

‘The Impact of Migration on Family Structure and Functioning: Case Study in Jawa’¹

By

Ekawati S. Wahyuni²

Introduction

The focus of the present study is to clarify the nature and strength of the relationship between migration and changes in family structure and functioning and family welfare among Javanese family in Indonesia. The incidence of migration of one or more members of the family will influence the way the family functions and the way it distributes its roles within itself. The absence of particular family members, either on a permanent or temporary basis, will influence family structure, both in destination and origin areas (Hugo 1987). Following the changing of its structure, the family has to make adjustments for example in the roles of family members left behind. During the husbands’ absence, the wives may take over several of his roles in order to maintain the family functioning, such as handling more agricultural tasks (Siegel 1969; Colfer 1985; Rodenburg 1993) or acting as a *de facto* household head (Hetler 1986). In addition, there is always a chance that migration of adult children to the cities will influence the well being of their elderly parents in the rural areas (Hugo 1988a). Although several studies have discussed the impact of migration on the family, there is a lack of information about the impact of migration on family structure and functioning in Indonesia. How does migration influence the family structure? What do they do to maintain the family’s function in the larger society?

Methodology

This study is based on both primary and secondary data. The primary data were collected in a micro study by means of a sample survey, participant-observation and in-depth case study methods. The secondary data sources principally include the various Indonesian Population Census data sets and other published material from government sources. At the micro-scale both quantitative and qualitative information were collected. The quantitative data were collected by means of a structured sample survey while the qualitative data were collected by participant observation and in-depth interview methods. The participant observation was conducted to study the processes, relationships among people and the organization of people in their family life. On the other hand, in-depth interview methods were used to collect information on the interpretations of the respondents themselves. The combination of quantitative and qualitative data aims to make the analysis more insightful.

Migrations and The Structure of Javanese Family

The direct impact of migration on household and family structures was the splitting of a family into several types of households and geographically dispersed

¹ Paper presented in Poster Session 5 in IUSSP XXV International Population Conference, Tours, France, July 18-23, 2005.

² The author is lecturer in the Department of Socio-economic Sciences, Faculty of Agriculture, Bogor Agricultural University, Bogor, Indonesia.

between origin village and destination areas. Children at a very young age have left their parent' households to live in different households, either alone or with friends or relatives, in the city. Most of the year, many husbands live in separate households miles away from their wives and children. Parents left their young children with grandparents in the village while they were living in the city to work. There was an increase in the number of non-familial households in the destination areas and in the number of extended vertical, and eroded family types in the village of origin. As a direct consequence of the separation of family members from their main households in the village to live elsewhere there will be an adjustment in family functioning.

The definition of household structure applied in this study is a composition of household members according to their relationships to the head of household, with or without any family relation. A family is defined as a group of people who related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption. Consequently, the household structure is not always reflects family structure because a household, by definition, is not necessarily consist of people who have blood, marriage or adoption relation³. Although, we can say that most household is consist of a family, either nuclear family or extended family. However, the tendency of non-familial household is increasing, especially in urban areas. A non-familial household can be perform by a single person household or few people share a dwelling and make common contribution for food or other essential living. The increasing number of non-familial household, either in urban or rural areas, is influenced by population mobility.

Although there is a high existence of family migration, most people migrate individually. The direct impact of the migration of one or more family or household members to the family structure is the splitting of a family into two or more households that geographically dispersed between village and destination areas (Wahyuni 2000). When children of a particular household in rural are migrated to urban areas, it will reduce the household size in rural areas. If the individual migrant from rural area join a household in urban area, it will increase the urban household size, or, if the migrants, then, live by themselves by perform a single person or non-familial household, it will increase the number of non-familial household in urban areas. The joining of relatives from rural areas will change the family structure in urban area. The migration of children to the city may not affect the family structure in the village. However, when the heads of household or their spouses in rural areas who migrated to urban areas, it will reduce the household size, as well as, change the family structure. The family in rural areas will become a *de facto* single-parent family. This study shows that a *de facto* single-parent family can be lasted for decades. Most migrants interviewed experiencing a living in a divide family for many years. The divided home, caused by the migration of household head or spouses, will be ended when the rest of family members, eventually migrated to join the household head in urban areas, or the household head returned to the village permanently. The divide home will also affect the functioning of the family as a socialization agent and as an economic unit. The family have to adjust the role of each family member to fulfill its function in the society.

As the more economic opportunity is become available for women in urban areas, the tendency for rural women to migrate to the city has also increase. These migrant women usually will perform non-familial household in the city by sharing a house or rented-room with fellow migrants from the same village. As the local government will record this kind of household as an independent household, therefore a tendency of increasing women headed household in urban areas among migrant

³ In this case, a public household such as dormitories, penitentiaries or hospitals are not including in this discussion.

households (Wahyuni 2000). These migrant women usually still single, although if they were married, their husbands are not accompanied them in the city, and, therefore, they still be considered as single women. In Indonesian society, a husband automatically will be acknowledged as the household head in *de jure* sense, while a married women will become a spouse. A married woman could not head a household, but a single woman could, either never married, widow or divorcee. A migrant married woman in urban area is considered as single woman and could become a household head. However, a non-familial household in destination areas of migration is only important for population administration purpose. It is easier for local government to control the its population by registering its people in a household unit and choosing one of a household member as the household head who will represent all household member in the community (Wahyuni 2000). A non-familial household does not have any obligation or role as a familial household. They may or may not make provision for food or other essentials for living. The house is practically functioned as a place for sleeping and taking rest after working. Some of them even never meet with the other occupants of one house as some of them work in night shift and the other work in day shift. For non-permanent migrants, their home and families are in the village.

Migrations and The Functioning of Jawanese Family

The direct result of migration is the split of the nuclear family into several households and this will inevitably affect family functioning. The analysis below uses the nuclear family as the basic unit to identify the family functions and to explain the process of the inclusion of extended families roles in nuclear family functioning. The basic unit of Jawanese society is the *somah* or household (Koentjaraningrat 1967, p.260), which does not always mean a separate dwelling but it is characterized by a separate kitchen to be used by the Jawanese family to cook their meals. To specify the meaning of *somah*, Jay called it hearth hold (1969, p.53). He states that the hearth hold is 'identified with the conception of the nuclear family as an independent economic unit' (Jay 1969, p.54). The newlyweds can be considered as mature nuclear families when they can support themselves economically by providing their own food, although they may live in the same house with their parents or other people. In Jawanese society, the nuclear family (*Jv. keluarga batih*), which is sometimes augmented with elderly parents, widowed sisters or daughters, grandchildren or maids, is an independent economic group which manages their economies through cooperation of husbands and wives (Geertz 1961, Koentjaraningrat 1967, Jay 1969). According to Geertz (1961), the Jawanese kinship system, which is "bilateral and nucleating", has reduced the contribution of the family in the functioning of the society. Since the nuclear family is the only important kinship unit and it does not considered other kinsmen in family decision making processes, it does not play a central role in structuring the economic, political and religious behavior of the Jawanese society. However, these few contributions are very important in preserving the stability and continuity of Jawanese society in this present form (Geertz 1961, p. 2). Among these few contributions are the place where the society members' personal, economic, social and psychological needs are met and the process of socialization is performed. New family members within the Jawanese society have been taught to become 'fully Jawanese' by socializing them with Jawanese values since they were just an infant (Geertz 1961). Geertz explained, that young children have to learn the "fundamental rules and attitudes for proper adult relationships with their neighbors, superior and inferior". The first lesson about how to use the proper expressions concerning differential status was learnt from parents and

older siblings and then other kinsmen. In this way, Geertz concluded, the family cultivated and preserved the Jawanese primary ethical norms within its individual members, and this is the major contribution of the family to the functioning of the Jawanese society.

A family in Jawanese society is a place of economic cooperation between husband and wife. In this cooperation the family has become the basic consumption and production group (Geertz 1961; Koentjaraningrat 1967; Jay 1969). It means, all of the family members pool their earnings into one household account and they will receive a share according to their needs. To concretize this economic cooperation within a nuclear family, they had to practice the division of labor between husband and wife. In these relationships, both husband and wife have equal status, although the husband is the head of the household. Koentjaraningrat articulated this sort of cooperation in agricultural activities as follows:

“Preparation of the soil for tillage, ploughing, harrowing, and the repair of irrigation works fall primarily within the masculine sphere of activities, whereas women do most of the planting, weeding, harvesting, and threshing, as well as the further processing, preservation, and preparing of food. Both sexes transport crops from the field to the home, and products from home to the market, but in many market centers one notice a predominance of female buyers and sellers. “(Koentjaraningrat 1967 p. 260).

However, women do not play an important role in public and political affairs and because of this, therefore, the statement about the strong position of Jawanese women (Geertz 1961) has been rejected by feminist scholars (Berninghausen and Kerstan 1992; Wolf 1992). Geertz’s statement was based on the fact that there is no limitation on occupations for Jawanese women and they have the right to own a farm and supervise its cultivation, therefore, they have no difficulty in supporting themselves. However, observations of feminist scholars suggest that the women’s activities in managing the household are no less than an execution of men’s will. They argue that the less important role of women in the public sphere means that they are powerless. Considering the above arguments on family function and the incompleteness of the primary data on family functioning, the following analysis will only emphasize two functions, economic and reproduction, especially in childcare and the socialization of young children. Socialization of young children including physical care and education is a consequence of the reproduction function of nuclear family, which has to be performed mainly within the nuclear family.

a. The Economic Function

Economic cooperation within nuclear family means the pooling of income earned by individuals or from family businesses into one purse and then distributing it among the household members according to individual needs. Economic cooperation is also characterized by a division of labor between husband and wife. Previously, Koentjaraningrat (1967, p. 260) has articulated economic cooperation in agricultural activities, while Jay has quoted the explanation of one of his informants about the independence of the nuclear family economy as follows:

“Any money coming in that I earned went to my wife. She kept it and used it for our own household expenses; it was not given to her parents. Also the rice stores were kept separate, and the rice was

cooked separately ... If the rice was all gone, she might borrow from her parents and repay from the next harvest, or she might sell things later to repay or buy more rice” (Jay 1969, p. 54)

This quotation is from the 1950s, when the economy of Indonesia was less industrial. In this study which was conducted in the mid of 1990s when industrialization had become more important in the Indonesian economy and many Jawanese engage in economic activities outside the household, however, the concept of nuclear family as an independent economic unit is still maintained, especially between married couples.

The lack of control over economic resources among villagers in the origin village has forced less well-off families to allow their young children to search for work in the city. Based on their information on remittances their children’s earnings were not pooled into a single household purse, but the migrants’ children keep and manage their own income for their own needs. Although it was not an obligation for the children to send regular remittances to support their families in the village, the children were not expected to refuse any request for money from the families in the village for certain purposes, such as to pay for their younger siblings’ school expenses, medical treatments, or house renovation. The parents very rarely ask for financial assistance to pay for their everyday meals. The main intention of the families to let their young children migrate is to relieve some economic burdens of the poor parents. The parents will always be grateful when their children are able to support themselves and they will be more grateful if their children are willing to pay for their younger siblings’ school expenses. The migrated children freely manage their own earnings to meet their own needs without their parents’ approval, although they realize that they have an obligation to help their parents in the village. Accordingly, the migrated children were obliged to allocate some portion of what they earned for their families’ needs in the village, such as the case with Respondent 16 who gave up her savings to help her younger brother get a job as a policeman. Although some female children who work as factory workers might have put their savings into goats to be reared in the village, they were spending their earnings freely on themselves (Wolf 1986, 1992).

The involvement of migrated family members in the household economy, however, is different when the migrants were the head of the household. In this case, they were the main provider in the households, although they did not live in the same home. The main objective of their migration is to seek better job opportunities in the city at the cost of separation from their families for most of the year. This situation was taken as a family strategy. Most of these migrant husbands were not only away for a certain length of time, but it could go on for tens of years. Respondent 1 from Family No.33 has been living separately from his family for about 13 years and at the moment there is no indication of him giving up his job in the city and joining his family in the village. Although the family owns a piece of agricultural land, it is only enough to meet the household’s consumption, while they need more than that. He explained about his intention to stay in the city longer as follows:

“My children are growing up and we need more money to send them to high school. I may not be able to send them to college, but they have to finish at least high school so they will be able to find a job in the future. Nowadays, no factory will accept workers with low education.”

In this case his wife does not have any option other than to agree. She used to be a factory worker in the city too but she had to give it up because the children needed

someone to care for them. When they worked together in Bandung they pooled their income and saved to buy land and build a permanent house in the village. On her return to the village she was strictly a housewife and did not take up a paid job because there was no job suitable for her in the village.

The wife of Family No. 5, whose husband works in Jakarta as a factory-made traditional herbal medicine seller⁴, gave a similar reason. Family No.5 has three sources of income, the first one is the remittances, the wife's salary as a primary schoolteacher and at home she sells cold drinks and ice cubes. She admits that she was the one who urged her husband to keep on working in the city because they need funds to send their two children to high school and, if possible, to college. Although her husband wants to return home and work in the village, she persuaded him to stay in Jakarta. She argued that there is no suitable job for him that can give him a salary higher than Rp. 5,000 per day in the village. She uses the remittances primarily to finish renovating their house in the village and spends her salary to meet end needs. In this case, she manages the allocation of income being pooled in her purse but does not include her husband's income. This means she can only use the remittances sent by her husband but could not dictate to her husband about the use of income for his private needs in the city.

Family No. 5 and No. 33, as well as 24 other households, run two separate households, which are geographically dispersed. The wives at home only manage their husband's income after it has been reduced by their husband's living costs in the city, which is out of their control. Problems will be faced by a wife, who does not have personal income, when remittances are too small or arrive very late. Wife of Family No. 10 whose husband works as construction worker in the city has to borrow food or money from the *warung* owner, sometimes, with high interest rates, because the remittance was sent very late. Some of the circular migrant families also owned agricultural land to produce staple food for household consumption and use their remittances for other expenses.

The pooling of income was also common among migrants in the city. Both daughters of Family No.157, who work as factory laborers, live with their husbands and children in Bandung. The elder daughter lives in a *bedeng*⁵ with her husband and only daughter, while the younger daughter lives in her own house with her husband, children and her husband's nephew. The elder daughter wants to return home after retirement, while the younger daughter decided to migrate permanently to Bandung. The elder daughter said that her husband trusted his income in her hands. Therefore, every month he always gives his full income to her and she gives him some pocket money to buy cigarettes. She explained that she has to make sure that her husband has some money in his pocket because it would be very embarrassing for him to ask her for money when he wanted to treat his friends to a cigarette. The wife allocates the money to buy *sawah*⁶ in her village and rent-in *sawah* in her husband's origin villages, 50 *ubin* (700 sq.m.) each, to support her elderly mother and mother-in-law. The *sawah* provides enough food for their mothers and therefore they do not have to send money regularly to the village. Moreover, both daughters do not have to worry about their mothers' well being because they still have sister who live in a nearby village to take care of the mother. They only

⁴ This is different from women *jamu* sellers, who mostly sold homemade *jamu* by carrying it on her back and vending around neighborhood or special locations (See Hetler 1986). He sold factory-made *jamu* (The wife refused to disclose the brand of *jamu* her husband sold.) in a stall and the customers come to visit them. They sold *jamu* in packages to be consumed elsewhere and also prepare the *jamu* in the stall ready to be consumed by buyers.

⁵ A '*bedeng*' is a simple dormitory for factory workers provided by the factory owner.

⁶ '*Sawah*' is wet ricefield.

send a small amount of money to pay for the electricity bill for her house in the village. The elder sister and her husband want to live in her village after retirement, and therefore she has been paying off her siblings' rights over the house compound inherited from their parents. In this case the elder runs not only two but three separate households in three different villages - the couple's household in Bandung, their private house in the village occupied by her mother and the husband's mother in different village⁷.

However, not all husbands trusted their income to their wives, even if they lived in the same household. The daughter of Family No. 217 or Respondent 14, a factory worker married with three children, lived with her husband and two of her three children in the city. Her eldest son lives with her parents in the village because he does not like living in a crowded area in Bandung. She said that her husband only gives her a portion of his salary fortnightly while spending the rest for his own needs⁸. She uses the first installment to pay house rent, school fees and transport costs for her second child who goes to school in Bandung. Half of the second installment sent to the village to pay for her eldest son's school fees and meals. She uses her own salary to pay for meals and other household needs. Therefore, although she has been working for more than 15 years, she was only able to buy a piece of dry land and, as yet, does not have a house or *sawah* in her village or in her husband's. She explained that her husband has made a down payment on a house in one of the new housing complexes in Bandung's outskirts⁹ and she was not involved in the process of searching for the funds. Her husband told her that he had borrowed the money from the factory and will pay it back in monthly installments deducted from his salary.

The economic cooperation among family members is represented in the family function of providing basic needs for the family. When the family still owned enough resources or when other economic opportunities were still available in the village, the family were able to produce goods and services to meet the family's needs. However, the macro processes of development have changed the needs of the community at large and so the economic opportunities available in the village cannot meet the needs of the villagers and this made them seek employment in other places. According to Deere and de Janvry (1979) and Wood (1981), families in the village have released their family members to seek wage jobs in the city to maximise the utilisation of the labour power owned by the family. The family adopted this strategy as a response to structural change that occurred beyond the household unit (Wood 1981). Who would be sent to the job market depends on the composition of members of the family by age and sex as well as the family life cycle. Migration for production purposes, such as to work or to get education, commonly involves the working age population. Migration has been used by the villagers to materialize the economic function of the families. At the later stage of the life cycle, families which have working age children would be more likely to send their children to seek job opportunities in other places while families at an early

⁷Following the economic crisis, the wife has taken early retirement offered by the factory management with ten times her monthly salary compensation worth two million rupiah. Now, she lives in the village to take care of her baby granddaughter and left her husband alone in his *bedeng* in Bandung. She plans to return to Bandung to accompany her husband later on, when her daughter has got a job in Bandung. The daughter will bring her daughter (the granddaughter) to Bandung too to be taken care of by her mother. In this case the mother has retired from her formal job to support her husband and her daughter.

⁸This might not be really true since she admitted that her husband had to make a down payment for their new house worth three and a half million rupiah.

⁹In early January 1999 the family had moved to their new house, including their eldest son who used to live with their grandparent in the village. She has also resigned from her factory job to become a housewife and rear her baby daughter and other children.

stage of the life cycle would be likely to have only the family heads and their spouses as potential migrants.

b. The Socialization Function

A second important family function is socialization of new members to prevent the culture becoming extinct (Murdock 1949). Although, institutions such as schools play an important role in educating children, families are the primary agent for transferring the values and culture of the society, to future generations. The birth of children is an expected consequence of a marriage. To survive, newborn babies need full-time care from older people ‘to nurse, tend and rear them physically and socially’ (Murdock 1949). These tasks take place primarily in nuclear families and demand the cooperation of all family members and, in fact, the burden of physical and social care of children needs to be distributed among extended family members and the community. When the newborn arrives there is no other human being was highly expected to provide care for the baby as the mother. However, as the mother is often also engaged in income-generating activities, there is a need for a substitute childcare provider, especially for pre-school children. It has been argued that women’s employment is incompatible with child rearing activity and consequently the increasing rate of female employment will result in a lower fertility rate (Blake 1965). This argument might be true for women who work in industrialized countries in which women’s work dictates they leave the house for a certain amount of time but it might not be the case with women in less developed countries who mostly engage in agriculture or self-employment at home (Ware 1981, Richter *et al.* 1992).

In industrialized countries support for labor force participation of women with young children is provided by childcare facilities. In developed countries discussion and research on how to solve the problems of women in employment with young children are largely concerned with the availability, costs and quality of day care as well as government policy to help such families (Richter *et al.* 1992). Alhburg and de Vita (1992) argued that young children in the United States have become used to receiving socialization and early childhood education from outside the parents’ and the family home, and this was not only for the children of working mothers. In 1988, about 13.3 million children aged 5 or younger were under non-maternal childcare arrangements, either in a day care center or family day care, in the United States and 83 per cent of the mothers were employed outside of home. Furthermore, Alhburg and De Vita (1992) reported that full-time employed mothers prefer to put their children in a day care center (more than a third) than in family day care (24 per cent), while part-timer mothers prefer to juggle their work schedule and child care than to use a day care service. They stated that 44 per cent of part-timer mothers work different shifts to be able to take care of their young children and 20 per cent use day care services. The involvement of family members, such as siblings or grandparents, in child caring were largely important in supervising children in the age of five to 12 years.

On the contrary, in developing countries, women’s employment is not necessarily incompatible with childcare (Richter *et al.* 1992). Many women in developing countries engaged in non-formal income-generating activities, such as self-employment at home, which is not incompatible with child rearing and there are extended families and inexpensive domestic labor often available as childcare alternative. However, it may not really be true that all working women in developing countries can combine work with child care, because many ‘traditional’ works had to be carried out away from home, such as agriculture labor or vending various goods. Even, for non-working women in many developing countries, childcare has been neglected

because of the burden of domestic work. Desai and Jain (1994) reported that both working and non-working women in rural India spend fewer hours caring for their children in favor of domestic work. Women in rural India spend 6 to 7 hours doing domestic work such as cleaning, cooking, fetching water, wood collecting, and laundering which often has to be done away from home. Therefore, mothers rely substantially on older children, other older women in the family or neighbors to care for their young children (Desai and Jain 1994, p.125). The amount of time spent in alternate care was not too different for working women and non-working women's children. Desai and Jain (1994) calculated that children of non-working mothers spent 4.4 hours per day with substitute care, while those with working mothers spent 3.8 hours.

The incompatibility between working mothers and childcare in developing countries was believed to begin when industrialization created more wage jobs for women (Ware 1981, Standing 1978). According to Standing (1978), industrialization has shifted women from agricultural and other informal jobs to formal jobs. It has also promoted migration to urban areas, where the industrialization has been largely located, resulting in less availability of extended families to care for children. The increase in education levels has also changed aspirations for employment, such as a preference for wage labor to domestic labor, which results in a decrease in the availability of cheap domestic servants to provide help in childcare.

In Thailand research conducted by Richter *et al.* (1992) reported that 32 per cent of children aged two were cared for by mothers who combine work and child care, 27 per cent were cared for by relatives at home, 11 per cent cared for by non-relatives at home and 15 per cent were living apart from their mothers. This research in urban Thailand also reported that private and government employees working outside the home were rarely able to combine work and childcare so their children were cared for by someone else. About 18 to 29 per cent of 'white collar' women workers trusted the care of their young children to servants at home and about 7 per cent sent them to a nursery, while 22 to 31 per cent of 'blue collar' workers' young children were living apart from their mothers (Richter *et al.* 1992). Furthermore, Richter *et al.* (1992) explained that among relatives, maternal grandmothers are the best choice to care for young children. Alternative care by relatives becomes more difficult if there is no relatives living close by and this forces mother entrust the care of their babies to non-relatives. Higher income women took live-in servants or babysitters while the 'blue collar' women workers asked their neighbors to care for their babies.

The research in urban Thailand also revealed that some young children have to live apart from their mothers, which is uncommon for Thais (Richter *et al.* 1992). They argued that this is one of the options taken by migrant women in urban Thailand, especially the new arrivals and it is most likely to happen among women who work in the formal sector. The mothers sent their children elsewhere to live with relatives as the best choice for the children's well being, although they felt this was a difficult decision. The main reasons for living separately from their child were: there is no one to care for the child while the mothers are working, the cost of a child care minder is too expensive, they do not want their child to be cared for by non-relatives in Bangkok, or they have too many children. Some mothers have sent their children to relatives, usually maternal grandparents, in the mother's rural hometown. A small percentage of young children live with their fathers because of a divorce or for some other reasons. Children who live in Bangkok were visited by their mothers more frequently than those who live outside Bangkok.

A rather different pattern of childcare arrangement has been found among circular migrant mothers in Central Java, Indonesia (Hetler 1986). She reported that to leave the children in the villages to go to school was the most common solution for childcare problems, although, there were various options available. If the mothers migrate alone, that means leaving their husbands and children at home, the fathers will take care of the household and child minding with the help of their older children and elderly mother. Circulating mothers were considered 'improper' by upper class women (Hetler 1986, p. 253) because they abandoned their husbands and children. However, these migrant women were able to circulate without neglecting their young children. Often these women took along their pre-school children with them to the city, especially when they were still breastfeeding them, but they prefer to leave school age children at home. This means that it was unlikely for children to be left at a very young age. Hetler (1986) reported that 54 per cent of women who migrate with their husbands and 20 per cent of women who migrate alone take their young children to the city. The latter decision has been taken because she does not have any other option. She found that around 42 per cent of ever-married women migrants had to take along their young children with them to the city at one time. In the city, the migrant mothers have several child care arrangements, such as having teenage or pre-adolescent girls mind the children while they are working, making arrangement with either their husband, older children or other kin to distribute the child care responsibilities around the mothers' working hours, taking the children to work and leaving the children to play alone.

In this study, childcare as a part of the socialization process has been examined through migrant women in the city and return migrant women in the village of origin using a qualitative approach. The separation of children from their parents, especially at a very young age, is not consistent with Javanese tradition. Koentjaraningrat (1960, 1967) and Geertz (1961) have reported that Javanese babies were breast fed up to 18 months old, and for some, even until they are two years old. This means that mothers would not live apart from their babies at least until they were weaned, as has been reported by Hetler (1986). However, in particular circumstances, such as the parents having to work in the city and there were no substitute child care providers available in the city, the children will be left in the village with grandparents. Single parents were more in need of substitute childcare providers.

In practice, the treatment of children from infancy is similar to what has been extensively explained by Hildred Geertz in 1961. The difference is that the lack of parents' involvement in this process, especially after the children have been weaned. There were five child-rearing strategies adopted by temporary migrant couples in the sample (Wahyuni 2000, p.374). One should remember that the current permanent migrants were once temporary migrants who also experienced making the decision to leave their young child or to quit their job. Firstly, if both couples were temporary migrants, the wives left their weaned children with their maternal grandmothers and unmarried aunties in the village, while they returned to the city to join their husbands. In this arrangement, grandmothers and aunties played an important role in socializing the children with Javanese values, without both parents being present most of the time. Secondly, the mothers stay in the village and quit their job to care for the babies while the fathers return to the city, which means the children rarely have contact with their fathers. Thirdly, the infants were taken to the city with their mothers who withdraw from their jobs to take care of them. Fourthly, the infants were taken to the city to be cared for by their mothers and other childcare providers, while the mothers keep working. Fifth, school age children were sent to the village to go to school there, either accompanied by their mothers who quit their jobs or to be cared for and supervised by

grandparents. There is no unique child care arrangement for a particular group of women, but one woman might have used all types of child care arrangement suitable to the children's age as well as the economic condition of the migrant families.

The following case studies describe the childcare arrangements of several migrant women, who work in textile factory in Bandung, West Java. All of them migrated from a similar village in Central Java province, and they are relatives:

Case study 1: Annie, a 33 years old mother of three.

Annie has been working as a textile factory worker since 1979, when she was just 16 years old. Her relative, who has been working in textile factory in Bandung, invited her from the village in Central Java to Bandung and got her a job in textile factory. Three years later, in 1982, she married a fellow textile worker, a local man from Purwakarta, West Java. One year later, in 1983 she got maternity leave for three months to give birth to her son in her village in Central Java. She returned to Bandung at the end of her maternity leave and left her baby son in the village with her mother and younger sisters. This means that she breastfed her baby for a very short time, which is unusual for Javanese mothers. When her son was 1.5 years old, she took him with her to Bandung accompanied by her younger sister Susie who just started to work in a textile factory in Bandung. Susie helped her in caring for the boy. Both sisters alternate their work shifts to enable one of them to always be available for the boy. When the child was five years old and eligible to join a kindergarten, Annie sent him back to her parents in the village to go to school there. At a similar time Annie planned to have her second child, in 1989 she returned to Central Java to give birth to her second son. However, after her maternity leave was over she returned to Bandung with her second child. She, with Susie's help, cared for the baby boy until he was eight months old at which time he was placed with family care providers in Bandung until he was five. At the same year, Susie got married and had her own baby girl, but another younger sister, Sita, arrived to start her job in a textile factory in Bandung. She helped both her elder sisters to care for her niece and nephew. The three sisters alternate their work shifts to be able to combine work and childcare. Annie bore her third child, a baby girl, and she decided to quit her job permanently to care for her children. When the new house is ready, Annie and her family left her rented-room in over-crowded migrant workers compound in Bandung city to move to the new house in Bandung outskirts, which is more spacious and better neighborhood; Annie collected her eldest son from the village to live with her. By buying a house Annie has been permanently migrated to Bandung. (Wahyuni 2000, p.375-376)

Case 2: Mila, 35 years old mother of three

Another factory worker from Central Java, Mila, has three children. One of them lives in the village in Central Java with Mila's parents, and she cares for the other two children in Bandung with her husband's and her sister's help. Mila's sister, Diana, is also married with a daughter and she also works as a factory worker. Mila and her husband, a migrant from Central Java, arrange their working hours to be able to combine it with childcare. In a situation where they cannot arrange for one of them to be available for the children they would ask Diana's help to care for the children. However, as they were living in a very densely settled area for migrant workers neighboring with many people from same village in Central Java, it was not a problem to get someone to look after the children while the parents were busy. It is very often

for Mila and her husband to leave their children with the neighbors to be cared for, while they are working (Wahyuni 2000, p.376).

Case 3: Susie, 29 years old, mother of a daughter

Susie quitted her job when she is giving birth to her baby daughter. She cares for her baby until the child was five years old and ready to go to kindergarten. Susie met her husband in Bandung and after they got married, they live in Bandung ever since. Although they still live in rented-room, Susie and her husband plan to migrate permanently. When Susie returned to work, her younger sister, Sita, came to Bandung and helping her to care for her child. Susie did not send her daughter to the village in Central Java because she, and especially her husband, cannot live apart from their child. (Wahyuni 2000, p.377).

It seems that Annie has experienced all types of childcare arrangements. In Annie's case, the childcare has been carried out with the help from her extended family, i.e. her parents and two sisters, and without much involvement of her husband or his extended family. Annie explained that her husband couldn't alter his work hours because he was a non-shift worker. He works regular office hours from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. and sometimes longer if he works overtime. Although it was possible for him to care for the children at night while his wife was on night shift, he refused to do so. Therefore, Annie depended on her sisters and parents to help her with childcare. According to Annie, her husband wants her to quit her job to become a fulltime housewife, which eventually happened with the birth of her third child. However, the involvement of husbands in child caring is not uncommon. Mila and Susie's husbands help them with childcare. In Mila's case, she and her husband share the productive and domestic works fairly. They arrange with their supervisors to always put them in different shift everyday and who is at home responsible to do all the domestic works, including child minding, cooking and cleaning.

The conflict of working and rearing children is not a 'modern invention' (Ware 1981). It is becoming difficult for women to handle when they have to migrate to places where there are no relatives available to help with childcare and they cannot afford maids or babysitters. An earlier study on Javanese family by Geertz (1961) reported that women in Java who work as traders in the market left their babies at home with guardians and they will be brought to the market at noon to be breastfed. In the situation where there is no guardian available for the babies, the mother would take the babies with them to the market. This means that working mothers are not a new phenomenon among Javanese women who have long made use of other people to assist them in child caring. In this study, several women in their sixties have been working outside the home for more than four decades, as cigarette factory laborers, agricultural laborers, vegetable vendors, or pottery makers. These women took only a short break from their jobs when they were giving birth to their babies and resumed their jobs as soon as they recovered. The babies were left at home with their grandmothers or older siblings, which is not too different from the current practices. A similar situation occurred in pre-industrial Europe, when the family economy was the responsibility of both husband and wife (Scott and Tilly 1978). Women had to perform several functions in the family, both production and reproduction. Women were the principal food providers for the whole family and they were expected to nurture the young children and carry out domestic activities. As their work and domestic activities were too time consuming they often have no spare time to nurture a baby (Scott and Tilly 1978).

However, different to the situation in the developing world at the moment, there was no indication of the involvement of extended family members, such as grandparents, as a child minding substitute in England or France, except wet nurses. In the early industrialization period when the economy of the family was more dependent on wages than home production, married women were likely to withdraw from employment to support their husband and children working because the children's wage was important to the families. However, after World War II, the aspiration on value of children changed. The family in Europe became less and less dependent on children's wages to support the household economy and the need to educate children became more important (Scott and Tilly 1987). This pushed mothers to re-enter the workforce in search of additional income to pay for education costs and this eventually led to families having fewer children.

For some young Javanese migrant women in this study, children's education has become an important priority in household's expenditures, which made them use contraceptives to reduce their fertility to cut-off the burden to educate children. The 26 migrant families interviewed whose heads are working in other places had one or two children. On average they were very concerned about their children's education and the need to educate their children has made the household head migrants keep working in the city (Wahyuni 2000). The higher aspiration to educate children was based on their understanding about the importance of education to get employment in the future. This means that families need the support of other institutions to prepare their members to adjust to the social life of the broader society rather than their village or local community, such as school.

However, school education does not undermine the family role as the primary agent to socialize their young members with the attitudes, values, and beliefs of Javanese society. Geertz (1961) noted that the basic principles in Javanese values are *hormat* (Indonesian for respect) and *rukun* (Indonesian for 'living in harmony'). The first concept is a guideline for Javanese to appropriately behave in different social situations, such as with government officials, among neighbors, among families, at school, at the working place and so forth. The second is a concept to maintain a social harmony by minimizing, as much as possible, social and private conflict openly in public. These concepts have been socialized to young Javanese by their parents or other extended family members and the local community, which made them behave like a Javanese should. The consistency of this socialization process is shown by the migrant factory workers loyalty to their guarantors¹⁰ to avoid possible family conflict if they were not. These values and beliefs have been used by the factory management to maintain the loyalty of their workers for the continuity of the production process.

In summary, as a consequence of splitting the nuclear family due to migration, young members of families were experiencing various childcare and education situations. They were transferred from one guardian to another in order to suit their parents' mobility, especially their mother's. The nuclear family among migrants was not able to become the primary agent of socialization, the role of extended family members, especially maternal grandmothers and younger sisters of the wife, were the most important substitute child minders while their parents migrated elsewhere. For factory worker mothers, childcare is the main problem, as the nature of the job needs them to work in the factory for at least eight hours or one shift period, which cannot be combined with child caring activities.

¹⁰ Guarantor is a person who guaranteed a new migrant to get a job in the factory in the city, and he or she has a responsibility to make the new employee loyal to the factory (Wahyuni 2000). Usually the guarantors are senior relatives from similar villages and, therefore, are respected by the younger migrants.

Conclusion

Migration to the city has been adopted as a strategy by village families to solve economic problems or in an attempt to make the families function better economically. The adult children support their parents' economy while young husbands left their wives and children in the village to make ends meet. In many cases mothers and fathers even left their children in the village under the care of extended families in order to reduce the burden of socialization and physical maintenance of the children in the city. Economic cooperation between husband and wife is carried out in two different places. In the village, the wives work on their agricultural land or in non-agricultural work to produce food for family consumption, while the husband works in the city to get cash to pay for other goods and services. The migration of mothers has consequences for child-care arrangements. The migrant women have to involve the extended family to help with child-care. As their extended families live in the village, the mothers have to endure a life separated from their children, often for a long time. This has frequently led to children spending a considerable period of their childhood being brought up by their grand parents and maternal relatives.

There were five child-rearing strategies adopted by temporary migrant couples in this study. Firstly, if both couples were temporary migrants, the wives left their weaned children with their maternal grandmothers and unmarried aunties in the village, while they returned to the city to join their husbands. Secondly, the mothers stay in the village and quit their job to care for the babies while the fathers return to the city. Thirdly, the infants were taken to the city with their mothers who withdraw from their jobs to take care of them. Fourthly, the infants were taken to the city to be cared for by their mothers and other childcare providers, while the mothers keep working. Fifth, school age children were sent to the village to go to school there, either accompanied by their mothers who quit their jobs or to be cared for and supervised by grandparents. There is no unique child care arrangement for a particular group of women, but one woman might have used all types of child care arrangement suitable to the children's age as well as the economic condition of the migrant families.

Although this study has only covered one village, similar findings on the impact of migration upon household structure and functioning can be found elsewhere in Central Java or other migrant origin villages in Java (see Hetler 1986, Mantra 1982). Because of the developed communication and transportation system in Java, contact between migrants in the city and their family left behind are readily managed. Villagers prefer to migrate on a non-permanent basis by commuting or circulating before deciding to migrate permanently or to return to the village permanently. In many cases migrants decide that circulation between the city as a place of work and the village as the family home is the most acceptable option for family well-being.

This study also found that Javanese migrants in Bandung prefer to share a rented room with one or two friends to save on living costs. As the house size is smaller than in villages it is not likely that migration creates many horizontal extended families with the inclusion of relatives or friends to already established migrants. More migrant households are headed by single-females as a consequence of the higher number of female migrants in the destination area. Migration also creates a split of nuclear families into two households: one in the origin area and one in the destination area. On the other hand, as a consequence of splitting households, there is a substantial percentage of temporary female-headed households in the origin village.

Bibliography

- Ahlburg, Dennis A. and De Vita, Carol J. 1992, New Realities of the American Family, Population Bulletin, Vol. 17, No. 2 (August), pp. 1-42.
- Arizpe, Lourdes 1981, Relay Migration and the Survival of the Peasant Household, in Why People Move, J.Balan (ed), The Unesco Press, New York.
- Bappeda 1988, General Assessment of Development: Potentials, Problems and Constraints of the Province of West Java (LTA 47), Vol. C. (Unpublished report), Bappeda-Jawa Barat and Haskoning Lidesco, Bandung.
- Berninghausen, Jutta and Kerstan, Brigit 1992, Forging New Paths: Feminist Social Methodology and Rural Women in Java, Zed Books Limited, London and New Jersey.
- Blake, J. 1965, Demographic science and the redirection of population policy, in M.Sheps and J.C. Ridley (eds) Public Health and Population Change, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.
- Booth, Anne and Damanik, Konta 1989, Central Java and Yogyakarta: Malthus Overcome? in Unity and Diversity: Regional Economic Development in Indonesia Since 1970, Hal Hill (ed.), Oxford University Press, Singapore; Oxford; New York.
- Caldwell, John C., 1969, African Rural-Urban Migration, The Movement to Ghana's Town, ANU, Canberra.
- Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) 2003, Demographic and Health Survey 2002. Indonesia, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta.
- Connell, J., Dasgupta, B., Lashleey, R. and Lipton, M., 1976, Migration from Rural Areas: The Evidence from Village Studies, Oxford University Press, Delhi.
- Colfer, C. 1985, On Circular Migration: From the Distaff Side, in Labour Circulation and the Labour Process, G.Standing (ed), Croom Helm, London, pp.219-251.
- Darroch, R.K., Meyer, P.A. and Singarimbun, M., 1981, Two Are Not Enough: The Value of Children to Javanese and Sundanese Parents, East-West Population Institute No. 60 D, Honolulu and Yogyakarta.
- Deere, C.D. and De Janvry, A., 1979, A Conceptual Framework for the Empirical Analysis of Peasant, American Journal of Agricultural Economic, Vol. 61, No. 4, pp. 601-611.
- Deere, C.D., 1982, The Division of Labour by Sex in Agriculture: A Peruvian Case Study, Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.30, No.4, pp.795-811.
- Desai, Sonalde and Jain, Devaki 1994, Maternal Employment and Changes in Family Dynamics: The Social Context of Women's Work in Rural South India, Population and Development Review, Volume 20, Number 1, pp.115-136.
- Evans, Jeremy, 1984, Definition And Structure Of The Household in Urban Java: Findings Of A Household Census in Suburban Surakarta, Urban Anthropology Vol.13 (2-3), pp. 145-196
- Findley, Sally E., 1987, Rural Development and Migration, Westview Press, Boulder.
- Geertz, Hildred, 1961, The Javanese Family, The Free Press, New York.
- Geerts, Clifford 1963, Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Goode, William J., 1970b, World Revolution and Family Patterns, The Free Press, New York.
- Guest, Philip 1993, 'The Determinants of Female Migration From A Multilevel Perspective', in Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries,

- Proceeding of the United Nations Expert Meeting in the Feminisation of Internal Migration, Aguascalientes, Mexico, 22-25 October.
- Hatmadji, S.H. and Anwar, E.N. 1933, Transisi Keluarga di Indonesia Suatu Tinjauan Demografis (Family Transition in Indonesia: A Demographic Perspective), Warta Demografi No. 5, pp. 15-21.
- Hetler, C.B. 1986, Female-headed households in a Circular Migration Village in Central Java, Indonesia, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Demography, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Hetler, C.B. 1990, Survival Strategies, Migration and Household Headship, in Structure and Strategies: Women Work And Family, L.Dube and R.Palriwal, Rajni (eds.), Sage Publication, New Delhi.
- Hugo, G.J. 1975, Population Mobility in West Java, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Hugo, G.J. 1978, Population Mobility in West Java, Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta.
- Hugo, G.J. 1982a, Evaluation of the Impact of Migration on Individuals, Households and Communities in ESCAP Region in National Migration Survey: X. Guidelines for Analysis, Comparative study on Migration Urbanization and Development in the ESCAP Region, New York: United Nation, p. 189-215.
- Hugo, Graeme 1982b, Circular Migration in Indonesia, Population and Development Review, Vol. 8, No.1 (March), pp. 59-83.
- Hugo, Graeme 1987a, Demographic and Welfare Implications of Urbanization: Direct and Indirect Effects on Sending and Receiving Areas, in Urbanization and Urban Policies in Pacific Asia, Fuchs, R.J., Jones, G.W. and Pernia, E. (eds), Westview Press, Boulder and London.
- Hugo, G.J., Hull, T.H., Hull, V.J. and Jones, G.W. 1987, The Demographic Dimension in Indonesian Development, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur.
- Hugo, Graeme 1994, Migration and the Family, Occasional Paper Series for the International Year of the Family, United Nations Department for Policy Co-ordination and Sustainable Development Secretariat for the International of the Family, Vienna.
- Hull, Terence H. and Valerie J. Hull 1987, Changing Marriage Behaviour in Java: The Role of Timing of Consummation, Southeast Asian Journal of Social Sciences, 15(1):104-19.
- Jay, Robert R. 1969, The Javanese Villager, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Koentjaraningrat 1960, The Javanese of South Central Java, in Social Structure in Southeast Asia, G.P.Murdock (ed), Current Anthropology, Chicago.
- Koentjaraningrat 1967, Tjelapar: A Village in South Central Java, in Villages in Indonesia, Koentjaraningrat (ed.). Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Kung, Lidya 1978, Factory Women in Taiwan, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Lauby, Jennifer and Oded Stark 1988, Individual Migration as a Family Strategy: Young Women, in the Philippines, Population Studies Vol. 42, No. 1, pp.473-486.
- Mantra, I.B. 1981, Population Mobility in Wet Rice Community, Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta.
- Mantra, I.B. 1988, Population Mobility and the Link Between Migrants and the Family Back Home in Ngawis Village, Gunung Kidul Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region, The Indonesian Journal of Geography, Vol. 18. No.55.June.
- Murdock, G.P. 1949, Social Structure, The MacMillan Company, New York.

- Naim, M., 1979, Merantau: Pola Migrasi Suku Minangkabau (Merantau: Migration Patterns of The Minangkabau Groups), Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta.
- Nitisastro, Widjojo 1970, Population Trends in Indonesia, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Pessar, Patricia R. 1982, The Role of Households in International Migration and the Case of U.S. Bound Migration from the Dominican Republic, International Migration Review, Vol.16, No. 2, pp. 342-364.
- Radcliffe, Sarah A. 1986, Gender Relation, Peasant Livelihood Strategies and Migration: a Case Study from Cuzco Peru, Bulletin of Latin America Research, Vol.5, No.2, pp. 29-47.
- Radcliffe, Sarah A. 1990, Between Hearth and Labour Market: The Recruitment of Peasant Women in the Andes, International Migration Review, Vol. XXIV, No.2, pp.229-49.
- Richter, K., Podhista, C., Soonthornhada, K. and Chamrathitritrong, A. 1992, Child Care in Urban Thailand, Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, Thailand.
- Richter, K., Guest, P., Boonchalaksi, W., Piriathamwong, N. and Ogena, N.B. 1997, Migration and the Rural Family: Sources of Support and Strain in a Mobile Society, IPSR Publication No. 190, Institute for population and Social Research, Mahidol University, Thailand.
- Roberts, Kenneth D. 1982, Agrarian Structure and Labour Mobility in Rural Mexico, Population and Development Review, Vol. 8, No 2, pp. 299-322.
- Rodenburg, A.N. 1993a, Staying Behind: Rural Woman and Migration in North Tapanuli Indonesia, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.
- Rodenburg, Janet 1993b, Emancipation or Subordination? Consequences of Female Migration For Migrants and Their Families, in Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries, Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Meeting in the Feminisation of Internal Migration, Aguascalientes, Mexico, 22-25 October.
- Root, Brenda D. and De Jong, Gordon F. 1991, Family Migration in a Developing Country, Population Studies 45, pp. 221-233.
- Rosa, Kumudini 1990, Export-Oriented Industries and Women Workers in Sri Lanka in Women, Poverty and Ideology in Asia: Contradictory Pressure, Uneasy Resolutions, Haleh Afshar and Bina Agarwal (eds), McMillan, London.
- Rusli, Said 1978, Inter-Rural Migration and Circulation in Indonesia: The Case of West Java, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Siegel, J. 1969, The Rope of God, California University Press, Berkeley.
- Singarimbun, M. and Manning, C. 1974, Marriage and Divorce in Mojolama, Indonesia, No. 17, pp. 67-82.
- Singarimbun, M. 1983, Struktur Rumahtangga (Household Structure), in Pedoman Analisa Data Sensus Indonesia 1971-1980 (Guidelines To Analyse Indonesian Census Data 1971-1980), Peter F. Mc.Donald, (ed), AUIDP, Canberra.
- Standing, Guy 1978, Labour Force Participation and Development, International Labour Office (ILO), Geneva.
- Stark, R. 1984, Migration Decision Making: a Review Article, Journal of Development Economic (Amsterdam), Vol. 14, No. 1-2 (January-February).
- Tilly, Louis and Scott, Joan W. 1978, Women, Work and Family, Hold, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

- Trager, L. 1984a, Migration and Remittance: Urban Income and Rural Households in the Philippines, The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 18 (April), pp.317-340.
- Trager, L. 1984b, Family Strategies and the Migration of Women: Migration to Dagupan City, Philippines, International Migration Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 4. pp. 1265-1277.
- United Nations 1973, Manual VII: Methods of Projecting Households and Families, Population Studies No. 54, UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York.
- Wahyuni, E.S. 1991, Migrasi Di Jawa Barat Berdasarkan Supas 1985 (Migration in West Java Based on SUPAS 1985), Project Working Paper Series No. A-16, Pusat Studi Pembangunan, Lembaga Penelitian, Institut Pertanian Bogor, Bogor.
- 2000, The Impact of Migration Up On Family Structure and Functioning in Java, PhD. Thesis, Adelaide University, Australia.
- 2003, 'The Structure and Functioning of The Javanese Family' Mimbar Sosek English Edition, Vol. 16. No. 3, December 2003, pp. 33 – 50.
- Ware, Helen 1981, Women, Demography and Development, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Wolf, Diana 1986a, Javanese Village Revisited, Paper prepared for Session on Household Organization in Developing Countries, Annual Meeting of Population Association of America, April 1986.
- Wolf, Diana 1986b, Factory Daughters, Their Families and Rural Industrialization in Central Java. Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca.
- Wolf, Diana 1990, Daughter, Decision and Domination: An Empirical and Conceptual Critique of Household Strategies, Development and Change, Vol. 21, pp. 43-74.
- Wolf, Diana 1992, Factory Daughters: Gender, Household Dynamics and Rural Industrialisation in Java, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Wolf, Margery 1972, Women and The Family in Rural Taiwan, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Wood, C.H.1981, Structural Changes and Households Strategies: A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Rural Migration, Human Organization, Vol.40, pp.338-349.
- Wood, C.H. 1982, Equilibrium and Historical-Structural Perspectives on Migration, International Migration Review, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 299-319.
- Yanagisako, Sylvia Junko 1979, Family and Household: The Analysis of Domestic Groups, Annual Review of Anthropology, No. 8, pp.161-205.