parents per Month	Cost of Clothing					Total
	Less than 2,00	2,000- 3,999	4,000- 7,499	7,500 & over	Couldn't be calculated	
Less than 10,000	18	8	-	-	3	29
10,000 - 19,999	19	17	4	1	2	43
20,000 - 29,999	25	16	5	-	1	47
30,000 - 39,999	3	9	2	1	-	15
40,000 & over	1	-	2	1	-	4
Total	66	50	13	3	6	138

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q19 and Q30/H)

TABLE 4.12

COST OF ONE THANKSGIVING CEREMONY FOR A CHILD BY INCOME OF PARENTS
(IN RP.)

Income of Parents per Month	Cost of Thanksgiving Ceremony					Total
	Less than 2,000	5,000- 6,999	7,000- 9,999	10,000 & over	Couldn't be cal- culated	
Less than 10,000	11	9	2	1	6	29
10,000 - 19,999	13	13	9	4	4	43
20,000 - 29,999	12	12	5	10	8	47
30,000 - 39,999	2	3	6	4	-	15
40,000 & over	-	-	-	3	1	4
Total	38	37	22	22	19	138

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q19 and Q35/H)

TABLE 4.13

COST OF CIRCUMCISION CEREMONY FOR A CHILD BY INCOME OF PARENTS
(IN RP.)

Income of Parents per Month	Cost of Circumcision Ceremony					Total
	Less than 10,000	10,000- 39,999	40,000- 74,999	75,000 & over	Free Couldn't be cal- culated	
Less than 10,000	3	5	3	-	7	23
10,000 - 19,999	-	15	1	3	-	26
20,000 - 29,999	1	7	7	4	2	28
30,000 - 39,999	-	2	5	1	-	9
40,000 & over	-	1	1	-	-	2
Total	4	30	17	8	9	88

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q19 and Q37/H)

TABLE 4.14

COST OF MARRIAGE CEREMONY FOR A CHILD BY INCOME OF PARENTS
(IN RP.)

Income of Parents per Month	Cost of Marriage Ceremony					Total
	Less than 20,000	20,000- 49,999	50,000- 99,999	100,000 & over	Couldn't be cal- culated	
Less than 10,000	1	7	2	-	1	11
10,000 - 19,999	-	5	2	1	4	12
20,000 - 29,999	-	4	-	2	4	10
30,000 - 39,999	-	1	2	3	-	6
40,000 & over	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	1	17	7	6	9	40

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q19 and Q33/H)

or more. The costs of childbearing and clothing are essential items of expenditure that every family in every income group must incur even families with uncertain incomes. The community as a whole was not aware of the amount that someone had paid for childbearing or for clothing. However, this was not the case in respect of the cost of the thanksgiving ceremony. The motive for holding a thanksgiving ceremony was more traditional and sometimes it was performed under pressure from the couple's parents. Therefore the number of thanksgiving ceremonies was determined on the one hand by the sense of tradition and on the other hand, by the level of prosperity of the family concerned. Many people were involved in the preparation for the ceremony but those requisites were traditionally provided by the members of the society.

4.6 Perception of Expected Job for the Children

In Chapter One, there was reference to the fact that the majority of the respondents' parents had worked or were still working in the estate. Before 1971, the estate was free from political interference and it held good public opinion in the sight of the people in the village. There was some degree of prestige in working in the estate.

Some problems emerged after the estate leader stated that the workers had to be supporters of the government party. Most workers who did not want to change their political party resigned from the estate. Public opinion then changed and this process of change was also influenced by the policy of abolishing certain family contributions, such as the rice that was given in conformity with the number of members of each worker's family. To measure internal public opinion concerning their children, the study asked respondents some questions about the expected job opportunities for their children. Forty-seven per cent of the wives and 48 per cent of the husbands hoped that some of their children would work in the estate. The reasons for wanting and for not wanting their children to have a position in the estate are seen in Table 4.15 and Table 4.16.

Routine income was the most common response among both wives and husbands. Routine income was taken to mean the assured wage that respondents received periodically. The prestige in working in the estate was evident with the second most frequent response that they wanted their children to work in the estate in order to continue their parents' careers. Some respondents considered that it was easy to obtain work in the estate and the others only wanted their children to work in the estate if they were unable to obtain other work. They considered that the staff and field supervisors had better positions because they were provided with more facilities and were respected by most workers.

The majority of respondents who did not want their children to work in the estate stated as their reasons, low wages and that the emotional experience of working in the estate was hard and tiring. There were many daily workers who viewed themselves as the lowest and most underdeveloped people in the society. They worked in the estate because they did not have another job, but they hoped that their children would have better job opportunities. As some indication, 27 per cent of the wives and 18 per cent of the husbands did not want their children to work in the estate because they wanted their children to have a better position (Table 4.16). This reason was similar to the respondents' view that they only wanted their children to work in the estate if they obtained a better position than the respondent (Table 4.15). It would seem that these opinions are economically

TABLE 4.15

REASONS OF RESPONDENTS FOR WANTING THEIR CHILDREN
TO WORK IN THE ESTATE

R e a s o n s	Number of Respondents	
	Wives	Husbands
1. Routine income	35	38
2. To continue parents' career	12	12
3. If no other work	8	7
4. Only if it is better than the respondent's position	2	2
5. Children have been working in the estate	2	3
6. Easy to get that work	2	2
7. No reason	9	7
	70	71

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q39/W and Q44/H)

TABLE 4.16

REASONS OF RESPONDENTS FOR NOT WANTING THEIR CHILDREN
TO WORK IN THE ESTATE

R e a s o n s	Number of Respondents	
	Wives	Husbands
1. Low wage	15	18
2. Hardship and tiring	29	31
3. Want children to have a better position	21	14
4. Want children to continue their education	1	4
5. Lack of freedom	3	1
6. No reason	8	9
	77	77

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q39/W and Q44/H)

motivated indicating that the respondents wanted their children to earn good incomes. One wife and four husbands considered that working in the estate was only suited to people who were not able to continue their education. The reason, "lack of freedom", refers to the fact that personal opinions were suppressed by the directives of the estate leader.

An interest in working outside the estate was mentioned by almost all respondents. Ninety-two per cent of the wives and 94 per cent of the husbands wanted their children to have a job outside the estate, including those respondents who wanted some of their children to work in the estate. Respondents were given the opportunity to state two preferences for job opportunities for their children but most respondents mentioned only one choice. The frequency of a second preference for a son was higher than for a daughter and the husbands were more enthusiastic to state two preferences than were their wives (Table 4.17 and Table 4.18).

The question of preferred job opportunities for the children was an open-ended question that may have been influenced by the interviewer's effort to obtain a quick reply, but all jobs mentioned were known to the people in the village. Teachers had a good public image in the community. They were known to the community not only through their educational activities but they also often dealt with the community on several other occasions, such as giving some specific information in the area of community health and community education or as census enumerators, etc. The teachers were included in the high status group and were respected due to an old Javanese proverb that was known in the village, which is as follows: "guru, ratu, wong atuwa karo", which means, the people who have to be respected are, the teacher, the Queen, and parents. The proverb does not refer to a special kind of teacher and respondents only knew school teachers and religious teachers. It was not surprising therefore that the most frequent response stated by the respondents was that of teacher. The response, "trader" that was mentioned more in connection with the daughter was meant to include people who operate the stalls in the market or in the kampung. This job was appropriate and acceptable

TABLE 4.17

PREFERRED JOB FOR DAUGHTERS OUTSIDE THE ESTATE
(NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX)

Preferred Job	Female Respondents		Male Respondents	
	First	Second	First	Second
1. Teacher	45	13	50	3
2. Trader	42	4	44	6
3. Midwife, nurse	23	7	17	13
4. Farmer	7	2	9	4
5. Office worker	3	1	1	5
6. Tailor	3	2	2	3
7. Religious Teacher	5	-	5	1
8. Agricultural Engineer	-	-	1	-
9. No preference, no daughter	9	-	10	-
	137	29	139	35

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q41/W and Q46/H)

TABLE 4.18

PREFERRED JOB FOR SONS OUTSIDE THE ESTATE
(NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX)

Preferred Job	Female Respondents		Male Respondents	
	First	Second	First	Second
1. Teacher	36	4	29	8
2. Trader	16	12	13	12
3. Doctor, nurse	7	1	6	7
4. Farmer	28	7	33	3
5. Office worker	19	8	23	6
6. Military	11	2	6	7
7. Driver, mechanical worker	3	-	6	-
8. Agricultural engineer	7	-	11	2
9. Religious teacher	2	-	2	1
10. No preference, no son	9	-	10	-
	137	34	139	46

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q41/W and Q46/H)

for women because it sometimes could be operated within the household. Most people in the village viewed a woman as a housewife who was more or less restricted to the home.

Wives and husbands differed in their perceptions of preferred job opportunities for their sons but had almost similar perceptions for their daughters. Trader and teacher were the most frequently mentioned jobs for the daughter by both wives and husbands. Midwife or nurse was more frequently mentioned by some wives as their first choice, while the frequency of husbands mentioning that particular job was almost the same for the first and the second choices. The most frequently mentioned job for a son was that of teacher among the wives and a farmer among the husbands. Although the most frequent wives' choice was the teacher, the proportion of both wives and husbands who wished their sons to be farmers was more than 20 per cent of all first choices. Office worker and trader were the third and the second most common responses, both among the wives and among the husbands. The proportion of the wives wishing their sons to be members of the military, was the same as the proportion of husbands who wished their son to be an agricultural engineer. Two kinds of response were coded into military; these were, as a policeman and as a soldier.

Based on the figures in Table 4.17 and Table 4.18, the workers were no longer greatly interested in agricultural activities. The possibility of becoming a farmer was stated but the number of respondents who mentioned agricultural activities for the daughter was very few. The workers were acquainted with the career of agricultural engineer because some of the estate staff had graduated from the agricultural engineering faculty; they also knew that some other staff were members of the military. Respondents did not mention a specific type of office work; they only mentioned "office worker" or "working in the office". An office worker implied a "public servant" to some people in the village and it was assumed that the office worker had adequate income. The local employees such as clerks in the Desa or Kecamatan and people who collected taxes were also known as office workers.

Due to the fact that only 32 per cent of the wives and 34 per cent of the husbands gave positive reasons for expecting their children to work in the estate ("routine income" and "to continue parent's career"), it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that the tradition of working in the estate is likely to change in the future and the estate workers will first try to obtain another job for their children before asking the estate supervisor. The slogan "the peasant children to be the peasant", known among the old peasant generation in the village, was no longer absolutely true.

CHAPTER 5

C O N C L U S I O N

The perception of the value of children in Cibodas - Cikajang was derived from three functions of children in family life, specifically the economic function, the social function and the psychological function. The perception was strongly influenced by religion, tradition, economic condition and the estate-worker relationship.

The social and the psychological values were not much different from other peasant agricultural societies which have been studied, but the economic value was quite different. In the estate worker community, children as productive agents were limited to the servicing activities of the household. They were not engaged in cultivating as commonly occurs in other agricultural societies. Most workers do not have any land to be cultivated and some of them even stay in housing provided by the estate. The simplest but the most frequently mentioned general advantage of having many children was "a great help to parents". This response was given by 49 per cent of the wives and 43 per cent of the husbands. People in the village used this phrase in reference to family activities such as housework, fetching objects needed, caring for younger siblings, collecting firewood, collecting grass, feeding animals and other household activities. General advantages related to parental and family satisfaction were the second most commonly mentioned response. It was mentioned by 16 per cent of the wives and by 20 per cent of the husbands.

When respondents were asked about the economic support expected from the children, they related the questions to the present contribution of children. Since they were classified into the lower working class group, as the poorest section of society they tend to have a present rather than a future orientation (Rainwater, 1960; Askham, 1975). However, this does not mean that they did not think about the future, because when they were asked about the people whom they expected would care for them in their old age, 92 per cent of wives and 95 per cent of husbands expected their children would care

for them. They tend to consider the more positive values of having children rather than the disadvantages because they have the expectation that having many children will cover the shortage of their income. Sixty-one per cent of the wives and 71 per cent of the husbands considered that their wages were not sufficient or less than sufficient. One of the most frequently mentioned responses in relation to the means of balancing the shortage of wages was the support of children. Most respondents whose parents were still alive, gave their parents economic help such as clothing and daily needs. Only 7 per cent of the wives and 5 per cent of the husbands had never given their parents any economic help.

One of the important differences between the economic contribution of children in most peasant agricultural societies and children in the estate community was related to the assumption that the higher percentages of "economically active" children in Asian countries depends on the monsoon (Nag, 1972). This was not applicable for the estate community. It was found in the Buginese peasant community, in South Sulawesi (Saefullah, 1975) that the high percentage of children engaged in harvesting and in cultivation of land (sawah) was influenced by their training to work at those tasks from the age of 4 or 5 years. At harvest time the primary schools were practically on holiday because most pupils went to the sawah and at the beginning of cultivation time, most boys did not go to school because they had to assist their parents. In the estate, people did not have to take the monsoon into account. The age at which children in the estate workers' families began to be engaged in some kind of family or household activity ranged from a low of 3 years for both sexes to a high of 10 years for a daughter and 11 years for a son with the mean age of 5.7 for a daughter and 6.4 for a son. The main task of a daughter was housework and in the second response, "caring for little children". The two main tasks of a son were collecting or cutting grass and collecting firewood. However, household chores were also frequently mentioned as activities of boys but not as often as for girls. At harvest time, the peasant could hope for sufficient income to buy the children's clothing or some household needs, to perform marriage or circumcision ceremonies, to repair the house, etc. Among the tea estate workers

community, all those needs were considered as luxuries. They, however, still performed many kinds of ceremonies for their children with the expense ranging from less than Rp. 5,000 to the highest of more than Rp. 100,000.

Although involvement in the family planning program is a condition of employment for every worker, the highest frequency of the ideal number of children was four children with the mean number of 3.6 among the wives and 3.8 among the husbands. The study revealed a strong preference for an equal number of girls and boys. Two important reasons given for equal numbers of girls and boys were "want to have children in pairs" and "to harmonize the family activities". The first reason was influenced by the psychological notion that children in pairs could ideally satisfy the parents. The second reason, to harmonize the family activities, was influenced by the ideal economic combination provided by an equal number of each sex, that is, the respondents could expect adequate help of the type provided by both girls and boys. It was clear that the prime motivation for wanting additional children was the number that was considered ideal by the person concerned, including the aspect of replacing children who had died. Sixty-one per cent of both wives and husbands having one child still living wanted two or three additional children. Sixty-eight per cent of wives and 64 per cent of husbands having two children still living wanted one or two additional children. On the other side, the study also found that social values strongly influenced the ideas of respondents. Sixty-nine per cent of wives and 62 per cent of husbands who stated their preference "up to God" gave the reason that human life was indeed merely up to God, whereas this preference was the second in frequency.

The study gives clear evidence that the value of children is not determined purely by the family size, but it is dependent on various factors influencing the views and attitudes of the society to the role of children. The tendency to perceive an economic value of children will be significant as long as the family needs the physical, material or financial support from the children. On the other hand, the social and psychological values of children will be very important if the relation between the parents and the children

is determined by tradition, religion and emotion. The encouragement of the estate in introducing family planning through the working conditions will not guarantee a significant downward effect on family size if there is no effort to change the attitude of the key-persons in the society. This attitude change should occur as the product of individuals accepting the idea that an unlimited number of children will cause many problems. They will then choose to practise family planning without any pressure. The study has shown that the members of this community tend to follow the statements given by the religious leaders rather than to try to understand the information given by the government. Nevertheless, observers should realize that every community has its own dominant characters whose traits cannot easily be generalized across communities.

The study of the value of children in Indonesian societies will be more beneficial if it concentrates more on the several reasons behind the perception and attitudes towards children rather than merely on the attitudes themselves. Two main points should be taken into account for further study: firstly, the knowledge of the social life and other characteristics of the people studied; secondly, the researcher and other persons involved in the study should be encouraged, by close communication, to appreciate the values of the community when they are in the field.

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APPENDIX A

Appendix A.1

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN GOING TO SCHOOL
BY AGE AND TYPE OF SCHOOL

Age of Children	Total Number of Children	Children Attending School	
		Primary School	Junior High School
6	23	6	-
7	39	26	-
8	22	17	-
9	24	21	-
10	19	19	-
11	16	15	-
12	28	18	1
13	15	11	3
14	16	4	4
15	12	1	-
6 - 15	214	138	8

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q29/W)

Appendix A.2

NUMBER OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP AND
NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO HAD DIED

Age Group	Number of Children Who Had Died										n
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	$\bar{x}$	
10 - 19	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
20 - 29	41	11	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	57
30 - 39	21	8	7	2	2	-	1	-	-	1.0	41
40 - 49	10	6	4	4	2	-	1	-	1	1.7	28
50 +	5	3	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	1.5	13
All Groups	85	28	16	10	4	1	2	-	1	0.9	147

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q2 and Q3/W)

Appendix A.3

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY AGE GROUP OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS

Age Group of Respondents	Mean Number of Children		
	Still Living	Had Died	Ever Born
10 - 19	0.6	-	0.6
20 - 29	2.0	0.4	2.4
30 - 39	4.4	1.0	5.4
40 - 49	4.9	1.7	6.6
50 +	4.5	1.5	6.0
All Groups	3.5	0.9	4.4

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q2, Q29/W and Q31/W)

Appendix A.3

NUMBER OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS BY GENERAL EDUCATION AND
IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Type and Years of Education	Ideal Number of Children										n
	No Response	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Up to God	
No Schooling	-	-	7	4	1	4	1	1	2	13	33
Primary School:											
1 year	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
2 years	1	1	2	8	8	-	-	-	-	7	27
3 years	-	-	-	5	10	3	-	-	-	6	24
4 years	-	-	1	3	6	-	-	-	-	4	14
5 years	-	-	-	4	5	1	-	-	-	1	11
6 years	-	1	-	5	9	2	-	-	-	4	21
Junior High School:											
1 year	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
2 years	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
3 years	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Senior High School:											
2 years	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
3 years	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Total	1	2	13	35	42	11	1	1	2	39	142

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q13, Q14 and Q56/W)

Appendix A.4

NUMBER OF MALE RESPONDENTS BY GENERAL EDUCATION AND
IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Type and Years of Education	Ideal Number of Children									n
	No Response	2	3	4	5	7	8	12	Up to God	
No Schooling	-	2	2	2	1	-	-	1	6	14
Primary School:										
1 year	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	2	6
2 years	-	3	5	6	-	-	-	-	9	23
3 years	-	2	7	9	1	-	1	-	9	29
4 years	-	3	1	7	1	1	-	-	5	18
5 years	-	-	3	4	3	2	-	-	4	16
6 years	-	2	11	13	2	-	-	-	1	29
Junior High School:										
1 year	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
2 years	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
3 years	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	4
Senior High School										
3 years	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Higher than Senior High School	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Total	-	12	36	46	12	3	1	1	37	148

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q13, Q14 and Q61/H)

Appendix A.5

NUMBER OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS BY WAGE GROUP AND
FAMILY PLANNING USE

Wage Group	Acceptors	Non Acceptors
Less than Rp. 5,000	5	3
Rp. 5,000 - Rp. 7,499	9	11
Rp. 7,500 - Rp. 9,999	37	20
Rp.10,000 - Rp. 14,999	10	5
Rp.15,000 - Rp. 19,000	-	2
Rp.20,000 - Rp. 24,999	1	-
Rp.25,000 - Rp. 29,999	-	-
Rp.30,000 - Rp. 39,999	2	-
Rp.40,000 and over	-	1
No specific job	22	19
All Groups	86	61

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q19 and Q60/W)

Appendix A.6

EXPENDITURES OTHER THAN FOOD CONSIDERED TO BE EXPENSIVE

E x p e n s e s	Wives		Husbands	
	FR	SR	FR	SR
1. Clothing	43	2	44	5
2. Rearing of children	12	2	8	3
3. Medical care	1	-	-	-
4. School requisites	10	3	9	3
5. Housing/ House-repairing	6	10	10	6
6. Making ornaments	3	2	-	-
7. All expenses	10	-	10	-
8. House equipment	2	11	2	7
9. Nothing	49	-	53	-
10. No response	11	-	12	-
	147	30	148	24

Note: FR = First Response; SR = Second Response

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q27)

Appendix A.7

EFFORTS TO COVER THE SHORTAGE OF WAGES

E f f o r t s	Wives		Husbands	
	FR	SR	FR	SR
1. Supported by children	9	5	11	3
2. Obtaining a loan	22	8	11	7
3. Both the husband the wife to work	28	3	26	7
4. Collecting fire-wood	2	2	5	3
5. Seeking additional work/ overtime work	9	5	20	12
6. Farming	10	5	20	7
7. Tending animals	5	1	9	-
8. Trading/ running a stall	5	1	3	3
9. No response	57	-	43	-
	147	30	148	42

Note: FR = First Response; SR = Second Response

Source: 1978 Cibodas - Cikajang Case Study (Q26)

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN 1978 CIBODAS - CIKAJANG CASE STUDY*

P O P U L A T I O N S U R V E YW i f e

Desa :

Kampung :

R.T./ R.K. :

Household No. :

I. General Information

Q1. What is your name? :

Q2. How old are you now? : years; date of birth:

Q3. Where were you born?

1. Desa:

2. Kecamatan Cikajang, Desa:

3. Regency of Garut, Kecamatan:

4. West Java, Regency:

5. Outside of West Java:

Q4. Your religion? :

Q5. Are you married?

1. Yes

2. No (Widow/ Divorce) (Continue to Q8)

Q6. How long have you been married? : years.

Q7. Is this your first marriage?

1. Yes (Continue to Q9)

2. No

Q8. How many times did you marry before? : times.

Q9. How old were you at first marriage? : years.

Q10. Was your first marriage based on your choice or your parents' choice?

1. Own choice.

2. Parents' choice.

* The original questionnaire was designed in Indonesian.

Q11. Are your parents still alive?

1. My mother is still alive.
2. My father is still alive.
3. Both parents are still alive.
4. Both parents have died. (Continue to Q13)

Q12. What kind of support have you given to your parents so far?

1. He/she/they live with me.
2. Clothing at least once a year.
3. Daily needs (food).
4. Clothing and daily needs.
5. Others (mention) :

II. Education and Occupation

Q13. Have you ever been to school?

1. Yes
2. No (Continue to Q15)

Q14. How long did you go to school?

1. Primary School : years.
2. Junior High School : years.
3. Senior High School : years.
4. Religious School (Madrasah, Pesantren or special religious school) : years.
5. Others/ Name of the School : years.

Q15. How long have you been working in the last year?

1. months.
2. A full year. (Continue to Q18)
3. Did not work. (Continue to Q21)

Q16. Why did not you work for a full year?

1. Pregnant/ had a baby.
2. Sick.
3. No job available. (Continue to Q18)
4. Others (mention) :

Q17. During your absence, did the company (the estate) give you full wages?

1. Full.
2. Not full.
3. Did not give wage.

Q18. What is your job?

1. Estate worker.
2. Plantation worker (non estate).
3. Other (mention) :

Q19. How much do you receive in wages every month if you work full time?

Rp.

Q20. Besides money, do you get any goods?

1. Yes; The kind of goods:
2. No.

Q21. Do you still remember whether one of your parents had ever worked or is now working in the estate?

1. My father.
2. My mother.
3. Both parents.
4. None.

Q22. Has one of your brothers or sisters ever worked or is still working in the estate?

1. Elder brother/sister.
2. Younger brother/sister.
3. Elder and younger brother/sister.
4. None.

Q23. Ask the married respondents only:

Is your husband working, and what is his job?

1. Yes; as :
2. No.

Q24. How much are your average expenses in a month?

Rp.

Q25. Is your wage sufficient for your daily needs?

1. Sufficient (Continue to Q27)
2. Less than sufficient.
3. Not sufficient.

Q26. What do you do to make up the shortage of wages?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Q27. Besides daily needs (food), what kind of expenditures do you consider expensive?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

III. Information About Children

Q28. Do you have children?

1. Yes.
2. No (Continue to Q38)

Q29. Can you, please, mention the names of your children who are still living, beginning from the eldest to the youngest?

(Enter on the list of Children Still Living, in sequence, beginning from the eldest to the youngest) (See the last page)

Q39. Have any of your children died?

1. Yes.
2. No (Continue to Q32)

Q31. Can you, please, tell me about your children who have died?

No.	N a m e	Date of Dying	Age at Death	Cause of death
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

(If more than 5 children, write down only the number of children who had died after getting detailed information up to the fifth child)

: children.

Q32. Who usually helps you when you bear a baby?

1. Paraji (traditional midwife).
2. Bidan (trained midwife).
3. Paraji and bidan.

Q33. Who usually provides for the cost of child-bearing?

1. The estate.
2. Parents.
3. Relatives.
4. Own pocket.

Q34. How much money did you pay for the cost of child-bearing for your youngest child? If you paid with some goods, how much did it cost?

Rp.

Q35. If you have a young baby who is still being fed, is your work disturbed?

1. Yes.
2. No.

Q35. If you have a young baby and you have to go to work far away from home, who usually takes care of him/her?

1. Elder children.
2. Parents.
3. Other people (mention) :

Q37. If you have a young baby and you have to do your housework or go to the stall/shopping, who usually watches him/her?

1. Husband.
2. Elder children.
3. Parents.
4. Taken with respondent.
5. Other people (mention) :

IV. Perception of the Economic Benefits from Children

Q38. What kind of support do you expect from your children if they have got a job?

1. Daughter : a.
b.
2. Son : a.
b.

Q39. Are you expecting one or some of your children to have a job in the estate in which you or your husband work?

1. Yes.
2. No (Continue to Q41) (After giving the reason).

Reason (briefly) :

Q40. Are you expecting one or some of your children to have a job outside the estate?

1. Yes.
2. No (Continue to Q42)

Q 41. What kind of job do you expect for your children? If you have two alternatives, mention both of them.

1. Daughter; as :

or :

2. Son ; as :

or :

Q42. If you were old and you were not able to do your work any more, whom would you expect to look after you?

1. Myself (Respondent).
2. Daughter.
3. Son.
4. Daughter or son.
5. Others (mention) :

Q43. It is said that children are lucky, more children mean more luck. Do you agree with that opinion?

1. Yes.
2. No.

Reason (briefly) :

V. Psychological and General Advantages and Disadvantages of Having Children

Q44. How did you feel before having children? Would you try to remember carefully?

1. Nothing.
2. Sad.
3. Lonely.
4. Afraid of not having a descendant.
5. Ashamed to other people.
6. Other (mention) :

Q45. Ask only the respondents who have children:

What was your feeling after having the first child? Would you try to remember it?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Q45. Ask only the respondents who have three or more children:

How was your feeling after having many children? What we mean by many children is after you had more than three children.

1. Nothing.
2. Noisy and nuisance in the house.
3. Worry about their costs of living.
4. Restriction on job.
5. Others (mention) :

Q47. Would you try to mention some of the advantages and happiness you have if you have many children?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Q48. Would you also mention some of the disadvantages and hardships of having many children?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Q49. Ask only the respondents who have children:

How do you feel if your children are not at home, for example, when they are at school or go to other places?

1. Nothing.
2. Lonely.
3. Worry.
4. Other (mention) :

VI. Family Size, Sex Preference and Family PlanningQ 50. Ask only the respondents who have children:

Would you like to have any more children?

1. Yes.
2. No (Continue to Q53)

Q51. Ask only the respondents who have children:

How many additional children would you like?

1. One.
2. Two.
3. Three.
4. More than three (mention) :
5. Up to God (Continue to Q53)

Q52. Ask only the respondents who have children:

What is your reason for wanting additional children?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Q53. Do you have an adopted child?

1. Yes.
2. No (Continue to Q55)

Q54. Before your adopted child was living with you, whose child was he/she?

1. Relative's child.
2. Orphan.
3. A child of other people.
4. Other (mention) :

Q55. What would you do to have a child if you had been married for a long time but you did not have a child?

1. Nothing.
2. Look after a relative's child.
3. Look after an orphan.
4. Look after a child of other people.
5. Others (mention) :

Q56. If you had no children as yet, what do you think would be the best number of children to have?

1. One.
2. Two.
3. Three.
4. Four.
5. Five.
6. More than five (mention) :
7. Up to God.

Reason (briefly) :

Q57. Among the number of children you considered the best, how many girls and how many boys would you want?

1. Girls :
2. Boys :
3. No preference.

Reason (briefly) :

Q58. What do you think, should the first child (eldest child) be a boy or a girl?

1. Girl.
2. Boy.
3. No preference.

Reason (briefly) :

Q59. Do you agree if the number of children is limited?

1. Yes.
2. No.

Reason (briefly) :

(If the answer is NO, after the respondent has given the reason, INTERVIEW IS FINISHED)

Q60. Are you a family planning acceptor?

1. Yes.
2. No.

Reason (briefly) :

(If the answer is NO, after the respondent has given the reason, INTERVIEW IS FINISHED)

Q61. When did you begin to use family planning?

Month:

Year:

P O P U L A T I O N S U R V E Y

<u>Husband/ The Head of Household</u>	D e s a :
	Kampung :
	R.T./ R.K. :
	Household No.:

I. General Information

(Q1 to Q12: are the same with the Questionnaire for the Wife)

II. Education and Occupation

(Q13 to Q27: are the same with the Questionnaire for Wife;
Note: Husband is replaced by Wife in Q23)

III. Costs and Activities of Children

Q28. Have you any children?

1. Yes.
2. No (Continue to Q43)

Q29. How many times do you usually buy clothing for your children in a year?

1. Once.
2. Twice.
3. Three times.
4. More than three times (mention) : times.

Q39. How much money did you spend for a child's clothing, on average, during the last year?

Rp.

Q31. How much money did you spend for a child's medical care, on average, during the last year?

1. Rp.
2. Free.
3. Cannot be calculated.

Q32. Have any of your children been married?

1. Yes.
2. No (Continue to Q34)

Q33. How much money did you spend for the marriage costs of your child, including the administrative costs of the Religious Affair Office (Kantor Urusan Agama) and all costs of the ceremony? Please remember only the latest marriage!

1. Rp.
 2. Cannot be calculated.
- Q34. From the time the mother is pregnant, there are usually several thanksgiving ceremonies for a child, such as, at seven months of pregnancy, after the baby is born, at the first hair cut, and so on. How many times do you usually perform such ceremonies for a child?
- : times.
- Q35. How much money do you spend for one thanksgiving ceremony, at average?
1. Rp.
 2. Cannot be calculated.
- Q35. Besides those ceremonies, a child is usually circumcised with a special ceremony. How many times have you performed the circumcision ceremony?
1. times.
 2. Not yet (Continue to Q38)
- Q37. How much money did you spend for a circumcision ceremony for the last child?
1. Rp.
 2. Cannot be calculated.
- Q38. Why do you perform these different ceremonies for your children?
1. Other people do it.
 2. Tradition.
 3. Religion.
 4. Others (mention) :
- Q39. Was the cost of ceremonies spent from your own pocket or from the support of other people?
1. Supported by relatives/ parents.
 2. Supported by other people.
 3. Own pocket.
 4. Others (mention) :
- Q40. Generally the children are used to assist their parents' work, either housework or other family activity. What kind of work is usually done by your children?
1. Girls : a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.

2. Boys : a.
b.
c.
d.
e.

Q41. Who most frequently teaches your children to assist in the family activities?

1. Daughter :
2. Son :

Q42. At what age are your children taught to assist in those activities?

1. Girls from the age of : years.
2. Boys from the age of : years.

IV. Perception of the Economic Benefits from Children

(Q43 to Q48: are the same as Q38 to Q43 for the Wife)

V. Psychological and General Advantages and Disadvantages of Having Children

(Q49 to Q54: are the same as Q44 to Q49 for the Wife)

VI. Family Size, Sex Preference and Family Planning

(Q55 to Q64: are the same as Q50 to Q59 for the Wife)

INTERVIEW IS FINISHED

Fill in this note promptly after finishing the interview:

1. Interview was conducted on (date):
2. Duration of interview: minutes; from: to:
3. Visiting time (first, second, and so on):
4. Was interview conducted well or not?:
If not, what was the reason?:
5. The impression of interviewer about respondent:

Interviewer No.:
Interviewer Sign,

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