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POPULASI merupakan majalah berkala, terbit dua kali setahun, setiap bulan Juk dan Desember. Redaksi menerima karangan yang menitikberatkan pada bidang kependudukan. Naskah harus belum pernah dan tidak akan dipublikasikan dalam media cetak lain, berupa ketikan asli dengan renggang ganda, tidak lebih dari 25 halaman termasuk daftar pustaks. Redaksi berhak membuat perubahan dalam karangan tanpa mengubah isi atau maksud karangan.

PENGANTAR REDAKSI

Penduduk lansia yang rentan dalam hal kesehatan menjadi masalah rumah tangga, ketika anggota rumah tangga melakukan migrasi atau meninggalkan rumah tangga lama dan membentuk rumah tangga baru. Siapa yang harus merawat orang tua, apalagi pada masa krisis yang sampai saat ini belum ada tanda akan berakhir?

Populasi terbitan nomor ini antara lain menampilkan tulisan mengenai penduduk lansia yang saat ini diperkirakan jumlahnya telah mencapai sekitar 16,2 juta jiwa atau 7,8 persen dari jumlah penduduk Indonesia. Jumlah ini akan bertambah terus seiring dengan keberhasilan pembangunan di bidang kesehatan. Hal yang harus dipikirkan bersama adalah masalah perawatan kesehatan mereka. Faktor akses dan kemampuan rumah tangga mempengaruhi lansia untuk memperoleh pengobatan modern.

Tulisan kedua membahas masalah krisis ekonomi di perdesaan. Mereka yang menguasai sumber daya di perdesaan selama krisis ekonomi merasa diuntungkan. Sebaliknya, bagi yang tidak

menguasai sumber daya justru dirugikan. Lembaga tradisional yang semula dapat berfungsi untuk menanggulangi masalah ini justru semakin berkurang perannya.

Tulisan ketiga membahas tentang pekerja migran internasional sirkuler dari Indonesia ke Malaysia yang jumlahnya hampir mencapai dua pertiga dari seluruh migran yang ada di negara ini. Sebagian besar dari mereka masuk ke negara ini dengan cara tidak resmi/ilegal sehingga banyak menimbulkan masalah dalam hal upah dan perlindungan kerja. Mereka bekerja pada sektor yang kurang diminati oleh pekerja setempat (pekerjaan berbahaya, sulit, dan kotor).

Tulisan ke empat membahas model analisis statistik sebagai dasar pengambilan keputusan. Meskipun metode analisis statistik telah dibakukan, hasil analisis masih mempunyai risiko kesalahan atau kurang rasional. Keempat pokok bahasan ini diharapkan menjadi sumber informasi yang bermanfaat dalam pengembangan kualitas sumber daya manusia.

Tukiran

STRUKTUR RUMAH TANGGA DAN PERAWATAN KESEHATAN LANSIA DI INDONESIA

*Mubasyir Hasanbasri**

Abstract

The role of family in elderly care in Indonesia remains feasible solution for both economic and cultural reasons. Rapid socio-economic changes have raised the concerns whether family members can effectively meet the need of elderly ears. This study examines the relationship between household structure variables and the use of health services. We seek to learn the household structure characteristics that facilitate or constrain elderly care. If there is no constraint within the family, elderly people living dependently to their children will be less likely to show difference in health care practices as opposed to those living independently. The data for this analysis is drawn from the 1993 Indonesian Socio-Economic Survey. Individuals aged 65 years or above reported to have illness complaints in the past two weeks and remained suffered when the survey was performed are included for the analysis. The findings indicate that the elderly people living dependently with their children or with other families use less health care available outside their homes than those living independently.

Pendahuluan

Kesejahteraan penduduk lansia menjadi bagian yang tidak terpisahkan dari tanggung jawab keluarga di banyak negara berkembang (Chang, 1994). Jumlah anak yang banyak menjadi jaminan sosial dan ekonomi bagi orang tua ketika mereka mencapai usia lanjut. Orang tua biasanya

berharap paling sedikit ada satu anak yang akan tinggal bersama dan membantu merawat mereka (Knodel, 1992). Sebagai contoh, wanita dituntut secara sosial untuk berperan sebagai pemberi perawatan bagi lansia. Ada semacam pembagian tugas yang tidak tertulis dari anggota rumah

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tangga tentang permintaan terhadap wanita untuk tetap tinggal bersama orang tua, sedangkan laki-laki bisa pergi jauh mencari pekerjaan. Tugas wanita ini bahkan berlaku hingga mereka berkeluarga. Meskipun cerita yang negatif tentang harapan lansia itu jarang terdengar, kekhawatiran terhadap peran anak dalam membantu lansia akan mendapat hambatan ketika wanita makin dituntut berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan ekonomi, kaum muda makin kerap pergi jauh dari orang tua, dan kondisi perumahan yang lebih kecil bagi keluarga-keluarga baru (Mason, 1992; Thornton & Fricke, 1989). Tulisan ini memotret pola perawatan kesehatan lansia menurut struktur rumah tangga. Kita berharap tidak ada perbedaan dalam pola perawatan lansia atas dasar besar rumah tangga dan status lansia di rumah tangga.

Fokus Penelitian Terdahulu

Status ekonomi dapat menjadi kendala dalam akses pelayanan kesehatan (Ward, 1977; Andersen, 1968; Stanton & Clemens, 1989). Ketika pelayanan kesehatan yang tersedia bermacam-macam, orang dari status ekonomi rendah lebih banyak menggunakan pelayanan dengan biaya perawatan yang rendah. Walaupun demikian,

perlu diingat bahwa apakah orang memperoleh akses pelayanan atau tidak sebenarnya tidaklah begitu penting dibandingkan dengan perawatan yang tepat yang mereka butuhkan. Pelayanan yang bermutu membutuhkan biaya lebih tinggi, begitu pula perawatan secara profesional jelas lebih mahal daripada perawatan umum. Mereka yang berasal dari status sosial-ekonomi rendah memiliki kesempatan yang kecil dalam memperoleh pelayanan dari kalangan profesional. Status sosial ekonomi juga mempengaruhi cara orang memahami penyakit dan pencarian pengobatan. Sebagai contoh, penyakit yang diderita orang tua dengan status sosial ekonomi rendah tidak dianggap sebagai hal yang membutuhkan perawatan sampai pada keadaan sudah parah. Di samping itu, penghasilan yang terbatas membuat orang dari kelompok status sosial ekonomi rendah menempatan pengobatan sebagai sesuatu yang kurang penting.

Beberapa penelitian tentang peran pendidikan dalam meningkatkan status kesehatan di negara-negara berkembang dikonsentrasikan pada bidang mortalitas dan kesehatan anak (Preston, 1985; Lindenbaum, 1989;

Koeh-Weser & Yankauer, 1991; Jain, 1985; Flegg, 1982; Caldwell, 1979; Streatfield dkk, 1990), namun kunci mekanismenya tetap sama. Pengaruh pendidikan dikaitkan dengan pengetahuan tentang penyakit dan perilaku perawatan kesehatan yang lebih baik. Semakin tinggi jenjang pendidikan seseorang, semakin besar kemungkinannya untuk memahami suatu penyakit dan semakin positif pula perilaku perawatan kesehatannya.

Perbedaan daerah perkotaan dan perdesaan akan tersedianya agen perantara perawatan kesehatan merupakan faktor penentu lain, apakah pelayanan perawatan tersebut diperlukan atau tidak. Sejumlah penelitian menunjukkan bahwa karena rumah sakit dan klinik yang menyediakan perawatan medik secara profesional dipusatkan di perkotaan (Hart, 1971; Radford, 1980; Zaidi, 1985), kemungkinan penduduk desa untuk mendapatkan akses pelayanan perawatan kesehatan lebih sedikit daripada mereka yang tinggal di perkotaan, terutama bagi penduduk di daerah-daerah yang secara geografis sulit dicapai dengan transportasi umum.

Peran Struktur Rumah Tangga dan Hipotesis

Penelitian ini mencoba mempelajari hubungan variabel struktur rumah tangga dan pola perawatan kesehatan yang diperoleh lansia. Empat aspek dari struktur rumah tangga yaitu: besar rumah tangga, posisi lansia dalam rumah tangga, status kehadiran orang lain, dan kehadiran anak balita dalam rumah tangga. Asumsi yang mendasari variabel struktur rumah tangga di sini adalah peran anggota rumah tangga dalam pemberian pertolongan dan kemandirian ekonomi. Pemberian pertolongan perawatan mencakup menolong langsung memenuhi kebutuhan lansia pada waktu sakit di rumah, membawa lansia ke tempat pengobatan di luar rumah tangga, dan mencari informasi yang memadai tentang bentuk-bentuk pelayanan perawatan lansia yang tersedia di sekitar rumah tangga. Penolong perawatan dalam rumah tangga di sini bisa suami atau istri, anak-anak dewasa, atau orang dewasa yang lain.

Besar rumah tangga. Besar rumah tangga bisa mencerminkan jumlah anak yang dimiliki oleh

kepala rumah tangga ataupun orang lain yang tinggal bersama kepala rumah tangga. Dilihat dari nilai otonomi dan privasi yang dominan dalam kehidupan modern, maka besarnya jumlah anggota rumah tangga menjadi beban karena mencerminkan rendahnya tingkat kemandirian anggota keluarga. Sekalipun bisa berhubungan dengan beban, besar rumah tangga berkaitan dengan strategi kelangsungan hidup lansia. Pemilikan anak dalam pandangan ini merupakan jaminan ekonomis dan psikososial bagi lansia pada hari tua. Besar rumah tangga merupakan ukuran ketersediaan orang yang bisa dimintai pertolongan oleh lansia dalam pemeliharaan kesehatan, khususnya dalam memperoleh perawatan kesehatan di luar rumah tangga. Berpegang pada pandangan ini, dapat diprediksi bahwa makin banyak jumlah jiwa dalam rumah tangga, makin besar kemungkinan lansia menggunakan perawatan kesehatan di luar rumah tangga.

Status lansia dalam rumah tangga. Kedudukan kepala rumah tangga lazimnya dikaitkan dengan pemilikan sumber-sumber rumah tangga. Biasanya posisi ini tidak berubah ketika kepala rumah tangga menjadi tua. Bila anak atau anggota rumah

tangga bisa mandiri, merekalah yang akan pergi dari rumah orang tua. Sebaliknya, sebagian lansia yang pindah mengikuti anak disebabkan oleh posisi ekonomi mereka yang lemah untuk bisa menjalankan rumah tangga secara mandiri. Konsekuensi dari tinggal bersama anak adalah lansia tidak memiliki kekuasaan seperti bila mereka menjadi kepala rumah tangga. Kepala rumah tangga membuat keputusan-keputusan apakah masalah-masalah perawatan kesehatan lansia ditempatkan pada prioritas utama, tergantung dari keterlibatannya dengan masalah finansial, apabila lansia ini berperan sebagai kepala rumah tangga dan memiliki sumber-sumber yang diperlukan untuk perawatan kesehatan. Sebaliknya, jika ia bergantung pada orang lain, perawatan kesehatan lansia ini bukan lagi merupakan prioritas dan perhatian utama dari rumah tangga. Mereka akan memiliki kesempatan lebih kecil dalam hal mendapat perawatan kesehatan.

Status tempat tinggal. Dari status tempat tinggal, dapat dilihat dengan siapa lansia bertempat tinggal. Kehadiran orang dewasa dalam rumah tangga bisa menjadi mediator dalam berhubungan dengan sumber-sumber pelayanan eksternal

(Horowitz, 1985). Anggota rumah tangga yang masih muda atau seorang kepala rumah tangga membuat keputusan tentang pemenuhan kebutuhan lansia (Cafferata, 1987). Memiliki pasangan atau menikah memiliki sisi positif karena adanya komitmen moral yang menyangkut perhatian terhadap kesejahteraan tiap-tiap pasangan pada saat suka dan duka. Pasangan lansia merupakan sumber pertolongan dalam merawat dan memelihara kesehatan ketika salah satu pasangan menderita sakit (Stoller, 1982). Laporan penelitian telah memperlihatkan pengaruh dari dukungan sosial dan emosional serta keuntungan ekonomis yang dimiliki oleh orang yang memiliki pasangan tetap terhadap status kesehatan dan bahkan kepanjangan usia (Ross, Mirawsky & Goldstein, 1990; Umberson, Wartman & Kessler, 1992). Atas dasar itu, kehadiran pasangan akan mendorong pencarian pengobatan lebih awal dan lebih sungguh-sungguh daripada yang tidak memiliki pasangan.

Kehadiran anak balita. Penuaan penduduk di negara sedang berkembang sering dikaitkan dengan perlipatan persoalan sosial ketika kita sedang berurusan dengan masalah anak balita dan lansia. Kekhawatiran

utama adalah besarnya persoalan yang akan timbul dengan kondisi-kondisi kesehatan yang menyertai penuaan. Konsekuensi dari hal itu, bila terdapat lansia dan anak balita dalam suatu rumah tangga, perhatian keluarga terhadap lansia bisa menjadi lebih rendah dibandingkan terhadap balita.

Memiliki anak balita dianggap sebagai hal yang dapat mengurangi prioritas perhatian keluarga terhadap lansia. Kemungkinan lansia yang tinggal bersama keluarga yang mempunyai anak balita untuk mendapat perawatan eksternal menjadi semakin kecil dibandingkan dengan mereka yang tinggal bersama keluarga tanpa anak balita. Variabel dan definisi operasional ini dapat dilihat pada Tabel 1.

Data dan Analisis

Data yang digunakan untuk analisis ini berasal dari Survei Sosial-Ekonomi Indonesia tahun 1993. Penelitian ini mengambil sampel anggota rumah tangga yang berusia 65 tahun ke atas yang mengeluh sakit dalam dua minggu terakhir, dan pada saat survei dilakukan mereka masih merasa sakit. Penelitian ini memusatkan pada kelompok usia 65 tahun ke atas karena diasumsikan kelompok ini lebih memerlukan bantuan orang lain

Tabel 1
Variabel dan Definisi Operasional

Variabel	Definisi Operasional
Pelayanan Eksternal	1 bila lansia yang melaporkan sakit dalam kurun dua minggu terakhir dan mencari pertolongan dari pengobatan profesional ataupun tradisional. 0 bila lansia yang melaporkan sakit, tetapi mongobati sendiri atau tidak mencari pengobatan dari luar.
Struktur Rumah Tangga	
Bosar Rumah tangga	Jumlah anggota rumah tangga 4 atau > = 1; < dari 4 = 0
Status lansia dalam rumah tangga	"Korosidon" (1) hila lansia yang tercatat dalam roster rumah tangga sebagai anggota rumah tangga. Bila torcatat sebagai kepala rumah tangga atau suami/istri dianggap "bukan koresiden" atau "mandiri"
Status Tempat Tinggal	Dummy dengan 4 kategori: "tidak kawin tinggal sendiri", "tidak kawin, totapi tinggal dengan orang dewasa lain", "kawin dan tinggal hanya dongsan suami atau istri" (kategori rujukan), dan "kawin dan tinggal borsama istri atau suami dan orang dowasa yang lain".
Kehadiran balita	Rasio jumlah anak di bawah lima tahun di rumah tangga terhadap jumlah jiwa dalam rumah tangga.
Sosiodemografi	
Jenis kelamin	Laki-laki = 1; Perompuan = 0
Umur	Umur tahun dan dibegi ke dalam kategori: 65-69, 70-74 dan 75 ke atas. Kelompok rujukan adalah 65-69.
Status pendidikan tertinggi	Minimal pernah duduk di sekolah dasar = 1; Tidak pernah sekolah = 0
Status ekonomi rumah tangga	Dihitung berdasarkan pengeluaran rumah tangga per kapita. Ekenomi rendah bila berada di bawah parsentil 40%. Ekenemi menengah bila berada pada parsentil antara 40-80%. Ekenemi atas bila berada pada parsentil 80 ke etas.
Status Perketaan	Perdesaan = 1; perketaan = 0

dalam memenuhi perawatan kesehatan mereka.

Informasi tentang keluhan penyakit dan perawatan lansia dalam survei ini diperoleh secara tidak langsung dari wawancara terhadap kepala rumah tangga. Metode ini memiliki bias karena untuk rumah tangga dengan status sosial ekonomi lebih tinggi cenderung lebih peka melaporkan penyakit dibandingkan dengan rumah tangga dengan status sosial ekonomi yang rendah. Maka dari itu, ada kecenderungan bias pelaporan yang lebih tinggi bagi kelompok sosial atas dalam hal penggunaan pelayanan kesehatan. Penelitian ini melihat penggunaan tiga jenis perawatan kesehatan umum. Penggunaan perawatan medik profesional meliputi penggunaan fasilitas rumah sakit, dokter yang membuka praktek pribadi, klinik kesehatan, dan puskesmas. Karena penelitian ini bertujuan memahami peranan keluarga sebagai pembuat keputusan bagi lansia, yang menjadi variabel dependen utama adalah penggunaan perawatan eksternal yaitu setiap pengobatan medik yang diperoleh di luar lingkungan rumah tangga, termasuk perawatan dari dukun. Penggunaan perawatan yang diperoleh lansia termasuk perawatan pengobatan

oleh dirinya sendiri. Keluhan penyakit diklasifikasikan dalam beberapa kategori yang meliputi infeksi saluran pernafasan bagian atas, gangguan pencernaan, konvulsi, kecelakaan, dan lain-lain. Persentase yang tinggi dalam keluhan 'lain-lain' (70%) menggambarkan kondisi penyakit kronis yang umumnya diderita lansia. Sekitar 15% dari mereka yang mengeluhkan penyakit, tidak pernah mendapatkan pengobatan sama sekali. Kira-kira 30% melakukan pengobatan diri sendiri dan 19% berobat ke puskesmas.

Status lansia dalam rumah tangga diklasifikasikan ke dalam dua kategori. Mereka yang tercatat sebagai kepala rumah tangga atau pasangannya (suami atau istri) dalam daftar rumah tangga dikategorikan sebagai lansia yang tidak tergantung atau yang mandiri secara ekonomi. Mereka yang tidak termasuk kategori pertama disebut sebagai lansia yang tergantung. Di antara lansia yang tergantung ini jumlah terbesar berstatus sebagai ayah ibu (orang tua) atau mertua (84%). Kurang lebih 13% merupakan keluarga sedarah, dan sebesar 2,5% merupakan pembantu rumah-tangga atau lainnya.

Status lansia dalam suatu rumah tangga ditentukan oleh

proporsi antara anggota rumah tangga yang berusia di bawah lima tahun dengan jumlah jiwa dalam rumah tangga. Yang termasuk janda/duda adalah mereka yang sudah bercerai atau yang ditinggal mati pasangannya (suami atau istrinya). Kebanyakan lansia dalam studi ini tidak mendapat pendidikan formal. Dalam penelitian ini tingkat pendidikan dibagi menjadi dua, yaitu lansia yang tidak mendapat pendidikan formal (58%), dan mereka yang mendapat pendidikan Sekolah Dasar atau di atasnya. Hanya 5% dari kelompok yang kedua ini pernah bersekolah di Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama atau di atasnya. Status ekonomi rumah tangga berdasarkan distribusi persentil konsumsi per kapita setiap bulan, yaitu termasuk rendah jika berada kurang dari persentil 40, menengah atau sedang jika berada antara persentil 40 dan 80, dan tinggi jika berada di atas persentil 80.

Hasil

Hasil dari pengolahan data ini disajikan dalam tiga tabel yang dapat dilihat pada Lampiran. Tabel 2 memperlihatkan ciri lansia dan pola penggunaan berbagai jenis perawatan kesehatan. Tabel 3 menyajikan *rasio odds* untuk

ketiga bentuk perawatan kesehatan. Ketiga bentuk perawatan itu sengaja ditampilkan untuk melihat perbedaan ciri dari tiap-tiap variabel bebas. Tabel 4 menyajikan hasil regresi logistik untuk perawatan eksternal menurut status ekonomi rumah tangga. Uraian berikut ini lebih memusatkan pada hipotesis dan perlu mengacu pada Tabel 2, 3, dan 4 secara bersama-sama.

a. Ciri Lansia

Jumlah lansia yang memenuhi kriteria sakit dalam kurun dua minggu terakhir adalah 1824 orang. Jumlah laki-laki lebih banyak daripada perempuan. Umur lansia tersebar cukup merata pada tiga kelompok yang digunakan dalam analisis ini. Hampir sekitar 60% tidak pernah mengenyam pendidikan formal (sekolah). Hanya sekitar 12% lansia menyelesaikan sekolah dasar. Kira-kira 25% di antaranya mendapat pendidikan sekolah dasar, tetapi tidak tamat. Enam puluh persen lansia yang dianalisis tinggal di perdesaan.

Sebagian besar lansia adalah kepala rumah tangga atau istri. Sekitar tiga puluh persen lansia berstatus anggota rumah tangga, dan lansia yang tinggal bersama

keluarga ini sebagian besar adalah orang tua atau mertua (84 persen). Yang berstatus sanak keluarga sebesar 13 persen. Di luar itu terdapat 2,5 persen tidak memiliki hubungan keluarga. Dilihat dari sudut status tempat tinggal, lansia yang betul-betul tinggal sendiri ada sekitar 10 persen, yang tinggal bersama istri atau suami adalah 20 persen, dan selebihnya tinggal bersama keluarga.

Tiga puluh persen dapat menyebutkan keluhan spesifik yang mengelompok pada keluhan infeksi pernapasan atas, gangguan pencernaan, kejang atau kecelakaan, dan sebagian besar melaporkan keluhan "lain-lain" (70%). Karena kategori spesifik yang disediakan oleh survei ini condong mengarah kepada keluhan akut, tidak heran bila keluhan "lain-lain" di sini adalah dominan dan berkaitan dengan penyakit kronik pada lansia. Persentase lansia yang berstatus kepala rumah tangga (termasuk pasangan) lebih tinggi daripada yang sebagai anggota dalam hal penggunaan pelayanan profesional dan tradisional. Sebaliknya, persentase lansia bukan kepala rumah tangga atau pasangannya lebih tinggi daripada yang menjadi kepala rumah tangga dalam hal penggunaan perawatan

sendiri atau yang tidak mendapat pengobatan sama sekali.

Seperti yang terlihat pada Tabel 2, di antara 1.824 lansia, kira-kira 15% diantaranya tidak mendapat perawatan sama sekali. Sebesar 44% tidak mendapat perawatan di luar lingkungan rumah tangga. Hanya sekitar 38% lansia mempunyai kesempatan mendapat perawatan profesional (dokter). Kira-kira seperempat dari jumlah subjek penelitian merupakan lansia yang termasuk dalam kategori bukan kepala rumah tangga atau pasangannya.

b. Pengaruh Faktor Sosiodemografi

Tinggal di perdesaan secara negatif diasosiasikan dengan penggunaan perawatan profesional. Karena puskesmas dan klinik-klinik lainnya yang berada di pelosok ditujukan untuk memenuhi kebutuhan perawatan kesehatan penduduk perdesaan termasuk profesional, diperkirakan tidak ada perbedaan antara penduduk perdesaan dan penduduk perkotaan dalam penggunaan perawatan kesehatan secara profesional. Analisis ini menunjukkan tidak ada perbedaan yang berarti dalam hal kesempatan mendapat perawatan eksternal

antara lansia yang tinggal di perdesaan dengan kesempatan yang dimiliki lansia yang berada di perkotaan. Pada ketiga model, umur dan jenis kelamin tidak berhubungan dengan ketiga bentuk penggunaan pelayanan.

Pengaruh dari pendidikan bagi mereka yang sempat mendapatkan pendidikan jelas berbeda dibandingkan dengan mereka yang tidak pernah sekolah sama sekali. Peningkatan nilai *odds ratio* yang berlaku untuk ketiga regresi terhadap perawatan profesional kemungkinan menunjukkan peran kesadaran individu tentang kesehatan dan penerimaan kultural kesehatan modern pada subjek yang mempunyai pendidikan yang lebih tinggi. Adapun mereka yang tidak pernah mendapat pendidikan sekolah sama sekali menunjukkan separo kemungkinan dari mereka yang pernah bersekolah.

Pengaruh status sosial ekonomi rumah tangga dapat dilihat pada Tabel 3. Status sosial-ekonomi yang rendah berhubungan secara negatif dengan tiga jenis perawatan yang diperoleh lansia. Model I menunjukkan bahwa lansia yang termasuk dalam kelompok status sosial-ekonomi rendah lebih kecil kemungkinannya dalam memperoleh perawatan kesehatan dibandingkan

dengan mereka yang termasuk kelompok sosial-ekonomi tinggi. Dalam model pertama dan kedua, pengaruh ini secara statistik tetap signifikan. Akan tetapi sebaliknya, pengaruh kelompok dengan status sosial-ekonomi sedang mengalami perubahan dari tidak signifikan pada model pertama menjadi sedikit signifikan pada model kedua ($p < 0.10$), hingga sangat signifikan pada model ketiga. Artinya, penggunaan pelayanan kesehatan profesional berhubungan linear dengan status ekonomi rumah tangga.

c. Besar Rumah Tangga

Tidak seperti yang diharapkan, besar rumah tangga tidak mencerminkan ketersediaan pemberi pertolongan perawatan dalam rumah tangga. Tabel 2 memperlihatkan tidak ada perbedaan yang berarti dalam perawatan eksternal (Model 2) dan profesional (Model 3). Akan tetapi, persentase lansia yang mendapat perawatan (versus tidak mendapat perawatan) lebih tinggi sebesar 4% daripada persentase pada rumah tangga kecil. Tabel 3 dan 4 sama-sama tidak menunjukkan *odds ratio* berarti dalam hal pengaruh besar rumah tangga. Hasil ini mengatakan bahwa perawatan

lansia bukan mencerminkan sisi kuantitas anggota rumah tangga.

d. Status Lansia dalam Rumah Tangga

Status lansia berhubungan dengan pola perawatan lansia. Analisis bivariat (Tabel 2) menunjukkan bahwa terdapat selisih sebesar 12% dalam hal lansia yang mendapat perawatan (di dalam maupun di luar rumah tangga). Keadaan ini tetap konsisten dalam hal perawatan profesional yang diperoleh lansia (10%). Pengaruh ini dikuatkan oleh bukti yang tersedia pada Tabel 3. Meskipun pengaruh negatif dari status koresidensi makin berkurang dari model 1 ke model 3, yang nyata dari Tabel 3 adalah adanya pengaruh yang bermakna dan berarti pada model 1 dan 2. Lansia yang bukan kepala rumah tangga memiliki kesempatan mendapat perawatan kesehatan sebesar kurang lebih separo dari kesempatan yang dimiliki oleh lansia yang menjadi kepala rumah tangga atau pasangannya. Pada ketiga kelompok rumah tangga berdasarkan tingkat status sosial ekonomi, status koresidensi berhubungan terbalik dengan pola perawatan lansia, tetapi hanya yang kelas menengah yang signifikan. Temuan ini mengisyaratkan bahwa mereka yang tidak

banyak mempunyai kontrol terhadap sumber-sumber yang dimiliki rumah tangga akan kecil kemungkinannya untuk memperoleh dukungan keluarga yang cukup, sewaktu mereka membutuhkan bantuan perawatan yang benar-benar dibutuhkan.

e. Status Tempat Tinggal

Kehadiran pasangan memiliki arti dalam perawatan lansia. Sebagaimana yang terlihat pada Tabel 2, lansia pasangan (bersatus kawin) menunjukkan persentase lebih rendah dalam hal tidak memperoleh perawatan (versus yang mendapat perawatan). Hal ini sejalan dengan persentase yang tinggi pada lansia berpasangan dalam hal memperoleh perawatan profesional. Pada kolom 3 (% perawatan rumah tangga) dari tabel yang sama, persentase lebih tinggi dari yang tidak berpasangan menggunakan perawatan rumah. Pada Tabel 3 dan 4, pengaruh kehadiran pasangan ini dapat dilihat pada variabel status tempat tinggal. Pada variabel ini, lansia yang memiliki pasangan dan tinggal berdua saja dijadikan kelompok rujukan. Meskipun tidak ada yang sangat bermakna secara statistik, lansia yang memiliki pasangan menunjukkan kesempatan yang lebih baik daripada yang tidak memiliki

pasangan (Model 2 dan 3). Pada Tabel 4 yang menjelaskan perawatan eksternal menurut status ekonomi rumah tangga, pengaruh kehadiran pasangan itu hanya jelas pada kelas bawah. Sebaliknya, yang penting dari tabel ini adalah tentang pengaruh kehadiran orang lain. Tinggal sendiri tidak merupakan masalah pada kelompok ekonomi atas, tetapi hal ini sangat jelas dan signifikan pada kelas menengah. Hidup bersama orang lain maupun pasangan lebih baik daripada hidup sendiri. Apakah itu pasangan atau orang lain tampaknya tidak ada perbedaan berarti. Yang penting adalah kehadiran orang lain yang bisa memberikan pertolongan.

f. Kehadiran Anak Balita

Efek dari kehadiran anak balita bertolak belakang dari dugaan semula. Yang diharapkan dari asumsi tentang berkurangnya perhatian pada lansia karena ada anak balita adalah pengaruh yang negatif dari status kehadiran anak balita itu. Meskipun tidak bermakna, hasil regresi ganda terhadap jenis perawatan memperlihatkan efek yang positif pada model 2 dan 3. Namun, bila dilihat dari status ekonomi (Tabel 4), pengaruh kehadiran balita berbeda antara yang berada pada

kelas ekonomi bawah dan yang menengah ke atas. Pada rumah tangga ekonomi menengah dan atas, pengaruhnya negatif. Pada ekonomi kelas bawah, pengaruh kehadiran balita ini positif (dan bermakna) pada pelayanan eksternal. Efek yang tidak terduga dari kehadiran balita pada kelompok ekonomi bawah ini mungkin berkaitan dengan konteks kampanye kesehatan anak yang secara luas dilakukan oleh pemerintah (Rustam, 1986; Lenart, 1988; Leinbach, 1988; Government of Indonesia & UNICEF, 1989).

Kesimpulan

Temuan utama dari analisis ini adalah adanya perbedaan dalam penggunaan pelayanan kesehatan oleh lansia berdasarkan status lansia dalam rumah tangga. Sebagaimana disebutkan pada pengantar bahwa kapasitas rumah tangga untuk merawat lansia sebenarnya diragukan. Perubahan mobilitas penduduk dan status perempuan di negara yang sedang berkembang membatasi anggota rumah tangga dalam perawatan lansia. Penemuan dari studi ini tidak memberikan indikasi adanya hambatan, tetapi struktur rumah tangga telah sebagian menjelaskan pelayanan kesehatan lansia. Artinya, lansia

tidak bisa begitu saja diserahkan pada urusan rumah tangga. Status lansia sebagai kepala rumah tangga atau pasangan dari kepala rumah tangga tampaknya menentukan pola pencarian pelayanan bagi lansia. Artinya, faktor akses pada sumber-sumber rumah tangga menentukan lansia memperoleh pengobatan di luar rumah. Hal ini diperkuat oleh kelas ekonomi masyarakat. Pengaruh status lansia itu makin kentara pada kelompok ekonomi bawah. Ada perbedaan yang nyata dalam pola pelayanan lansia yang tinggal sendiri dibandingkan dengan yang tinggal bersama orang lain.

Penemuan ini menjadi dasar bagi pentingnya penekanan kebijakan-kebijakan mendekatkan pelayanan ke rumah tangga-rumah tangga khusus. Sistem perawatan publik dan sistem perawatan rumah tangga yang berbasis pada puskesmas dan rumah sakit perlu mendapat perhatian. Isyarat tentang pentingnya peran pembawa informasi mengenai pelayanan kesehatan yang tersedia di luar rumah tangga ditunjukkan oleh hubungan positif antara kehadiran anak balita dan penggunaan pelayanan eksternal. Meskipun kegiatan posyandu ditujukan pada kesehatan ibu dan

anak, integrasi pelayanan kesehatan membuat kaum perempuan memperoleh informasi yang lebih baik tentang perilaku perawatan kesehatan dan mengetahui ketersediaan pelayanan kesehatan yang sesuai di daerahnya. Bila penggunaan pelayanan ini dipengaruhi oleh informasi yang masuk ke rumah tangga, merancang kampanye promosi kesehatan dalam berbagai lingkungan pekerjaan dan lembaga-lembaga masyarakat sangat diperlukan. Kajian lebih lanjut tentang peran siswa sekolah lanjutan atas terhadap pemeliharaan lansia, misalnya, juga merupakan bagian yang penting dalam kampanye kesehatan.

Akhirnya, keterbatasan dari analisis ini harus disebutkan. Penelitian ini berbasis pada keluhan penyakit yang dilaporkan oleh kepala rumah tangga. Pertanyaan tentang jenis penyakit apa yang pernah diderita oleh anggota rumah tangga pada waktu dua minggu terakhir masih bersifat umum dan tidak bisa mengukur status keparahan penyakit yang sama bagi tiap-tiap rumah tangga untuk mencari pengobatan. Di samping itu, besar kemungkinan bahwa jenis penyakit yang diderita lansia ini bersifat kronik sehingga ada kecenderungan bias untuk

mendiamkan masalah itu dan karena itu tidak memerlukan pencarian pelayanan kesehatan. Bagi lansia yang menjadi kepala rumah tangga dan berada pada status ekonomi atas, mereka condong lebih cepat untuk melakukan pencarian pengobatan (Dean, 1992; Caunte & Glandon, 1990) karena itu pengaruhnya bisa lebih tinggi dari apa yang sesungguhnya terjadi. Pada masa mendatang, pengukuran yang lebih objektif diperlukan agar dapat memprediksi secara lebih rasional.

Sumber informasi mengenai penyakit ini bisa juga mengalami problem keakuratan informasi. Karena informasi ini ditanyakan kepada kepala rumah tangga, sebagian lansia menjawab langsung tentang keadaan mereka. Selebihnya, mereka diwakili oleh anak atau orang lain. Dalam hal ini, mungkin ada kecenderungan bagi kepala rumah tangga yang melaporkan

keluhan dan pencarian pengobatan pada anggota rumah tangga yang lansia akan lebih tinggi untuk menyesuaikan permintaan normatif dalam berhadapan dengan penyakit. Karena itu, pengaruh dari dampak status lansia yang ikut keluarga anak bisa lebih tinggi daripada keadaan yang sebenarnya.

Perlu diingat bahwa ukuran-ukuran struktur rumah tangga dalam analisis ini adalah proksi terhadap kegiatan pemberian perawatan yang terdapat di lapangan dan kemandirian ekonomi lansia. Masih banyak kemungkinan-kemungkinan strategi dan keterbatasan rumah tangga yang tidak terungkap dan dibahas dari ukuran-ukuran yang dipakai ini. Mekanisme dan strategi rumah tangga dalam pemeliharaan kesehatan lansia perlu diteliti lebih lanjut dengan menggunakan variabel-variabel yang lebih langsung.

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Tabel 2
Ciri Subjek dan Persentase Penggunaan Berbagai Jenis Pelayanan
menurut Variabel Independen

Variabel	(%)	% Tidak mendapat pelayanan	% Perawatan rumah tangga	% Perawatan tradisional	% Perawatan Profesional
	N=1824 (100)	n=282 (15)	n=529 (29)	n=327 (18)	n=686 (38)
Tempat tinggal					
- Perkotaan	35	13	25	12	50
- Perdesaan	65	17	31	21	31
Jenis kelamin					
- Laki-laki	54	13	29	18	40
- Perempuan	46	19	29	18	34
Umur					
- 65-69	35	12	30	17	41
- 70-74	30	15	29	19	37
- 75 +	35	19	28	18	35
Tingkat pendidikan					
- Tidak pernah sekolah	83	17	30	19	33
- Pernah sekolah	17	9	22	11	58
Jiwa dalam rumah tangga					
- < 4	66	14	29	19	38
- > 4	35	18	28	17	40
Status sosial ekonomi					
- Rendah	38	22	33	19	26
- Menengah	40	13	28	20	39
- Tinggi	22	9	23	13	55
Status kehadiran pasangan					
- Tanpa pasangan	43	19	32	18	32
- Dengan pasangan	57	13	27	18	42
Status lansia dalam rumah tangga					
- Bukan kepala atau pasangannya	28	24	31	14	30
- Kepala atau pasangan	72	12	28	19	40
Status tempat tinggal					
- Tanpa pasangan tinggal sendiri	9	16	31	20	32
- Tanpa pasangan tinggal bersama orang lain	35	20	31	17	32
- Berpasangan tinggal berdua saja	20	14	27	20	39
- Berpasangan tinggal bersama dan orang lain	36	12	27	17	44

Tabel 3
Rasio Odds Bentuk Perawatan Kesehatan Lansia

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variabel bebas	Mendapat perawatan	Perawatan tradisional dan profesional	Perawatan profesional
Tempat tinggal			
- Perkotaan	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Perdesaan	1.0	0.9	0.6***
Jenis kelamin			
- Laki-laki	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Perempuan	1.1	0.8	0.9
Umur			
- 65-69	1.0	1.0	1.0
- 70-74	1.1	0.9	0.8
- 75 +	0.8	0.9	0.9
Tingkat pendidikan			
- Tidak pernah sekolah	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Pernah sekolah	1.3	1.4	1.6***
Status sosial ekonomi			
- Rendah	0.4***	0.5***	0.4***
- Menengah	0.7	0.8*	0.6***
- Tinggi	1.0	1.0	1.0
Jiwa dalam rumah tangga			
- < 4	1.0	1.0	1.0
- ≥ 4	1.0	1.1	1.0
Kehadiran Balita	1.0	2.1	1.5
Status lansia dalam rumah tangga			
- Kepala atau pasangannya	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Anggota rumah tangga	0.5***	0.6***	0.8
Status tempat tinggal			
- Tanpa pasangan tinggal sendiri	0.9	0.7*	0.7
- Tanpa pasangan tinggal bersama orang lain	1.4	0.9	0.9
- Berpasangan tinggal berdua saja	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Berpasangan tinggal bersama dan orang lain	1.5*	1.2	1.2

Notes: *** = p < 0.01 ** = p < 0.05 * = p < 0.10

Tabel 4
Ringkasan *Odds Ratio* dalam Penggunaan Pelayanan Eksternal
menurut Status Sosial-Ekonomi

Variabel Independen	Status sosial ekonomi		
	Rendah (n=695)	Sedang (n=738)	Tinggi (n=391)
Tempat tinggal			
- Perkotaan	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Perdesaan	1.2	0.9	0.6*
Jenis kelamin			
- Perempuan	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Laki-laki	0.9	0.9	0.7
Umur			
- 65-69	1.0	1.0	1.0
- 70-74	0.9	0.7	1.4
- 75 +	1.3	0.8	0.8
Pendidikan			
- Tidak pernah sekolah	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Pernah sekolah	1.9**	1.2	1.2
Besar rumah tangga			
- < 4	1.0	1.0	1.0
- ≥ 4	0.9	1.2	1.4
Kehadiran balita	18.1***	0.2	0.2
Status lansia dalam rumah tangga			
- Kepala atau pasangannya	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Anggota rumah tangga	0.6	0.5***	0.6
Status tempat tinggal			
- Tanpa pasangan tinggal sendiri	0.8	0.5**	1.0
- Tanpa pasangan tinggal bersama orang lain	0.9	1.0	0.8
- Berpasangan tinggal berdua saja	1.0	1.0	1.0
- Berpasangan tinggal bersama dan orang lain	1.3	1.0	1.4

Notes: *** = $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$

FORGOTTEN VILLAGES? THE EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS IN RURAL JAVA AND THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

*Pande Made Kutanegara and Gerben Nootboom**

Intisari

Tulisan ini berusaha menganalisis dua hal pokok, yakni dampak krisis di perdesaan Jawa dan respons pemerintah lokal/pemerintahan desa terhadap krisis meneter. Secara tegas dikatakan bahwa masyarakat perdesaan Jawa heterogen dan penuh dengan variasi dan ketidaksamaan. Oleh karena itu, dampak krisis maneter di desa juga sangat bervariasi tergantung pada wilayah, status sosial ekonomi, pekerjaan, dan sistem ekonomi. Karena krisis, ada kelompok masyarakat yang "menang" (diuntungkan) yaitu kelompok yang mempunyai akses terhadap sumber daya dan ada kelompok yang "kalah" (dirugikan) yaitu kelompok masyarakat miskin. Selama krisis, berbagai institusi tradisional yang berfungsi sebagai social security, seperti gotong-royong dan solidaritas sosial lainnya tidak berperan besar. Bahkan, pemerintah lokal/pemerintahan desa pun tidak melakukan upaya maksimal dalam menghadapinya. Dalam kenyataannya, peran aktivitas individual jauh lebih besar dibandingkan dengan aktivitas kolektif.

Introduction

The anthropologist Jellinek stated that the effects of the crisis, which hit Indonesia a year before, did not affect rural people that much. On behalf of the World Bank, she had carried out a rapid appraisal of the effects of the crisis in Indonesia in four places. According to her, the effects of the

crisis were much worse in the cities (Kompas, 10 February, 1999). At the beginning of the crisis (1997/1998), Harmoko (the spokesman of parliament and prominent member of Golkar) visited some rural areas in Central Java to observe the situation in the villages (*safari Ramadhan*). He

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spoke to village officials and had dinner¹ in one of the visited villages. The dinner was well prepared and after his visit, Harmoko stated in interviews on the television and in news articles that the situation in the rural areas was not so bad because he had a good meal, implying that much food was available in the villages.

Both statements of Jellinek and Harmoko are indicative for the attitude of the Indonesian government and a number of academics in respect to the crisis. In the dominant government discourse in Indonesia, villages are often regarded as homogeneous and harmonious communities, able to take care for its weaker members by *gotong royong* and other traditional arrangements of solidarity and mutual help. In fact, this stereotypical view has highly blinded government employees and intellectuals for the hardships of the rural poor and the existing inequalities, like inequalities between regions, economic sectors, classes and within villages. It is crucial to study this diversity on the local level to understand the differential effects of the crisis and the -often

misplaced- responses of the government on its effects.

In our view, during the crisis, government concern, analysis and policies have been much more focused—if focused at all—on cities than on rural areas. This is to a certain extent understandable as in-depth studies of the crisis were not made and hardly any information or the effect of the crisis was available. The central government directed its attention mainly on the huge urban problems as mass unemployment, budget deficits, firm bankruptcy and restructuring of the banking sector. The cause of this lack of concern for rural areas in Indonesia, was the lack of reliable information of these areas. On the local level, the government administrative systems were therefore not equipped and not able to anticipate and fight the crisis.

Our article will present the case of two poor villages in Java during the crisis and show the differential effects of the crisis for different categories of people within these villages. The article is based on long periods of anthropological fieldwork's during the crisis and offers in-

¹ *Buka puasa*, breaking the fast at the end of the Ramadhan after sunset as the trips took place during the Islamic fasting month.

depth data about poverty, copying strategies, labour and migration and the role of the local government.² The study of Kutaneegara took place in the village of Sriharjo, Central Java,³ while Nootboom's study was carried out in Krajan,⁴ a remote village in Bondowoso, East Java. Sriharjo is an example of a lowland village with mainly commercialised agriculture, an excluded majority from access to land and with a lot of urban workers. Land ownership in Sriharjo often has more and more a symbolic function than a production function. Krajan is an example of those Indonesian upland villages which are more remote, more villagers with — direct and indirect— access to land and with less urban workers. Although Krajan is incorporated in the market, subsistence production is still important. Long-term research is really needed to understand the impact of the crisis on the local level. Foster states: "Long term participant observation [...] can yield understanding of social

change that is simply not possible in any other way" (Foster, 1979). Moreover, especially in Java, it is difficult to gather in-depth information about difficulties and hardships in life. As, during a survey people do not easily talk about these sensitive subjects. This article therefore tries to offer an 'inside' view of the crisis. It deals with four major subjects: 1) the question about the nature of the crisis and local perceptions and experiences of the crisis, 2) the changes in poverty and inequality during the crisis 3) changes in labour and migration and 4) the role of the local government in responding to the crisis.

The Crisis in Indonesia

It can be said, that the crisis in Indonesia took place at three different levels and at the same time. Three crises can be distinguished: 1) a currency crisis, 2) a food crisis and 3) a political crisis. These crises had several interrelated causes and reasons, which cannot be dealt with in

² The article is based on two PhD researches carried out from mid 1997 till the end of 1998 and at the beginning of 1999. Both studies are part of a larger project on Social Security and Social Policy in Indonesia carried out by the Gadjah Mada University of Yogyakarta, the University of Amsterdam and the University of Nijmegen.

³ This research is a restudy and extension of the well known poverty studies of Masri Singarimbun (1973, 1976, 1993).

⁴ Krajan is a pseudonym.

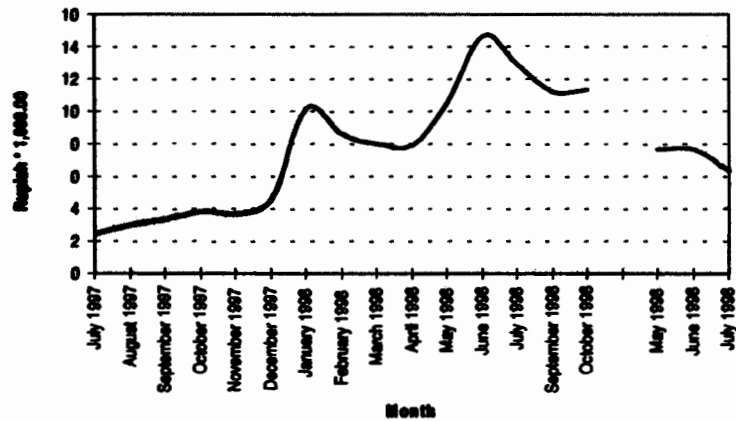
detail in this article, as we want focus especially on the local level effects. In the following, the three crises will be described briefly.

1) The currency crisis started in July 1997 with slightly deteriorating exchange rates devaluating faster between September and November 1997. At the beginning of January 1998, the Rupiah had already devaluated 100 per cent (Figure 1). In the same month, the Rupiah came in a free fall. In a response on this devaluation, inflation got challenged and food prices started to rise. The first rise of basic food prices, which is important for rural populations, started after October 1997 (Fig-

ure 2). In the village of Krajan, villagers were aware of rising prices, but really started to worry about the food prices during the *Ramadhan* (December/January 1997/1998) (Figure 3). In Sriharjo this process started somewhat earlier, which has a greater proportion of its population working in the urban sector.

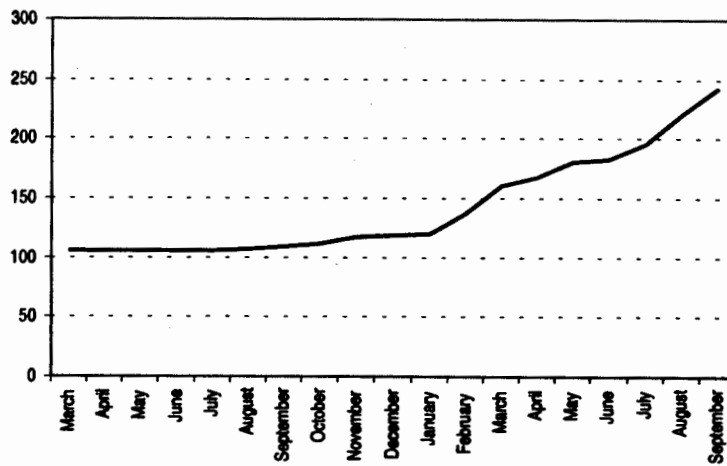
2) The food crisis started already with the effects of El Niño, which caused droughts and forest fires. Production of rice started to fall and in 1998 the rice production declined with nearly 10 per cent in 1998 compared with the 1996 level

Figure 1
Exohango Ratea Ruplah to US \$



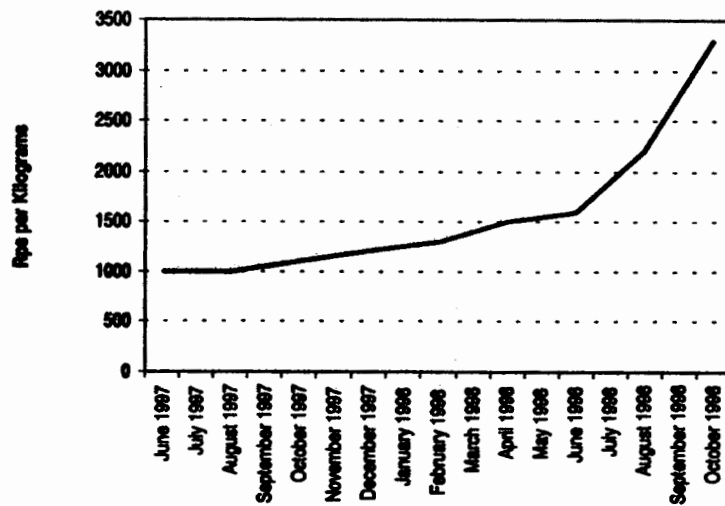
Source: Cantral Buraau of Statistics, Jakarta

Figure 2
Food Price Index March 1997 – September 1998



Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta

Figure 3
Average Monthly Rice Price 1997/1998



Source: FAO 1998 (compared with own data)

(FAO, 1998). Many smallholders experienced difficulties in repaying debts. National shortages of rice started to enforce the rise of rice prices. Statistical data are often not that reliable in Indonesia. We use for the rice price data from the FAO, which correspond exactly with the rice prices we found in our research areas.

- 3) Related to these developments, a political crisis started to develop. The New Order regime started to show cracks and lost legitimacy culminating in the fall of Suharto in May 1998. One of the reasons of Suharto's fall was that he did nothing to curb the crisis. The research periods of 1998 and of 1999 were periods of political turmoil enforced by competition between different factions and regions. Habibie, the interim president could not do much. The political disarray surely is one explanation for the lack of government policies, standpoints and leadership that became clear during the crisis. But, more structural reasons can be mentioned as well.

In the villages, the step down of Suharto as such did not impress most villagers. In Krajan (East Java) for instance, it took more

than three days before the majority of the population realised at all that Suharto had stepped down indeed. And when villagers heard the news, they were not excited. In their life world, Jakarta is far away and villagers in fact did not expect much from the national government in solving their problems. In Sriharjo (Central Java), villagers were also not that impressed by the news, but the reasons were different. In villagers perceptions, Jakarta is geographically not so far away, but according to them, national politics are not that relevant for their lives.

The Crisis in Rural Indonesia

In 1996, the Australian economist Hal Hill wrote an optimistic book about the modernisation and development of the Indonesian economy: "*The Indonesian economy since 1966: Asia's emerging Giant*". His analyses of the Indonesian economy included a core section on agricultural developments. He states that the New Order (*Orde Baru*) regime has been successful in creating rural development and improving rural people's livelihoods. However, he overlooked that the attention of the *Orde Baru* regime for rural areas has been declining. Till the beginning of the nineties, rural Indonesia has had relatively much

attention from the government. This matter materialised in a series of rural development programs like the Green Revolution policies, the Colt Revolution, road construction projects, electricity, and the development of a small-scale industry. This created a rapid agricultural development, and also put a strain on employment.⁵ While agricultural production increased, inequality grew, employment for landless villagers decreased and a growing number of young villagers started to work in the cities. Another effect of all these developments was that villages started to become less isolated and partly urbanised. Many rural areas in Java started to look like *desa kota* or *rurban* regions (McGee, et. al., 1997) and urban and rural economies started to merge. Therefore, when urbanised Java got affected by the severe crisis of 1997/98, rural areas were basically affected alike and at the same time. Even in remote rural areas —inside and outside Java— the crisis was felt forcefully.

For this article, it is important to note the effects of the crisis on the poor in these rural areas. Contrary to some expectations, the poor are affected most by the

crisis. Levinsohn *et. al.* (1999) for instance state in a recent paper about the 97/98 crisis: "We find that the poor have indeed been hit hardest. Just how hard the poor have been hit, though, depends crucially on where the household lives, whether the household is in rural or urban area, and just how the cost of living index is computed. What is clear is that the notion that the very poor are so poor as to be insulated from international shocks is simply wrong. Rather, in the Indonesian case, the very poor appear the most vulnerable." As we focus on the rural poor in this paper, poverty studies like that of Levinsohn *et. al.* are interesting but sometimes raise more questions than answers. The presentation of quantitative data alone does not tell us much about the nature and experience of poverty. We found in our research for instance that according to poverty definitions of local people, the very poor are not those villagers who lack sufficient income, but those who are not able to take place in the ritual exchange economy of villagers anymore. Added to this, structural categories of poor are those who are *kasihan* (pitiful) like widows without help and/or old without

⁵ As for instance has been reported about the Green Revolution (Collier, 1981; Hart, et. al., 1989) [Husken, 1989; Wiradi, 1984; White, 1989].

children or without being cared for. In order to understand the dynamics of poverty, we therefore need a more differentiated and dynamic approach. Most poverty studies do not tell us who the poor are and why they are poor. Therefore, we make in this article a combination of poverty studies and more dynamic studies dealing with vulnerable poor like social security studies.

Most poverty studies, like those of for instance the World Bank, are quite static. Definitions, like a poverty line of one dollar a day, do not make much sense on the local level and in a situation of a rapid devaluation of the national currency. Singarimbun and Penny (1973) was among the first Indonesians to do poverty research in Indonesia and tried to deal with the problem of inflation by using rice as a definition of poverty. According to him, the very poor are those with incomes less than 240 kg rice equivalent/capita/year and the poor are those who have an income less than 320 kg of rice. His definition, although an improvement at that time, remains rather static and income oriented. A social security approach might help to solve this problem. In our opinion, the crux of the matter in poverty is the lack of access to resources. F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann state:

"poverty or wealth refers to the economic condition measured by lack of ownership or command over resources and monetary incomes. Social security refers to the conversion of resources into actually (un)fulfilled social security needs" (Benda-Beckmann and Benda-Beckmann, 1994). Social security studies are broader and more dynamic than poverty studies in the sense that they study not only the material possessions of people, but their socially secured (potential) access to resources too. Amartya Sen, who did many poverty studies did something similar in dealing with the limitations of poverty studies by introducing the concept of entitlements (Sen, 1977, 1992). He states that it is not the actual position of material wealth which makes people poor, but the lack entitlements to resources. Added to this, we think it is important to look at the relational dimension of poverty. As indicated by local people, social isolation for them is the utmost problem of poverty (Townsend, 1993). Isolated people have less access to information, power, labour opportunities, networks, and systems of support and redistribution which have the potential of offering (some) security. Being poor (having no possessions), lacking access to resources and being excluded

from redistribution mechanisms as social security arrangements makes people much more vulnerable for economic crises. These aspects of poverty and vulnerability are at the centre of our analysis in this article, which deals with the effects of the crisis in Indonesia.

Government Policies

At the beginning of the crisis, the government was very hesitant to take action. They still seemed to believe that the rural areas were not affected and could cope with the difficulties. Soeharto said on television a few months before his fall that the crisis would soon be over. ("*Badai pasti berlalu*"; "The storm will soon be over"). Governmental responses on the crisis were not effective and did have nothing to do with the causes of the crisis. As for instance the call to *Cinta Rupiah* (love your own currency), to give gold for strengthening the currency, distribute rice packages (*nasi bungkus*) and the public exchange of US dollars for Rupiah by government and rich people. In Augustus 1998, when the crisis continued and its severe effects could no longer be neglected, Social Safety Net programs (JPS *Jaring Pengaman Sosial*) became effective. These programs were designed to lessen the negative

social effects of the crisis. Among these programs were: 1) Programs for enhancing food security (cheap rice, subsidies for *sembako*, increased Bulog interventions, etc.), 2) employment creation programs, 3) credit support programs for small and medium enterprises, 4) social protection programs for education and health. In the next sections, we will describe in detail for Sriharjo and Krajan what the effects of the crisis were for different groups and how effective these policies in the villages were.

2 The Crisis in Sriharjo, Central Java

a. Typicality's of Sriharjo's Economy

Sriharjo lies at the foot of the limestone hills (*Pegunungan Sewu*) that start from the Indian Ocean at South Central Java. It is sited a 25 kilometres South of Yogyakarta on the road to Gimung Kidul close to the Imogiri cemeteries where the Sultans of Yogyakarta have been buried for centuries. *Desa* Sriharjo consists of a fertile lowland part with irrigated rice fields and a barren upland part. The village population counts around 9300 inhabitants scattered over 13 hamlets. The limestone hills make up 60 per cent of the village area and host 30 per cent of the population. The lower part

consists of 40 per cent of the total area with 70 per cent of the population. The hilly part is much more isolated and poorer than the lower part. Their inhabitants are usually referred to as *wong gunung* (mountain people) which has the negative connotation of being backward, uneducated and traditional, while the inhabitants of the lower part are referred to as *wong ngare* (lowland people) which has a very positive meaning.

The higher part of Sriharjo produces cassava, maize, and some bananas for subsistence, teak wood, some chilly, and other vegetables for the local and regional market. The irrigated lowland part produces rice, maize, soybean, and vegetables for the market.

As in all other parts of lowland Java, transport facilities of lower Sriharjo are very good. Because of this many villagers travel back and forth their work in Yogyakarta every day. Where as most of the *wong gunung* by bike, most of the *wong ngare* by motorcycle. Contrary to the early New Order pears (1969), when all villagers worked in rural areas and were poor (see Singarimbun and Penny, 1973), nowadays the majority of the villagers derive their main income from the city and are better

off. Then is, however, still much poverty in Sriharjo.

In 1969-1970, Singarimbun and Penny studied the widespread poverty in Sriharjo, and published the first Indonesian book on this subject (Singarimbun and Penny, 1973). From that time on, the rural development programs which were implemented by The New Order started to increase the economic conditions in rural Java and therefore, poverty started to decline slowly. A restudy conducted by Singarimbun in 1989 (Singarimbun, 1996) showed that poverty (income less than 320 kg rice/capita/year) declined from 70 per cent in 1969 to 42 per cent in 1989. But in crisis time (1998) 70 per cent of the villagers were poor. It is a possible explanation of this growth is that in the same a period of twenty years income out of non-farming activities rose from 16 per cent to 69 per cent. The contribution of the agricultural sector to average household incomes fell subsequently from 84 per cent to 31 per cent.

The number of village people having access to land declined in the last thirty years accordingly. The percentage of villagers with little or no land rose from 49 per cent to 76 per cent and the percentage of villagers who have no land at all rose from 37 per cent

Table 1.
Distribution of *Sawah* in Lower Sriharjo (Hamlet Miri)

Sawah (hectare)	1969	1989	1999
No land	37	40	53
0,001-0,050	13	16	23
0,051-0,100	17	13	14
0,101-0,200	17	13	6
Sub total	83%	96%	96%
0,021-0,400	11	6	8
0,401-0,800	4	4	1
0,801-more	2	-	-
N	101	100	187

Source: 1969 & 1989: from Singarimbun, 1998
1999: from data survey 1999.

to 53 per cent.⁶ Villagers did not sell their land, but children of smallholders were not able to inherit or buy anything. As employment in agriculture decreased also, most of the villagers nowadays have lost access to land. This process lies at the basis of the increased migration to the big cities and the increased importance of non-farm activities for village livelihood.

The poor people of Sriharjo can be found among those who have no access to land and who lack

sufficient economic and social capital. But the really poor are those categories of people who lack sufficient networks of family members as well. As widows, widows/widowers without children or with very small children, old people without children and handicapped. Or those who are not able to get access to other sources of income like: agricultural labourer, harvest labourer, *becak* driver, construction worker, etc. But, if these categories of people don't have

⁶ This phenomenon meets the expectation as described by Hayami and Kikuchi that by agricultural modernisation increasing numbers of the rural populations will lose access to land (see Hayami and Kikuchi, 1981).

access to income, they still can be relatively well off if they are cared for by more affluent relatives or village members. Very often, social relations make the difference between the rich and the poor.

Contrary to the past, not the full-time farmers are the well off people of Sriharjo anymore, but those who combine farming with non-farming activities, like teachers, army officials, traders, and civil servants.

b. Perceptions of the Crisis

At the beginning of the crisis, villagers constantly chatted about the crisis. For example, during *arisan* (rotating saving groups), at village meetings and at the *ronda* (night watch) the topic and its causes was discussed over and over again. Villagers did not understand where *krismon*⁷ came from and they saw it as the source of all their problems in life. Like the loss of their job as a construction and fabric worker in the cities, like budgetary problems, rising prices of basic needs, the price of food, the rising prices of pesticides and fertiliser etc. In these discussions many

different views concerning the crisis were expressed. According to some villagers, the events were severe, but according to others, they were easy to overcome. In general, villagers' opinions varied according to socio-economic and demographic factors such as status, occupation, age, and gender. Young people perceived *krismon* as a serious crisis, while on the contrary, the older generation perceived the crises as a normal condition of rural life. According to the older villagers a crisis is a real famine when no food of good quality is available. The old generation saw the 1998 crisis only as little turmoil, as basic needs were still available although expensive. Therefore, they regard the crisis in 1998 only as a normal condition of village life. In their lives, they had been hit by worse crises before. For them, the availability of food is the main indicator for a crisis. In the 1930's, during the world economic crisis (villagers call this the missed era, *jaman meleset*),⁸ they suffered so badly from famine that they ate the skin of cassava, the roots of banana trees and grassroots. During the Japanese occupation,

⁷ For the villagers *krismon* means that they lost their job as a construction worker and fabric worker in the cities and also the rise of the price of goods and the agriculture intake i.e. pesticide, fertilizer, etc.

⁸ The meaning of *meleset* probably originates from the Dutch word *malaise*, which means misery, but *meleset* in Javanese means missed.

people suffered even more and died of starvation. During the revolutionary years of 1945-1950, food availability was limited. At the end of the Old Order or the beginning of the New Order (1965), the most recent crisis occurred. That one is still perceived as being much worse than the 1998 one. The younger generation however, who has never suffered from any crisis or famine before, regards this crisis as very bad. For the younger generations not only the lack of good food means crisis, but the decline of other consumption goods—cigarettes, sweets etc—as well.

The socio-economic status also influences the view on the nature of the crisis. Middle to upper classes realised they still could do quite well. For the lower classes, it was very hard to accept that they had to economise on the quality and the quantity of food. In contrast to the lower classes, the middle and upper class seemed however more worried about the crisis. Although they were less affected, the middle and higher classes tended to discuss much

more about the crisis. The lower classes however, were more silent and often seemed to think it being less important to express their demands.⁹

Between men and women also different perspectives on the crisis exist. In general, women, encountered, went through ... etc. more difficulties during the crisis and therefore, their perceptions on the crisis differ from men's. But this does not count for women with an independent income. For instance, households where the woman was making embroidery did better than those—under same conditions—who was not.

c. Effects of the Crisis on Villagers and their Responses

The crisis caused most difficulties for the poorer people of Sriharjo. But also for those people who depend only on non-farm activities, the crisis turned out to be a major setback as well. At the beginning of the crisis, nearly all construction work in the cities stopped, many factories went bankrupt and work opportunities decreased severely.

⁹ They often put it themselves this way: "*kami harus/selalu hidup prihatin. We must/have to accept our fate. We have to run a very simple life. Prihatin: eating less, sleeping less, demanding less. We have to be tough and patient and entrust our lives to God's mercy*". But these statements generate more questions than answers. There is a need for an analysis of the reasons, culture and mechanisms behind these statements.

Those who worked in the cities suddenly lost their source of income and some of them return to the village. At the beginning of the crisis, more than 100 people who worked in the industries of Bandung, Bogor and Jakarta in came back to Sriharjo. Only, around 10 per cent of them were female. Most women worked as domestic helpers or in the textile industry did not lose their jobs. In general, domestic servants were not fired after the crisis and those working in the textile industry were protected by one of managers who originated from Sriharjo. Therefore, most of the women who migrated to did not return. Also, more than 200 villagers who worked as construction workers and *becak* drivers in and around Yogyakarta and were travelling to and forth Sriharjo everyday, lost their job and didn't go to Yogyakarta anymore. Some villagers, who lost their jobs in the cities, were not coming back to the village, but found other work. In general migrants returned to the village if they could not do anything else. At first these returnees from the big cities were not so obvious and seemed not at ease in the village. They at first did not engage in many activities in the village, but

after some weeks, they started to assist with any kind of work, like cutting grass, wage labouring, fishing, making embroidery, and trading birds. Some time later, most of them started to go back to the cities again and found some kind of a job. For the commuters, those who stayed at home, the situation was different. They straightaway took up whatever work available in the village because they were already used to combine rural activities with their urban work. Both groups constantly tried to get information about job possibilities from friends and relatives and some of them indeed got a new job soon. Those who had established good networks of social relationships were more successful than those who were operating more individually. The lower class construction workers for instance, who used to work for a broker got quicker work again than skilled construction workers operating individually. Some however, who had difficulties finding a similar job like they had before were forced to change from urban work to rural work (*buruh srabutan*) and turned for instance to cut sugarcane, milking cows, cutting grass, etc. This meant a real drop in status, and returns from labour

were not even sufficient for feeding a family.¹⁰ To survive, they were forced to change their way of live totally. They started to mix rice with *tiwul* (low quality food made from dried cassava) and ate this without any side dish like *tempe*, *tahu*, fish or egg. They stopped using sugar for tea, changed to cheap -sometimes self-made- cigarettes, and could use only a little bit cheap of cooking oil.

The fate of the already poor villagers like widows e.g. was even worse. At normal times, their lives had already been full of difficulties, and the crisis only added to this. Like for instance the case of bu Ngadinem, a widow with two small children:

Bu Ngadinem looks like a fifty years old woman, but she did not yet reach her forties. Her husband died seven years ago because of pneumonia. She works herself as a rural labourer when at one day I saw her crying in the *warung* (small shop) because she could not pay her debts to the shop owner and had to borrow more to buy food. At that moment she already had a debt of Rp25,000.00. She wanted to buy salt, some spices, lamp oil and a kilo of

rice to mix with *tiwul* (cassava). She had to buy rice, because her children could not stand to eat only *tiwul*. She asked the other people present if they knew an orphanage for her children. "Instead of starvation, it is better I send them to an orphanage", she said. After a few months, indeed, one child entered an orphanage in Yogyakarta.

Also less poor families experienced problems with food for their children. Most children had never eaten *tiwul* dried cassava and were crying if they had to eat that. Added to this, there were also other minor complaints of children about the food, like stomach problems, about hungry feelings (as cassava does not give a full feeling) and the bad smell of cheap rice. Another widow said: "*anak-anak saya sekarang tidak pernah dapat uang jajan*" (My children nowadays never get money to buy snacks). In one hamlet, the villagers complained to the head of the hamlet about the peddlers who were selling small snacks like ice and *bakso*. Every time the peddlers entered the village, children

¹⁰ The average wage for this kind of work was Rp4,000.00 for a long working day excluding breakfast or lunch. The price of rice was more than Rp3,000.00 per kilogram.

started to cry and to beg for money to buy a snack. To lessen the economic pressure of his families, the head of the hamlet forbid the peddlers to enter the hamlet everyday. Since then, they were only allowed to enter the hamlet two times a week.

Another difficulty for poor people during the crisis was meeting the expectations of exchanging gifts (*sumbangan*) at funerals and weddings. They were afraid to stop giving these gifts in fear of social exclusion, of gossip and of being called greedy or a-social. They tried in all possible ways to grasp money to maintain the ritual exchange networks of society at large.

During the crisis, some villagers who had good access to resources like land, cattle and other resources were able to improve their position. People who earned a salary out of agriculture and combined this with income out of non-farm activities benefited most. One household for instance, which runs a *warung* and also rents half a hectare *sawah* became rich because of rising paddy prices and an increased income out of the *warung*. At the beginning of the crisis, the profit out of the *warung* was very high, because they sold stocks that were bought at a much lower price before the crisis. Due

to the crisis they could rebuilt their houses and buy some furniture like a sofa, gas stove, etc. Villagers in higher areas of Sriharjo who had cattle benefited also from the rising prices by selling some of their cows to buy a second hand motor cycle. More than 20 people sold cattles and many motor cycles entered the village. These motorcycles were not only bought for working outside Sriharjo but also for the social status attached to having one.

The impact of the crisis is also regionally differentiated and differs in several parts of the village. In the higher part of Sriharjo, which is more isolated, subsistence oriented and poor, the people did not pay more attention to the crisis than those who lived elsewhere although they were harder hit. In that time, they tried to suffice their basic needs (simple food only). They more easily changed their consumption to the low quality food (*tiwul*). The opposite took place in Miri, the lower part of Sriharjo, which is more open and market oriented. The people there paid much more attention to the crisis in daily conversations because they had a lot more expenses and needs like, electricity bills, education, health, etc. and complained all the time although many were hit less hard. If people are talking a lot about the

crisis that does not indicate anything about being affected by the crisis. The people from the hilly part had never been able to get access to good health care and education and yet adapted more quietly.

d. The Role of the (Local) Government in Fighting the Crisis

Did the local government (village heads and village officials) give good notice to the crisis? When I asked government employees during the crisis in 1998 about what they did about it, they answered: "The crisis is not so severe in the villages compared to the situation in the cities. Pitiful are those who cannot eat in the cities. For us here in the villages the situation is reasonable. We can still pick leaves freely for adding to our food". They also reported in these words about the situation in the village to the regional government officials. They believed themselves to a certain extent that in their own villages not many people were affected. The neglect of the problems in their own villages has three reasons: 1) local village officials don't know much about poor people in their own villages. They hardly ever meet them, and poverty in Java is relatively invisible. 2) They were influenced

by dominant discourses in the media and higher government echelons that depicted only the severe situation in the cities. 3) Local village officials in general are more oriented to serve the higher levels of the government than to serve villagers. Because of this, they were very busy with carrying out government programs and instructions from above and therefore were not capable to tackle specific problems and needs of villagers. The local village officials therefore didn't do much to enhance the living conditions of the local poor. They never proposed new ideas or programs, and the government programs that were employed in fact more benefited the rural middle class, not the poorest of the poor.

During the crisis, it seemed that the local government did not pay much attention to the crisis. They just carried on with the routine jobs as being part of the lowest bureaucracy system in Indonesia. In fact, they were busy indeed with the routine programs and in assisting the higher level officials (*kecamatan* and *kecamatan*). But therefore, they could not focus on the village problems. The office of the village head (*kantor kelurahan*) was visited every day by government guests who all had to carry out important things. And

of course, the lowest level officials were ready to serve their higher officials. But it took months before something was done about the impact of the crisis, whereas the local government did not take any initiatives. The crisis made painfully clear that the local government turned out to be an administrative unit instead of having a governing function.

During the crisis, the village of Sriharjo received several forms of aid to fight the impacts of crisis. This help was rather imorganised. Before the program from the government came, the village had already received help from non-government sources, like from religious institutions, private sector initiatives, the Red Cross of Singapore, etc. This support was distributed on the basis of three different sets of data about the needy. Sometimes data from the village office were used, sometimes data from BKKBN (family planning), and sometimes from the Department of Social Welfare. Sometimes even a region was selected and only villagers of one hamlet got all the help both letting poor and rich members benefit. Poor people living in a richer region did not benefit. Unclear and unreliable data were the main reason for the many problems related to help programs in the village. But also dormant

and hidden conflicts, hierarchies and competitions between villagers came painfully to the fore. People started to be jealous to others from different hamlets, from different classes and especially within families and neighbourhoods. Youngsters organised three demonstrations in villages and asked the local government about the injustice of the distribution system. Because of these demonstrations, the local government decided to divide the help equally over all families, both poor and rich villagers got help. In this way, help only meant for the poor, was transferred partly to the richer echelons of society.

Besides demonstrations the aid led to some funny experiences. For instance, help from Singapore contained some luxury food like creamer, spaghetti sauce with spaghetti and some canned food. The villagers had never seen that food and were confused. Like the family of Pak Jen0, a poor household. They received one box of food, and tried to cook it and they mixed everything together, but, in the end, never succeeded to eat that food.

Later, the government offered cheap rice (*sembako*) for poor villagers at Rp10,000.00 per 10 kg's. The viilage of Sriharjo received 613 packets a month and most of that aid was meant for the

hilly part of Sriharjo. That was a good idea, because in that part lived most of the poor households. But, the head of hamlet distributed that aid not only to the poorer households, but every household got a share of it. Eventually, every household received around 7 kilogram a month. The local government legitimised their decision by stating that they were afraid of conflicts in the village.

A small amount of the cheap rice was distributed in lower part of Sriharjo. Since access to non-farm activities in that area is more open, there are not many poor households. During the crisis however, most of them were affected. Nevertheless, they did not receive aid from the government, as they were not registered as poor households in the pre-crisis situation.

In short, in the beginning of the crisis, programs were more about food (*sembako*) but later on, also other elements were included, like health, work and income generating activities. Total help to Sriharjo, exceeded 200 million Rupiah, for several programs. Since the village administration had never received so much money before, one of the heads of the hamlets said that he did not understand that so much money was coming into the village for he could not spend it. He got confused

because he had not received information about a clear program with clear criteria. Some villagers expressed the feeling that the government wasted a lot of money, and misuse of funds by lower government officials became indeed possible.

3. The Crisis in Krajan, East Java

a. Typicality of Krajan's Economy

The village of Krajan lies on the slope of mountain Argopuro at a distance of 20 kilometres from Bondowoso town, East Java. The village has always been much more isolated than Sriharjo until recently the village road has been improved and irregular daily transport to Bondowoso or Besuki is available. Nevertheless, Krajan is located far from the big urban centres in Java. The first middle-sized city is Jember at a 60 kilometres distance and little villagers have ever been there. Krajan has around 3400 inhabitants of whom the majority is poor and engages mainly in subsistence farming. As Krajan is situated on the North East of Java, the population is fully Madurese. The village has been founded before 1850, long before the main Madurese migration waves to East-Java started in the beginning 20th century.

Desa Krajan lies at an altitude between 800 and 1,100 meter and the terrain is hilly. The red *ladang* soils in the village are washed out and less fertile than most of those in rural Java, but they are more fertile than the limestone soils of higher Sriharjo. The few *sawahs* of Krajan however, are of much lower quality than those of Miri, lower Sriharjo. In the long dry season, no crops can be planted at all as the irrigation is limited. After the first rains, maize, rice, cassava and some vegetables are planted. These crops are mainly for subsistence purposes and are hardly commercialised and monetarised. After the harvest of maize, as a second (cash) crop, many farmers plant tobacco (for the domestic market). Due to the shortage of rain, the poor soils, the limited use of technology, inputs and knowledge, the production of crops are relatively low in Krajan. Due to these less favourable agricultural conditions, Krajan is —like Sriharjo— a village with a low agricultural production base. Only lower Sriharjo (Miri) has fertile *sawah*, but even there, rice productions are a bit lower because of problematic access to irrigation in the dry season. Therefore, both villages did not

profit much from the positive effects of the crisis on agricultural production and export related crops. In Krajan only a few farmers (less than one per cent) own enough land to sell rice or corn on the market. Although Krajan is rich in cattle, most farmers who sold cows needed the profit dearly to buy rice, maize, or to pay off debts. The only other important non-agriculture based source of income is the making of *bese*k (small bamboo baskets). Incomes out of the *bese*k, however, are low and decreased during the crisis. Contrary to Sriharjo, migration rates are low¹¹ and therefore, cash inflows from outside are not significant. Added to the weak production base of Krajan, is the insecurity in crop output. The harvests in dry land agriculture, are more fluctuating than those in irrigated agriculture. Farmers therefore are used to deal with fluctuations in income and follow risk avoiding and investment extensive agricultural strategies. In Krajan, where irrigated plots are scarce, erratic rainfall, poor soils and tobacco production add to fluctuations in income. To a certain extent, people are used to these insecurities. But in Krajan this did not —contrary to the

¹¹ Less than 5% of the population has a family member working somewhere else

expectation (Wolters¹²)—lead to collective village-wide arrangements to cover the risks of income fluctuation (Wolters, 1998). One of the conclusions of the research is that the insurance against these risks takes place individually and of the household level. Insurance against income fluctuations takes place by the means of saving (in gold, cows, and—to a certain extent—social relations), by avoiding and spreading risks, by agricultural diversification (combining different crops and by the growing of subsistence crops), and by occupational pluralisms (the combination of different sources of income). In contrast to Sriharjo, the possession of land as production factors is very important in Krajan, where land has more and more a status function. Another difference is the rate of villagers having access to land. Land ownership in Krajan is slightly less unequal than in Sriharjo, but generally this condition as unequal as anywhere in rural Java (Hart, et. al., 1989; Hefner, 1990; Husken, 1989). In Krajan around 75 per cent of the villagers at least have some access to land, either by ownership, shared tenancy arrangements or

by other forms of labour arrangements. The only cash crop, tobacco, is a main source of insecurity in itself. Prices are unstable and the production needs quite some inputs. In 1997 many farmers took loans from richer villagers, the village head, and a cheap credit programs for the tobacco production. Usually this borrowing takes place at rates of 50 per cent for 6 months, and many went bankrupt.¹³ due to low tobacco prices and the low quality of it affected by the prolonged rains. Eventhrough, the price of tobacco has been rising during the crisis, the real price of tobacco declined.¹⁴ Profits declined while production costs rose. This process in fact took already place several years before the crisis, but then accelerated dramatically leading many farmers to bankruptcy. A significant number (50) of these bankrupt farmers fled to Kalimantan in the hope to finding work and money to cover their financial problems. Others were forced to sell, pawn, or rent out cows or land to cover their debts. Most of the migrants to Kalimantan—also those who were not debt-driven—did not succeed and came back poorer

¹² Personal communication. Compare Plateau, (Plateau, 1991).

¹³ With bankruptcy I mean technically bankrupt; not being able to repay debts.

¹⁴ The real price declined from ten kilo rice equivalent for one kilo tobacco to less than 3 kilo's to one in the course of five years.

than when they left. Because of the crisis and rising prices of transport some could never succeeded to come back at all.

b. Effects of the Crisis on the Villagers and their Responses

According to the villagers, life had never been easy before. From time to time, they face insecurities in access to income and food due to lifecycle crises, bad harvests, and fluctuating incomes. Added to this, a number of wider regional, economic and national crises have had an impact in the village. From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, the people of Krajan have experienced six major economic crises. 1) The crisis of the thirties with deflation and stagnating rural prices,¹⁵ 2) the Japanese occupation, 3) the Dutch *Agressie*, and the following revolutionary years, 4) the eruption of mount Agung in Bali in 1963 in which ash rains

destroyed most food crops, 5) the turmoil and inflation around the end of the Sukarno era, and eventually 6) the economic crisis of 1997.

Whereas before the 1997 crisis the village economy of Krajan was for an important part subsistence oriented, the monetary crisis affected only parts of the village economy. Those poor depending on monetary is adjective never verbal income sources were among the hardest hit, like wage labourers, petty traders and part-time carpenters. The domain of subsistence production however, stayed mainly untouched and even proliferated.¹⁶ It's important for the subsistence of villagers to maintain the domestic production of maize, paddy and cassava, which is consumed by the household. This includes subsistence production relations¹⁷ as share cropping arrangements (with most important *babunan*¹⁸ taking a 1/5 share of the harvest in return for the labouring),

¹⁵ See for instance Van der Kolff 1936[?], who describes the impact of the recession in the thirties at the village level in a nearby region. The effects of the 1997 crisis show some similarities with the crisis of the thirties.

¹⁶ With this we don't want to argue there is something as a dual economy on village level (Boeke, J. H. 1953) On the contrary, the cash oriented and the non-cash part of the society are highly interrelated. Most villagers make a living by combining these two and only by this combination are able to survive.

¹⁷ Sometimes called non-capitalist relations of production (Cf. Hart, G. 1986).

¹⁸ Compare with *bawon* in Java. As described by: Breman, Husken, White, Jay....

exchange labour, rotating labour, and labour for helping out. Only three per cent of the farmers own enough land to sell food crops on the market.

On the local level, the national crisis was a monetary crisis. The rising prices—inflation—were the talk of the day at the beginning of the crisis. In Krajan the crisis began to be felt during the month of *Ramadhan* (January 1998)¹⁹ when villagers started preparing for *Idul Fitri*, the yearly Muslim's Celebration the end of the fasting. Every villager experienced the higher than usual²⁰ prices of rice, cooking oil, flour, and clothes. After these months, the prices continued to increase dramatically. As often during a sudden rise of prices, villagers responded by cutting back on their consumption. Families, who used to drink coffee, started to drink tea. The ones who drank tea drank sugar water, and those who could even not afford to buy sugar drank only plain water. Eggs and noodles, which were common food before the crisis, had been cut from nearly all menus except from dinners at weddings and funerals.

And *kue*, cookies and snacks, essential for *selamatan* and for maintaining social relations, were less sweet, and less abundant than in the past. New clothes were hardly bought. At the second research period (May—August 1999), for some families the lack of money for new clothes started to become real problematic.

One old man said: "*Sekarang makanan sama dengan jaman Belanda. Kita makan nasi jagung dengan ikan kering lagi. 53 Tahun merdeka, tapi tidak ada hasil sama sekali*". (At the moment we eat similar to what we did during the Dutch period again. Just rice mixed with maize and dried fish. 53 years of freedom didn't bring us any advantage at all).

These effects and responses on the crisis might seem subtle, but it means a lot in Krajan if you cannot offer coffee to your guests anymore or exchange the required snacks and cookies.²¹ The crisis meant not only a drop in consumption but was perceived as a drop in status as well. Furthermore, only heavy smokers can understand what it means to have to shift from *Gudang Garam*, the

¹⁹ Five months after the first devaluation of the Rupiah in July 1997.

²⁰ Every year at X-inas and at the end of the *Ramadhan*, the prices of consumption goods are rising.

²¹ Usually the number of cookies could be met, but the quality (used quantity and quality of sugar, cooking oil, eggs and flour) decreased significantly.

good quality filter cigarettes, to cheap alternatives.²²

The effects of and responses to the crisis by agricultural producers in Krajan are diverse. Some farmers reacted to avoiding risk, others went bankrupt and all of them were facing rising costs and lower yields. Nevertheless, some farmers were still able to make good profits and some even benefited by the crisis. It is important to distinguish between effects of the crisis and more general climatic effects like *El Nino* (drought) which had effects on the food production and later on *La Nina* (extensive rains) which were disastrous for tobacco production. Effects of these climatic changes in agriculture had been explicitly mentioned.

The differential responses and effects on the 1997 crisis were been partly due the specific composition were of the farming activities and due to the unique characteristics of farm labour processes itself: "containing a complex whole of interlinking tasks, each with its own degree of flexibility and particular procedure [...] Decisions that are crucial for the end result can be made only during the labor process itself. Therein lies the

craftsmanship of farm labor: the interaction between direct producer and labor object; i.e. the continual observation, interpretation and evaluation of one's own labor in order to be able to re-adapt it" (Ploeg, 1990).

In the tobacco season, following the beginning of the crisis the area planted with tobacco in Krajan declined fifty per cent and most farmers shifted from this risky crop to the safer subsistence crop of maize. Most farmers worried said and that they would not make much profit because of the rising costs and preferred to plant corn, rice or cassava "*karena perut harus kenyang dulu*" (because we have to fill our stomachs first). Due to the rising prices of food and labour, many of richer farmers (who are in control of 60 per cent of the land area) were reluctant to use any paid labour, or even huge numbers of unpaid labourers. These labourers still needed considerable amounts of food, coffee, and cigarettes to work. Some farmers, who were used to grow tobacco on a large scale, speculated on higher prices and borrowed money to produce tobacco in the same way as they were used to do (by using wage

²² By the way, nobody quit smoking because of the crisis. According to villagers, they even increased smoking, *karena pusing* (because of the stress).

labour and many external inputs). But, most of these went bankrupt and only some were able to make some profits, by shifting quickly to form of non-paid labour during the growing season. Only farmers, who were able to mobilise unpaid labour,²³ had other sources of cash income, or were successful in tobacco trading, succeeded in making profit with tobacco in the summer of 1998. For smaller numbers of farmers (30—40 per cent of total population), who could not mobilise much labour force, only the amount of seedlings a household with close neighbours or friends could master was planted (with a maximum of 1/3—½ hectare *ladang*). They were able to make some profit because of their access to labour and the use of non-commodity labour arrangements for the production of commodities (see Ploeg, 1990). However, this profit was—in relative terms— lower than in previous years and seldom enough to make all ends meet. Added to this, the prices of inputs like fertiliser, seedlings and pesticides²⁴ rose. The impact of the rising prices of agricultural inputs in Krajan was much smaller than

in Sriharjo because of the minor role of inputs in its agriculture.

In 1999, when for the second time after the start of the crisis tobacco was planted, little had changed. Few villagers decided to plant cash crops because they were afraid to borrow money and if they planted, then they did this with a minimum of inputs leading to a bad harvest. The heavy and early rains at the beginning of the season, and the total lack of rain at the end added to the problems. Only a few richer farmers who planted cash crops got high profits because prices of tobacco had increased steeply.

Generally, during the crisis, making a cash profit in Krajan agriculture was only possible with the use of non-cash labour and non-commodity resources. The economic crisis in Krajan, thus led to a general withdrawal from the market, risk avoiding in agriculture activities and trading, and to the cash-shortages in the village.

c. Effects of the Crisis on Rural Labour

As the majority of the Krajan population does not own any

²³ These are usually patrons who before the crisis already had a considerable number of clients tied to them. Or villagers who were part of rotating labour groups or exchange labour arrangements.

²⁴ Pesticides are hardly used in Krajan.

land,²⁵ these people are depended on wage labour as their main source of income. As it described previously, in Krajan both wage labour and non-commodity forms of labour are important to get access to land. After the crisis broke out, the need for wage labourers had decreased more than 60 per cent and for free (non-tied) wage labourers, the possibilities of finding paid work nearly diminished to zero. On the other hand, forms of co-operative work, as local forms of *gotong royong*, exchange labour, rotating work groups and helping-out labours increased in importance. The village economy shifted from semi-subsistence to a highly subsistence economy again except for those having access to the outside economy.

It is important to realise that rural people make combinations of different types of work (occupational pluralism) and in that way often are able to survive crises. Only few Krajan families were solely depended on wage labour. Villagers combined wage labour (whenever possible)

exchange labour arrangements and handicraft production at home. As with the embroidery makers in Sriharjo, many women in Krajan played a crucial role for the households survival by earning money at home. In Krajan, women make sell *beseke*, small bamboo baskets, and bring them regionally to Bondowoso and Jember as containers for the production of *tapé* (sweet fermented snack of cassava). In some hamlets before the crisis, 30—40 per cent of all women were periodically engaged in these *beseke* productions. Women usually make them incidentally to cover short periods of cash or food shortages, in slack periods during the agricultural cycle or when the prices of *beseke* are high. When the crisis broke out, nearly all poorer villagers made *beseke* the whole year round. It increased popularity because it was the only work available, it is easy and cheap to make, the bamboo is locally available, it yields cash and it offers the opportunity of small loans or cash advancements by traders. But more important even,

²⁵ I define landless as those with little or no land. As nearly all villagers have use rights of some land (the land where the house is standing on and a garden or adjacent plot) I use as definitions of landless those categories whose domestic production does not exceed more than two months of food (paddy, maize or cassava) or who do not share a household with those who have access. Landlessness in Krajan means on an average, those families owning an acreage of *sawah* less than 0.1 ha. and *ladang* less than 0.2 ha.

the work can be done at home by the whole family, in combination with other household activities such as cooking, fire wood collection, drying rice or maize, child care and the like. Increased household production of *beseq* enabled villagers to buy rice and maize and prevented many villagers from starvation. The availability of non-agricultural sources of income was much more important than the aid programs of the government in coping with the crisis. However, as demands for *tapé* declined and supply increased, prices stayed constant and in context of huge inflation relatively declined. Before the crisis in 1997, a day work of one person making *beseq* was enough to buy 1.5—1 kg of rice of reasonable quality, a year later, only the equivalent of 0.5 to less than 1 kg of low quality rice or maize could be earned. As before the crisis, the supply of *beseq* was depending on the price, now the supply became inflexible and villagers continued to produce it even under diminishing returns because they had no choice.

As a side effect of the crisis and the availability of handicrafts, we

found indications that labour divisions between man and women had changed. Women in poorer households are traditionally strong in the subsistence part of the household, then became responsible for a steady cash flow by selling *beseq* as well. They were in fact much more successful than men in guaranteeing subsistence and in coping with the crisis, therefore gained a stronger and more independent position within the household and—in some cases—in society.

Contrary to Sriharjo, migration in Krajan is not massive. Before the crisis, five to ten per cent of the households had a family member engaged in some kind of migration. Contrary to the general picture of Java where rural villagers migrate to cities,²⁶ migration out of Krajan is mostly rural-rural. Some of these villagers were searching for work in the region of Bondowoso, Besuki and Madura. Others went to Bali to work as street peddlers and some young women, recruited by outsiders, went to Malaysia. Only some of these migrants have been successful and many of them

²⁶ In Krajan no migration to the big cities of Java (Surabaya, Semarang, Jakarta) took place. But even Denpasar, Kuta, Jember and Malang did not attract villagers. Maybe because of the relative isolation of Krajan, or because of language problems or simply because nobody ever tried and had returned successfully.

returned without any profit. The majority of the Krajan migrants however, followed campaigns of *Depnaker* (department of labour) which lured workers for the oil palm plantations in Kalimantan.

When the crisis broke out, not many of these migrants returned to Krajan. Only some women who worked in Malaysia returned, some had been successful, others not.²⁷ Those who used to go to Bali decided to stay at home after receiving news that business in Bali was slack. Many villagers in Kalimantan didn't wish to come back, or were trapped because they could not pay the boat trip anymore. Only in 1999, when GN returned for the second time in Krajan, many former wage labourers had found work in the forests of Banyuwangi and earned reasonable incomes that they brought home to buy rice. These groups of poor were among the first to recover and turned out to fall down below the poverty line only temporary.

d. Effects of the Crisis on Poverty

Like in Sriharjo, those who have no access to land experience

difficulties in living, but not all of them are automatically poor. Only those who also have no access to other sources of income are. Categories as widows, widowers, widows/widowers without children or with very small children, old people without children and the handicapped usually make up the poor, if they are not cared for by more affluent relatives or village members. Therefore, social exclusion and isolation are important in understanding the real hard sides of poverty. Relations with other people are crucial and make the difference between the needy and cared for. The poorer you are, the more difficult to maintain social relations like the example of Bu Sahami shows:

Bu Sahami lives in a small bamboo shed with a roof of *alang alang* grass. She has one bed on which she sits all day long making *beseke*. With that, she earns just enough to buy maize and rice and sometimes some salt. She never goes to *selamatan*, because she cannot afford to give two kilo's of rice. She therefore, has hardly no contacts, never gets visitors, and the head of

²⁷ One of the women was able to bring a lot of ringgit. Two others had earned money, but were beaten up by the Malay police and lost their money. One died within three days after her home coming.

the hamlet does not even know her.

She never buys on credit, because "then the money would not be enough for food" as buying on credit is more expensive. "At first, when the cheap rice came (*sembako*) I did not know it. I only started to take part since the last few months".

She also cares for her granddaughter of five years old. Besides that girl, she has no relatives in the village and neighbours do not care about her. Her children left a few years ago for Kalimantan and bu Sahami never got any news of them. Her main worry is her slant house of which she is afraid will collapse one night and fall down on her and her granddaughter.

Poor families responded on the crisis in several ways. Even more than in the past non-cash benefits were preferred above cash ones. One farmer engaged in sharecropping told GN: "*Saya tidak mau uang tapi beras, karena rupiah sekarang tidak sama dengan dulu. Rupiah sekarang kurang kuat, tidak kuat untuk beli beras*". (I don't want money but rice [for my work, GN] because the Rupiah is not like it used to be. The Rupiah is not strong to buy rice anymore).

Very poor villagers could not do much than cut their coat according to their cloth. They only once or twice a day, mixed their rice with bigger shares of maize. Much depended on where they got their income from. The far most poor, people like bu Sahami really experienced the pain of inflation while she really owns nothing and therefore totally cash depended. Those categories are not the most subsistence in society, as they are often excluded and isolated from any access to local resources. Others, widows, who for instance are allowed to clean the fields from leftovers after harvesting (a clear example of a social security arrangement) could lessen the pain to some extent and did not experience major differences as they could not fall any further living for years at the edge of starvation.

But, were there local arrangements and initiative who cared for the local poor? Hefner writes about moral considerations in caring for weaker members of society: "The social orientation emphasizes neither selfless collectivism nor self-possessed individualism. Ideally households guarantee its own subsistence and welfare". And about the moral village economy: "Its norms are most apparent not in the realms of production, but in consumption

and exchange [...] It's effect is life-style conformity not selfless sharing" (Hefner 1990). I share the opinion of Hefner. A major conclusion is that not much of a village-wide social safety net existed. The rule is that villagers take care of their own social security.

In contrast to poor villagers, richer villagers had not much difficulty in doing this, as many of them even benefited from the crisis or were able to consolidate their way of living. Among those who were doing well during the crisis were big landowners able to sell rice or corn (less than 5 per cent of the total population) and traders of cattle, chicken, birds and tobacco. These richer villagers however were hit more by climatic irregularities and subsequent crop failure than by the crisis itself. A major effect of the crisis might have been that inequalities between the rich and the poor will increase again. This time—in contrast to the green Revolution—not by the increase of income by richer members of society, but by the fall back of income by the poor resources.

e. The Role of the Local Government During the Crisis

The beginning of the crisis can be characterised by a general lack

of policies, both on a national and regional level. The regional government that deals with village affairs is the *kecamatan* level (district) and the *kabupaten* (regency) level. Officials at those levels have always only been used to carry out programs of the national government, but were not very adapted to react on the differential needs of the local people. At the beginning of the crisis, both national and regional governments continued their normal responses up until village levels. It seemed that the national government had no solutions at hand and the regional ones continued to carry out the ordinary programs and were busy with visits to villages presenting their usual stories about development, mutual help and *Pancasila*, the five pillars of the New Order society. An example of the visit of the *Bupati* (head of regency Bondowoso) to Krajan:

Once, during the *ramadhan* of January 1998 the *Bupati* came to Krajan. He opened the dinner in the house of the village *kiai* (religious leader) and prayed with the village people in the mosque. In his speech, he focused on the responsibility of villagers to make a better living, to obey God and the government and to keep silent and harmonious. According to

him, the best thing to do in this time of economic impair was to be active in *gotong royong*, following the government developmental projects, the tillage of elephants grass and *kopi rakyat* (peoples coffee), using modern inputs as fertiliser, new varieties of rice, maize and tobacco. He larded his speech with humour and populist references to religion and norms to strengthen his argument. Unfortunately, most villagers did not understand him, as he spoke high class Indonesian and not Madurese.

When the crisis had continued, governmental officials started to visit the villages more often. At first, some funds for small local projects as alphabetising programs, PKK, and reforestation increased. Then the funds for these projects dried up and were not renewed. The other normal development programs on village levels kept running. As Krajan is an IDT-village (*inpres desa tertinggal* (literary a backward village)) the village is entitled to special developmental projects. This has implications for the funds available for the village cooperative (KUD), the IDT projects as road building, poverty alleviation, etc. and for cheap credit (KUT) programs. These

programs just kept on running as they were before except that the IDT programs were terminated.

Only at around April 1998 the first special programs started to help the poor who were no aid longer able to buy foodstuffs. The government, army and private donors (Muslims, Christians and Chinese) started to supply basic needs as rice, cooking oil and salt to the rural poor. These —often spontaneous— aid campaigns, locally simply called *sembako*, can be characterised by a lot of showing off, little organisation, and a lack of reliable old (pre-crisis) data. The decision of whom was entitled to help was decided by the village leader and his officials, but not based on clear criteria. Often I witnessed that the most needy did not get while others close to village officials were able to secure one or more than one package. More remote hamlets of Krajan often got less help than those nearby. This whole campaign of spontaneous *sembako* aid was more symbolical than really effective. Krajan received five times around 150 packages, while the needy made up much more. More significant *sembako* help was given later (starting in October 1998), when the government sent cheap rice on a monthly basis (Rp1,000.00 per kg). In the

case of Krajan, this meant that 12 tons served a population of 3,400 villagers. This not only decreased the rice prices in the village but led a dozen small *warung* to the edge of bankruptcy as these small shop owners were dependent on the selling of rice. The amount of rice was so huge (3.5 kg per head of the population per month), that it was sometimes hard to find enough buyers for the rice. The village head and later his secretary were selling some of the rice illegally back to town for market prices. Nevertheless what went wrong, for those poor who were shocked by the sudden fall of purchase power were very helped by it. Many poor villagers were prevented for starvation in this way. Unfortunately, the utmost poor had no access to this program. Even Rp10,000.00 was too much for them as poor people have no access to income and credit. Only after some time they were offered loans from the main shop owner of the village – the mother of the village head - who asked 60 per cent of the received rice in return what she sold with profit in her shop. The village middle class were mainly profiting from this program including that quite some of this rice disappeared in the distributing process. In neighbouring villages, the amount of rice was

always five till ten per cent lower than promised. Government officers at the district level sold this rice per cent "to cover the costs of the extra work" as they justified it. As with most other village aid projects, lower government employees benefited from this aid programs. The cheap credit programs (KUT) were extended greatly for the planting season of 1998/99. Little farmers became available for local farmers and most of the funds (more than 150 million Rupiah's were used by the village head for his own projects). This crisis made clear that the Indonesian government has been more often a source of insecurity than a provider of social safety during the crisis. Other aspects of the JPS (social safety net programs) hardly reached Krajan and I was not in the position to study what happened with the funds available for these programs at the district and regency level, but was able to notice that no significant programs to increase work, education or access to health were carried out on a village level.

In general, poorer villagers benefited most from the subsidies on the nine strategic basic needs which kept prices as low as possible, from the cheap rice program and from their specific village economy who offered many opportunities to return to a

subsistence. More important than all, the programs of the government was the home industry of making *besek* who offered the rural poor a way to survive and to generate income next to their subsistence sources.

Comparison and Conclusions

A close comparison of these two villages shows that the impact of the crisis has been substantial in both villages. Both Harmoko and Jellinek were too quick in saying that the impact in the rural areas was not severe. Jellinek's quick study was based on research in few villages with small-scale enterprises and therefore a stronger production base than the villages of Sriharjo and Krajan. Her conclusion might be applicable for villages with strong resource bases.²⁸ If looking at villages like Sriharjo and Krajan, it can be concluded that the crisis has hit the rural areas as strong as it did the cities and more painfully, especially the poor in these villages were among the hardest hit. The comparison of Sriharjo and Krajan in this article shows that it is not very useful to judge the effects of the crisis in broad dichotomies as rural -urban, or

poor- rich, but a more differentiated approach is needed. Therefore, in our article we offer an insight view of two types of Javanese rural societies and describe different categories of villagers. Especially in dealing with the rural poor, it is important to look at the resource base and differential ways of their access to resources to explain their vulnerability.

In the article, we come across four categories of poor villagers.

1. The weak and already poor. This category includes needy villagers who have little or no access to resources, caring relations and hardly no capabilities to work, like: widows, widowers, ill people, and old people.
2. The poor who have already for a long time no assets as cows, land and other production goods and who have poor access to stable income and work.
3. The new poor. These groups of people who were just able to make a sufficient living and stay part of society before the crisis, but faced a major setback by reducing returns from labour and were forced to sell,

²⁸ Compare with studies of Ben White, Juliet Koning and Henry Sandee, who all did research in wealthy villages with subsequently rice production, lobster fishing and furniture manufacturing for the international market.

pawn or rent out productive assets or lost access to paid labour (often in cities).

4. The temporary poor. Those villagers who fell to poverty by losing their jobs, or by a severe fall in income due to inflation.

These villagers were able to cope with their problems and soon find new work again. In Sriharjo, most of them who lost work in cities were able to find a new job again, while many wage labourers in Krajan started to migrate and added their income by working seasonally outside the village. The first three categories of villagers form the structural poor and for them a national recovery from the crisis will not make difference. Especially for them, something more any drastic should change. The most important effect of the crisis has been that the number of structural the poor in rural areas has been increased and the gap between rich and poor widened further.

Comparing Sriharjo and Krajan at a more general level we can see that the village of Krajan is much more remote and isolated than the village of Sriharjo and more villagers have access to land. A reason for this difference can be found in the population pressure between these villages. Sriharjo has three times more inhabitants

than Krajan, which means that per villager, less land is available. Nevertheless, the population pressure cannot fully explain the big difference in access to land. Reasons for these differences are also the rate of commercialisation, the organisation of village society, the impacts of the Green Revolution, which had little influence in Krajan, infrastructure and the different agro-ecological conditions as soil fertility, and the agricultural system. Regarding the weak production bases of these villages, we can observe that poverty is slightly different within these villages as well. Sriharjo is much more dependent on incomes out of urban areas while Krajan is more subsistence and agriculture oriented. In Sriharjo, most villagers have been excluded from agriculture and were forced to find work in cities already two decades ago, while in Krajan most villagers still have some access to land (although land of low production quality). Labour arrangements in return are more important in Krajan and have become more important during the crisis. Examples of these labour relations are *babunan* (working for a 1/5 share of the harvest), exchange labour, clientele labour and corvee. Due to these forms of access many villagers were less hard hit by the crisis than those

wage labourers totally dependent on cash incomes, both in Sriharjo and Krajan.

Hefner (1990) studied labour utilisation in mountainous Tengger and observed that: "Highlanders refer regularly to the importance of co-operation (*gotong royong*) and reciprocal labour in their lives. They cite its prevalence as a key point of contrast with lowland society. Whatever its moral value as a symbol of upland communalism, however, in practise its role in agriculture is minor. Most agricultural work is done by household labour". In studying the upland economy of Krajan, we come to the same conclusion. In Sompok, the hilly part of Sriharjo, communal labour is important, but to a lesser extent as relations with the outside world are much more intense. During the crisis, household labour turned out to be crucial in both villages. Although villagers engaged in non-commoditised labour relations were not that bad, they mainly survived by the labour of the whole family and for those in Krajan, especially that share tenancy is important. Sometimes relations between the landowners and the landless became so close that they take the shape of patron-client relations. Hefner remarks about patron-client relations: "The

patron provides a significant measure of social insurance by advancing interest-free loans during difficult times. In the long run, these loans may not be repaid even if the employee severs ties with the employer (Hefner, 1990)". The social security function of patrons for providing cash turned out to be insignificant during the 97/98 crisis. Patrons turn out to be such unimportant social security agents as described in the work of Hefner, but they help secure the livelihood of their clients by offering labour opportunities (either in cities or in rural areas), shares of the harvest and small daily help in the form of free meals and small rice or maize loans which indeed often were not expected to be paid back (see Nooteboom, 1999). Hefner describes the aspirations of the lowest coolies in the Tengger: "Most of them see their chances for self-improvement, not in collective solidarity with anonymous class cohorts, but in personalized alliances with individual patrons" (Hefner, 1990). People engage in patron-client relations if it can help them reach their goals, and the crisis made clear that those being part of these kinds of dependency relations were not among the worse off.

In fact, the stereotypical view that rural societies are homo-

genons and harmonious and more adapted to cope with crisis situations has highly blinded government employees and intellectuals for the hardships of the rural poor and the existing inequalities, like inequalities between regions, economic sectors, classes and within villages. At the beginning of the crisis, the government was very hesitant to take action. They still seemed to believe that the rural areas were not affected and could cope with the difficulties. Governmental responses on the crisis were not effective, too late and had nothing to do with the causes of the crisis. The local government was only adapted to carry out programs and waited for instructions from above. When these instructions did not come, they were not able to take initiatives themselves. Therefore, it was hard to meet government people who seemed to be deeply concerned by the poverty of the local population and not seldom officials benefited substantially from channelling help to local people.

The students call for *merdeka* (freedom) at the beginning of 1998 in Jakarta, leading to the fall of Soeharto, appealed strongly to many villagers. Since Soeharto's step down, people were daring to open up and willing to take

initiatives resulting in numerous demonstrations and replacements of village heads and government officials. One of the similarities that could be observed in this movement in both research areas, was the quest for equality, justice and poverty alleviation. In Sriharjo, this led to numerous demonstrations and increased tension. In Krajan, where village society is more hierarchical, villagers were afraid for the village leader and limited themselves to gossip. In neighbouring villages however, a number of village leaders were forced to step down. Villagers in general were happy. They now could freely speak out about the government, corruption, poverty and inequality and about the widespread lack of governmental responsibility. In that sense, the *merdeka* movements — the freedom of speech — was a success and has been carried the local level. *Merdeka* in fact was a bigger success than *reformasi*, the reformation of up to government and society that only partly has taken place yet. Our data make clear however, that for a reformation of the Indonesian government, not only a reformation of the higher levels of the government is needed, but attention for restructuring the local government is crucial as well.

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REGIONAL LABOR CIRCULATION: INDONESIAN WORKERS IN MALAYSIA

*Abdul Samad Hadi**

Intisari

Jumlah pekerja migran di Malaysia dari berbagai negara sampai awal tahun 1998 diperkirakan mencapai sekitar 1,2 juta, dua pertiganya berasal dari Indonesia. Pekerja migran dari Indonesia yang masuk ke negara ini lebih banyak yang menggunakan cara tidak resmi/degal, dan menimbulkan banyak masalah di Malaysia. Dengan adanya pekerja migran sirkuler dari Indonesia ke Malaysia tersebut dirasa menguntungkan kedua negara. Di Malaysia, dengan masuknya pekerja ini masalah kekurangan tenaga kerja dapat ditanggulangi, terutama sektor pekerjaan yang kurang diminati oleh pekerja dari negara itu. Pada sisi lain, pekerja migran sirkuler dari Indonesia merasa diuntungkan, baik dari segi tingginya upah maupun peningkatan keterampilan yang diperoleh selama bekerja di negara tersebut.

Introduction

In the late twentieth century we witnessed the upsurge in the movement of people across nation-states, some to flee the political upheaval in their countries and become refugees in other countries, some leaving the drudgery of poverty in their home countries for the land of promise in another country while others circulate from their less productive rural economy for urban opportunities created by recent industrial development in

nearby countries. Included in the movements are an increasing number of students leaving their countries for foreign tertiary institutions, and professionals working for multinational corporations moving across countries to serve their employers. Hence, there is sufficient support to Castle and Miller's (1993) observation that the late years of the twentieth century is an era of international migration. This is because the international

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movement of people has increased in volume and directions, and it is expected that the number of movers will increase further in the next millennium following the space contraction of the world during the process of globalization. The bulk of the movements originate from the developing regions. However, professionals move from the countries to various destinations including those in the developing countries to man the multinational corporations. The recent surge in international movement of people is not a new phenomenon. Historically, international movement of people involving the developing countries such as Malaysia has taken place since the 15th century when the European explorers opened a channel of interaction between the people in the Southeast Asian area and the people in the rest of the world. Some forms of current international population movement involving Malaysia are the continuation of the population movements generated by the inter-country linkages developed during the British colonial rule, such as the in-movements of Bangladesh workers to the service sector in Malaysia. In fact, movements of Philippines to the

United States and Indian and Pakistanis workers to Britain are on familiar channel developed under colonialism. Other forms of labor movements lately have taken place between countries which have no formal political linkages in the past, such as the incoming of maids from the Philippines to work in Malaysian homes, as parts of their movement streams to the Middle Eastern countries. The bulk of the recent labor migration into Malaysia nevertheless originates from Indonesia. This labor movement is in some way the rejuvenation of historical movements of people in the 'Nusantara'.

This paper is about the post 1970 Indonesian workers in Malaysia. It will discuss the movements of these Indonesian workers to Malaysia within the general context of worldwide movements of workers in recent decades. Their movements are articulated within the framework of the new classical economic argument, and these workers gain from the movement although they are found in the job category that is shunned by the locals. The prospects for the workers have to be relooked in the context of the recent Asian financial meltdown.

**Socio-Economics Convergence
and The Movements of
Workers Worldwide**

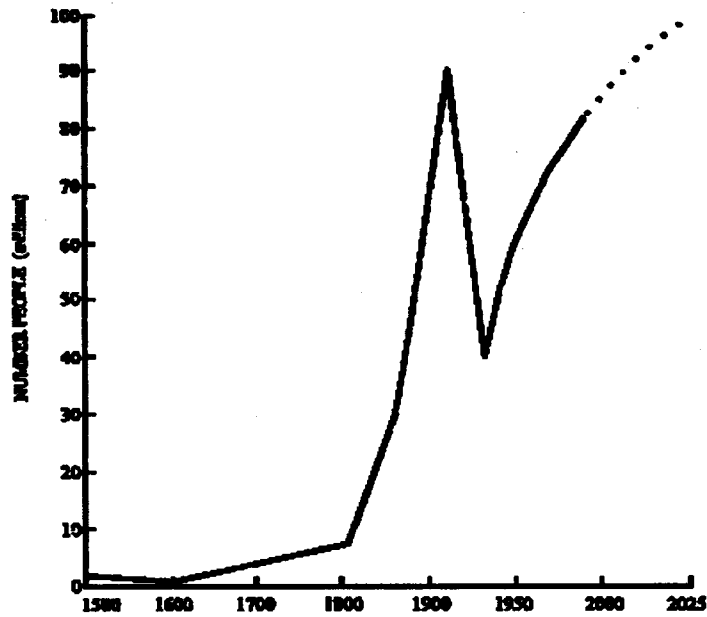
Certain parts of the world have emerged in the closing decades of the twentieth century as the centers of socio-economics opportunities and consequently they become the favored destinations of workers from surrounding areas. These centers are relatively more developed offering opportunities to people in relatively less developed areas. Utilizing the data from Segal's Atlas of International Migration (1993), we have extracted the three consecutive diagrams below. Although the data may not be comprehensive to fully represent the total movements of people over the years throughout the world, they are still useful to illustrate the concentration of movers to specific areas over the globe.

From Figure 1, a substantial number of people (about 80 million) were estimated to have moved internationally in recent years and the trend is expected to show an increase in the future. It is certain that such a large number of migrants will impact directly not only on the various sending areas but also on the countries that have emerged as the persistent

destination areas for international migration. In Figure 2, the various receiving regions for voluntary international migration are identified. North America, Western Europe, the Middle East, Japan, Hong Kong and parts of the South East Asian countries are seen to have attracted people largely from the surrounding countries. Similar origin-destination linkage patterns are observed for the migrant workers in Figure 3. This means that the flows of migrant workers took place within the regional action space of international migration. Like the international migration in Figure 2, these migrant workers had come from countries which might or might not have previous relations with the destination countries. Those workers, some travelling a great distance from their country of origin, usually involved those from areas that already had some form of relations such as those from the ex-colonies.

The destination countries are developed countries that have sustained their development and they are seen as centers of opportunities. Western Europe, North America and Japan are the triad economic giants of the global economy. Their industrial strength have dominated the world in wealth accumulation such that

Figure 1
World Migration Trends Total Number of Foreign-Born in All Countries



Source: Segal, 1993.

these countries have built a strong image of areas with widespread opportunities. The other centers of socio-economics convergent are the newly industrializing economies in East Asia and in Latin America (Bohning, 1972; King, 1993; Segal, 1993; Hourani, 1991). In contrast, the countries of origin lag in development with excess labor following their relatively higher natural population growth and slower

rate of socio-economics development (UNCAD, 1994 & 1997). They are countries in parts of Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe, Africa, South and Southeast Asia.

Underlying Process of International Movement of Workers: The Malaysian Case

The international migration patterns of workers the world ever

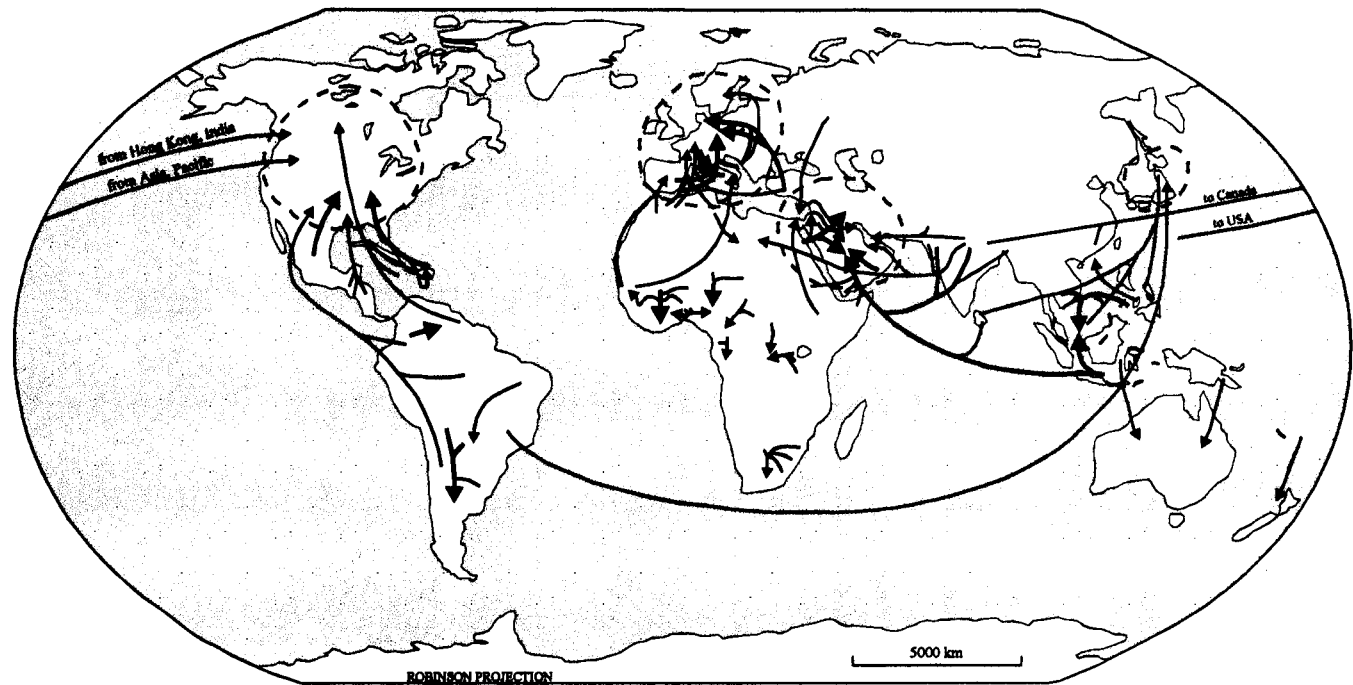


Figure 2: GLOBAL VOLUNTARY MIGRATION: RECEIVING COUNTRIES

— Greater than 50,000
 — and less than 750,000
 — 750,000 or more

Migration flows 50,000
 or less are not depicted

Sumber: Segal, 1993

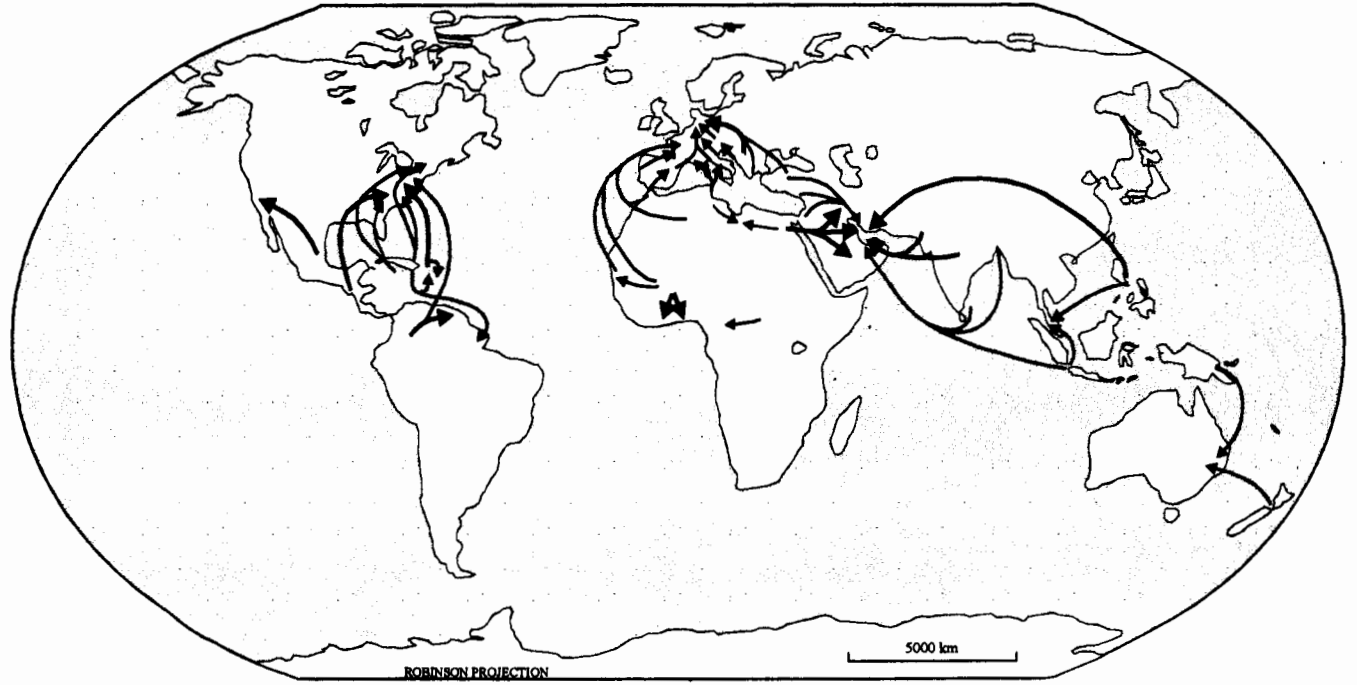


Figure 3: INTERNATIONAL MIGRANT WORKERS - 1990
NUMBER OF MIGRANTS
— Less than 750,000
— 750,000 or more

discussed earlier illustrate a realistic response to the accumulation wealth in the established industrial areas of Western Europe, North America, Japan and the newly industrializing countries in the Asia-Pacific including Latin America which have created varied work opportunities for workers in the less developed countries around them that their own workers have shunned. These job opportunities include hard manual work in the construction industries and in the agricultural and domestic sectors.

Massey, who leads an IUSSP committee on migration from the countries of the south to the north examines and assesses current theories of international migration to derive a framework of analysis that will explain the international migration process from the countries of the south to the north (Massey *et al.*, 1993). It is hoped that some policy initiatives can then be formulated to regulate and protect workers and the destination countries from negative outcomes. The group examined theories that have been built around economics formulations, in particular the new classical economic, formulations and proceeded to look into existing theories on social networks and the role of institutions in

international migration. The group also discussed conceptual frameworks that have been developed by Gunnar Myrdal and the world system theory. The committee argued that the available theories on international migration have set the causes at various levels of analysis across the countries of the world. The group stated further that although propositions, assumptions and hypotheses that can be derived from the theories do not contradict each other, each has its own specific policy implications. The bulk of the existing theories that the group discussed seems sectoral in their coverage and as such, they may not be helpful to explain fully the process of international population migration, let alone to explain the movements of workers across borders of nation-states in recent years. The world system theory offers more promise but it has to be reworked to bring the situation in a particular country into focus in order to help us understand the increasing flows of foreign workers into the country.

One way to help account for the attraction of foreign workers into Malaysia in the post-1970 years is to relate the recent Malaysian socio-economic changes to the process of

globalization (Robertson, 1992). In the past, Hobsbawm (1979) argued that industrial production in the world had been confined to the nation-states in the industrial west. Since about the seventies the process of industrial production had spread all over the world, initially from the west and Japan to the newly emerging industrial economies in the Asia-Pacific rim. Countries in Latin America and in Asia emerged at different times as the newly industrializing countries. The emergence of these newly industrializing countries was made possible by global industrial restructuring and the outflows of investment out of the industrialized countries through the activities of multinational and transnational corporations (Dicken, 1992; Dunning, 1993). For many decades in the past, investments from the industrial countries were partly channeled to their colonies to produce local resources for industrial production in the metropolitan centers, but in recent years investments from the old industrial countries to the developing countries including former colonies are for the production of industrial products for the world markets. There arises a new international division of labor replacing the old one

(Massey, 1984). In this context, the focus of Malaysia's economics under the British colonial time was for the production of rubber and tin. During that period, 'Malaysia' (Malaya, Sarawak and North Borneo then) became the destination of migrant workers from both Southern China and Southern India to work in the colonial multinational companies in rubber and tin mining industries and from Java to tend in the rural economies. In the initial stage, the bulk of the Chinese, Indian and Indonesian workers were temporary migrants in the country. They returned home at the completion of their contract or stay as the case might be. In later years, especially after the Second World War, these workers remained more permanently in Malaysia following internal changes in politics in India, China, Indonesia and Malaya. The multiracial make up of the Malaysian society today is the outcome of the movements of workers from these countries in the past.

In the new international division of labor, Malaysia has developed slowly into an industrialized country to enable to solve some persistent socio-economics problems arising from the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural

and the uneven impacts of British colonialism on the Malaysian people. For nearly 13 years since its independence in 1957 Malaysia had to grapple with widespread poverty, underdevelopment and the problem of nation building. The global shift in industrial production has provided Malaysia with some solutions to its national problems. Although in the new international division of labor, Malaysia has had to come face to face with the presence and with the rising number of multinational and transnational companies whose power some observers argue may dilute the grip of the state on its own control, the country has come to terms with their presence. It is true that these big companies can move to any country they want to locate their industrial activities and can place demands on the Malaysian state for the provision of certain infrastructures and amenities such as the demand for special free trade zones and industrial estates close to port and airport facilities, the Malaysian state still has some control on their operations. There exists some kind of arrangements that benefit both parties in the short and long terms. Between 1970-1997 Malaysia recorded gains from the industrial developments. For about ten years

(1987-1996) Malaysia experienced high economic growth, averaging eight percent per year. In short, the incoming of multinationals with investments in manufacturing industries from the developed countries and also from the newly industrializing countries have brought on the country a wealth accumulation. Mohamed and Yokoyama (1992) argued that Malaysia was then able to adapt to the changing social and economic conditions of the time while the economy of the developed countries was in difficulties with very slow growth, by adopting a more liberal view towards long term investments and tax incentives that were attractive to the active private sector participating in the development of the country. The high economic growth was sustained through policy measures within a continuingly stable country. Within the scenario of growth and political stability, local investments were also rising in those years to help spur further economic growth. The expansion in export industrialization has hastened the changes to the Malaysian economic structure from an agricultural export base to an industrial export base. The changes in the Malaysian economic structure in turn has

helped to bring about an accelerated transformation of the Malaysian society. The new industries that have been decentralized from the national growth pole down the urban hierarchy required a sustained supply of workers. At first, young male and female workers from the rural areas migrated to the towns to fill up vacancies in these industries.

As the economic expansion continues, older agricultural workers from the villages were also drawn into the workforce to fill up the unskilled works that had gone to begging. This was the time that Malaysia witnessed the rising incidence of farmers abandoning their small rice plots and rubber stands for the off-farm jobs or jobs in the cities.

The attraction of workers to Malaysia from the surrounding countries in the new international division of labor is related to the above changes in the Malaysian economic structure. The somewhat detailed account of socio-economic convergence in Malaysia vis-a-vis some neighboring countries in the region earlier is important in the attempt to situate the coming of immigrant workers. Although the Malaysian population increased at around 2.3 percent per year in

recent decades, the total active population is not able to service the labor market especially in certain sectors which the local workers bypassed for the 'cleaner' work. At this juncture, Malaysia began to open its door to foreign workers to work in the agricultural sector at first and later diffused into the construction industries and certain services to which male foreign workers congregated (Ong Jin Hui and Chan Kwok Bun [eds.], 1995; Martin, Mason, Ching-Lung Tsay, 1995). The demand for house helpers has also increased, which has been seen by the arrivals of Filipino and Indonesian maids into Malaysian middle and upper class homes. Alongside the flows of foreign workers were professionals, albeit in a much smaller number who came to man the multinational and transnational corporations, educational institutions and specialized services.

The Circular Movement of Indonesian Workers and Its Impacts

Up to 1998, the foreign workers in Malaysia have come from several countries notably Indonesia, the Philippines, Bangladesh and Thailand. The

bulk of them however, came from Indonesia. The differences in development status between Indonesia and Malaysia, the larger reserve of under-employed workers in Indonesia and a more liberal attitude towards foreign workers adopted by the Malaysian state have facilitated the inflows of male and female workers from all over Indonesia legally and illegally. Those who came in legally will have to leave at the end of their contracts while the illegal immigrant workers have to work under uncertainty that they might have to leave anytime especially when caught by Malaysian authorities. All of them, judging from their declared intention, wanted to return to Indonesia eventually (IRPA, 1997). Thus, the development of export industries in Malaysia in the 1970's-1980's has shaped a form of international circular migration of workers from Indonesia (a kind of circular movement discussed by Hugo, 1978). The Malaysian plantation areas and urban settlements in the new international division of labor are able to extend the source areas for workers beyond the boundary of the Malaysian nation-state. For as long as the economy was moving and generating wealth these workers were able to come into the country without

much difficulty. Even in the event of the economic slow down after the Asian economic crisis starting around July 1997, Malaysia was still having a substantial number of foreign workers. Thus, in February 1998, the Malaysian Cabinet Committee on Foreign Workers in the country estimated that about 1.2 million foreign workers were still in the country despite the economic slow down following the East Asian financial meltdown. From the total, 755,000 workers were from Indonesia 306,000 from Bangladesh, 83,000 from the Philippines, 19,000 from Thailand, 17,000 from Pakistan and 39,000 from several other countries. The breakdown, according to sectors were as follows; 30.7 percent worked in the manufacturing industries, 20.7 percent in construction, 11.6 percent as maids, 11.03 percent in other services including working as gas attendants, and 26.52 percent in the plantation sub-sector. The total number of illegal immigrants was still illusive despite attempts to trace them and to legalize them. The number could still remain large despite the fact that Malaysia has limited impervious borders with many countries in the region.

The fact that the coming of these workers to Malaysia was

economically motivated, our study confirmed the previous observations by many studies earlier that these workers were ready to take any work offered to them and were prepared to work longer hours even though the wages were unattractive in the eyes of local workers. They kept living expenses to the minimum and they stayed in the accommodations provided by their employers, which was in good bungalows for the maids but mere makeshift buildings for those working in construction. Nonetheless, they saved on transportation cost.

There is a tendency for these workers to stay close among their own ethnic groups and workers from the same place of origin in the same work areas. This way they could maintain close rapport that provided a general support for their welfare in a foreign land. The workers also maintained their social networks with people in the home villages. The social networks were maintained and strengthened through remittances, news and home visits at least during non working days (*hari libur*) when the ports in Melaka, Penang and Johor Bahru as well as the international airports were strained to handle the volume of workers travelling home to

Indonesia. Through these networks also, more new workers were recruited from the area of origin in Indonesia. These networks indeed served the workers in both directions; one as a channel of movements for new workers in a chain migration flow, and the other, the assurance from home areas that the workers still have a place to return to in the end.

By the middle of 1997, the global financial crisis in Asia had brought a drastic downturn to the Malaysian economy. The ensuing recession had impacted on various economic sectors of the country although the extent of the damage was relatively mild such that many of the sectors could still afford to retain some of their workers. However, a large number of foreign workers had to leave at the end of their stay without any prospect of renewing their contracts. The illegal immigrant workers were in a worse predicament as most of them were easily laid off without much thought of compensation.

Overall, the incoming of Indonesian workers to Malaysia during the expansion of export industrialization has helped the process of industrialization and the development of the country. Certain sectors of the economy might have been neglected in the

process. Likewise, to the extent that the workers gained employment was a form of benefit to the Indonesian workforce who could not be absorbed fully into the Indonesian economic sector, thus lessening the pressure from these workers for job placements in the Indonesian labor market.

Investment and the Return Flows of Indonesian Workers

From the earlier sections, it is learned that foreign direct investments into Malaysia has not only provided a push for industrialization in Malaysia, but also the increasing circulation of foreign workers to and back from Malaysia. The presence of the Indonesian workers has helped to sustain the industrialization program in Malaysia. Indirectly, these workers contributed works towards moving the sectors that are being bypassed by the local workers so that the local workers could concentrate on the manufacturing industries. As the manufacturing industries expand, so does the vacancies for more Indonesian workers. The incoming of large numbers of illegal and legal migrant workers from Indonesia between 1970-1997 were in part as a response to the industrial expansion in

Malaysia. In this circumstance, the Malaysian government had kept a more accommodative attitude, even towards the illegal workers. However, in the long-term interest to both Indonesia and Malaysia, the pursuit of enriching the neighbor policy by Malaysia prior to the 1997 economic slow down in Asia, was an attempt to encourage Indonesia to go for export industrialization. The industrial expansion might help control the continuous flows of the Indonesian workers to Malaysia.

The circulation of Indonesian workers back and forth to Malaysia should be seen as a form of human resources investment to Indonesia. In the long-term activity, the experiences gained by these workers while working in the various sectors of the Malaysian economy will be useful in the development of these sectors in Indonesia. For example those female workers in the multinational electronic industries in Johor could have easily formed the core group for similar Industries in Indonesia. Related to this issue, had all these Indonesian workers been given some kind of training's before they left Indonesia (as what they have been carried on lately) these workers would have been less prone to exploitation in Malaysia. They

could demand better salaries as well as better working experiences.

Prospect of Indonesian Workers Circulation to Malaysia

A major behavior pattern of the multinational and transnational corporations is that these companies would shift to any place that offers them political stability and an investment climate that is conducive for maximizing their profits. As industrialization progresses in Malaysia, the country has begun to lose some of its comparative advantages to some other regions. Even before the Asian financial meltdown in 1997, the investment trends by foreign companies have slowed down. In these circumstances Malaysia could no longer sustain its image as one of the convergent socioeconomic areas in the East Asian region to which foreign workers will continue to move to in coming years. As for the present time, the Malaysian labor market is still able to absorb foreign workers albeit in a much reduced number.

Conclusion

Global economic restructuring in the last few decades of the late 20th century has given Malaysia the option to participate in the global industrialization process and to emerge in the present time as one of the newly rising industrializing countries in East Asia. The progress that follows brings its own problems. The relatively small local population is open to preference of work that does not include the more manual and 'dirty' jobs even though the pay is reasonably good. Malaysia has to rely then more on foreign workers to service parts of its labor requirements. To foreign workers the fact that they obtained jobs in Malaysia seems to have fulfilled their needs, but the jobs that they took often pay them minimally although there are workers who could earn a large amount of take home pay by working long hours. In the end, they find themselves still marginal compared to the position of the local workers. These Indonesian workers engage in circulation to and from their villages in Indonesia as a means of security arrangements at the end of their stay in Malaysia.

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ANALISIS STATISTIK SEDERHANA UNTUK PENGAMBILAN KEPUTUSAN

I Gusti Ngurah Agung*

Abstract

A Table construction by a tally is data analysis which can easily be accomplished. At present, with an aid of computers, such analysis can be executed more with ease. Thus, anyone regardless of her or his academic backgrounds, should be able to make tables, graphs or descriptive statistics in a relatively short time. In constructing of such tables it is paramount that one should select appropriate variables (indicators or factors) so the tables may be utilized as inputs for decision makers, policy makers, and programs. An analysis based on these tables and graphs could be formulated as a descriptive summary.

Analisis Statistik Sederhana

Analisis data dengan menerapkan metode deskriptif dinyatakan sebagai analisis statistik sederhana atau yang paling sederhana. Akan tetapi, hasil analisis statistik deskriptif tersebut dapat menjadi masukan yang sangat berharga untuk para mengambil keputusan, tergantung pada bentuk dan cara menyajikan hasil analisis tersebut.

Pada tahap pertama, analisis data dilakukan untuk mempelajari perbedaan antara fakta yang diobservasi dengan apa yang diharapkan. Pada tahap pertama

analisis data merupakan aktivitas ilmiah untuk melakukan penilaian terhadap nilai/skor/ukuran variabel atau indikator yang ditinjau, terutama variabel tak-bebas atau variabel tujuan atau indikator masalah yang ditinjau. Hasil analisis ini dapat dipakai untuk menentukan ada atau tidaknya permasalahan. Sebagaimana telah diketahui bahwa suatu permasalahan terjadi atau muncul apabila fakta yang diobservasi tidak sesuai dengan apa yang diharapkan.

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Selanjutnya, hasil analisis statistik deskriptif akan menjadi dasar untuk membuat rangkuman deskriptif, yang didukung oleh pendapat ilmiah atau kesepakatan ilmiah (Agung, 1996, 1998, dan 2000). Untuk lebih jelasnya pembahasan dalam tulisan ini disajikan contoh-contoh yang sederhana. Dalam hal inilah rangkuman deskriptif akan menjadi sangat bermanfaat untuk pengambilan keputusan.

Variabel Penting

Variabel penting yang perlu dan harus ditinjau dalam setiap analisis data dapat dibedakan dalam tiga kelompok variabel atau faktor sebagai berikut: (1) variabel tujuan (variabel respons atau variabel tak-bebas atau variabel akibat); (2) faktor-penyebab terkendali; (3) faktor-penyebab tak-terkendali atau faktor-risiko.

a. Variabel Tujuan

Variabel tujuan adalah variabel yang menentukan ada atau tidaknya permasalahan sehingga variabel tujuan juga dinyatakan sebagai indikator masalah. Secara statistik, indikator masalah harus mempunyai ukuran objektif atau kuantitatif,

yang selanjutnya akan dinyatakan sebagai *indikator masalah objektif*. Hal ini didasarkan atas pemikiran agar keberhasilan atau kegagalan suatu program kerja untuk menyelesaikan masalah yang ditinjau dapat dinilai secara objektif. Contoh indikator masalah objektif antara lain adalah (1) jumlah anak, dengan jumlah ideal (target) dua anak; (2) prevalensi kontrasepsi; (3) angka partisipasi sekolah; dan (4) jumlah/proporsi persalinan yang ditolong oleh dukun. Di pihak lain, contoh *indikator masalah subjektif* antara lain adalah (1) keluarga bahagia dan sejahtera; (2) kesenjangan sosial; (3) rasa aman; dan (4) KKN.

Berkaitan dengan program penyelesaian masalah, untuk setiap indikator masalah subjektif, dianjurkan untuk menentukan indikator-indikator objektif yang menjadi *syarat perlu* untuk indikator subjektif yang ditinjau. Sebagai contoh, syarat perlu untuk keluarga bahagia dan sejahtera adalah pendapatan, pendidikan, dan kesehatan yang mempunyai ukuran objektif.

b. Faktor-Penyebab

Suatu faktor dinyatakan sebagai faktor penyebab jika dapat

ditentukan dengan meyakinkan bahwa faktor tersebut menjadi penyebab terjadinya masalah. Dalam banyak hal, faktor penyebab yang murni sangat sulit ditentukan karena munculnya masalah merupakan akibat beberapa faktor-penyebab, baik penyebab langsung maupun penyebab tak-langsung. Sebagai contoh, kasus merokok dinyatakan sebagai faktor-penyebab kanker paru-paru, dan seseorang meninggal pada saat main tenis. Sebenarnya, merokok atau status perokok merupakan faktor risiko terhadap, misalnya, sakit pernapasan, jantung, dan sebagainya. Di pihak lain, tidak seorang pun akan setuju bahwa permainan tenis atau olahraga pada umumnya menjadi faktor penyebab kematian. Akan tetapi, musibah terjadi akibat berolahraga secara berlebihan sehingga jantung tidak dapat mendukungnya. Berkaitan dengan faktor penyebab, perlu dibedakan antara faktor penyebab terkendali dan faktor penyebab tak-terkendali atau faktor risiko.

a. **Faktor Penyebab Terkendali.**

Faktor-penyebab terkendali didefinisikan sebagai faktor-penyebab yang nilai/skor atau ukurannya dapat dikendalikan oleh para pembuat keputusan. Pada dasarnya, faktor penye-

bab terkendali seharusnya mempunyai ukuran objektif sehingga perubahan nilai/skor faktor-penyebab tersebut dapat dinilai secara objektif.

- b. **Faktor Penyebab Tak-Terkendali.** Faktor penyebab tak-terkendali adalah faktor penyebab yang nilai/skor atau ukurannya tidak dapat dikendalikan oleh para pembuat keputusan. Faktor risiko juga termasuk faktor penyebab terkendali. Walaupun faktor-penyebab ini sulit dikendalikan, sangat penting diketahui dan disadari keberadaannya oleh setiap pembuat keputusan. Akan tetapi, ada kemungkinan suatu faktor risiko dapat dikendalikan secara tidak langsung. Faktor penyebab tak-terkendali, termasuk faktor risiko, pada umumnya mempunyai ukuran subjektif. Contoh faktor-faktor penyebab tidak menggunakan kontrasepsi dapat dibedakan antara faktor-penyebab terkendali, seperti alat kontrasepsi yang diinginkan tidak tersedia, biaya pelayanan yang mahal, dan fasilitas pelayanan jauh; dan faktor penyebab tak-terkendali, antara lain, suami tidak setuju menggunakan

kontrasepsi, alasan agama, dan ingin anak lagi.

Analisis Deskriptif

Pada dasarnya, analisis data mempunyai tujuan sebagai berikut.

- a) Untuk menilai atau mengevaluasi, apakah data yang dipakai layak dapat dipercaya atau tidak.
- b) Untuk mempelajari perbedaan nilai statistik variabel-tujuan seperti prevalensi, proporsi dan rata-rata disertai dengan standar deviasinya yang dihitung berdasarkan data sampel tertentu dengan nilai yang diharapkan. Dengan kata lain, menentukan ada atau tidaknya permasalahan.
- c) Untuk mempelajari hubungan atau asosiasi antara faktor-faktor penyebab dengan variabel tujuan.
- d) Untuk mempelajari perbedaan antara kelompok individu secara deskriptif, meliputi nilai-nilai statistik variabel-tujuan dan asosiasi antara faktor-penyebab dengan variabel tujuan.

a. Analisis Tabulasi dan Grafik

Pada umumnya, analisis variabel tunggal atau lebih dikenal

dengan analisis univariat dilakukan untuk setiap indikator masalah objektif dan indikator-indikator objektif yang merupakan syarat untuk indikator masalah subjektif. Selanjutnya disajikan contoh-contoh analisis statistik sederhana dalam bentuk rangkuman statistik deskriptif dan grafik seperti berikut.

1. Analisis Indikator Tujuan: Perubahan Pemakaian Alat Kontrasepsi

Berdasarkan data panel Survei Aspek Kehidupan Rumah Tangga Indonesia/SAKERTI (IFLS 1997 & 1998) untuk PUS, ditinjau indikator Perubahan Pemakaian Alat Kontrasepsi 1997-1998 dengan kategori 1=tidak berubah metode kontrasepsi, 2=berubah metode kontrasepsi, 3=*drop-out*, 4=pemakai baru, dan 5=tidak memakai.

Dalam kasus ini kita memperhatikan sebuah variabel berskala nominal dengan lima kategori sehingga tabel yang dibentuk akan menunjukkan distribusi perubahan pemakaian alat kontrasepsi 1997-1998 (dalam %), seperti disajikan dalam Tabel 1.

Perhatikanlah, bagaimana caranya menulis judul tabel, yang secara umum dinyatakan

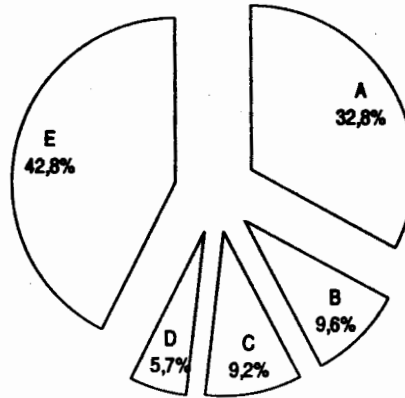
Tabel 1
Distribusi Perubahan Pemakaian Alat Kontrasepsi 1997-1998,
untuk PUS Panel berdasarkan Data SAKERTI 1997 dan 1998

Ind. Tujuan	Kategori-Y (Perubahan Pemakaian Alat Kontrasepsi)					Total
	1	2	8	4	5	
Y	42,8	5,7	9,2	9,8	32,8	100,0

distribusi variabel yang ditinjau, bukan distribusi PUS atau kelompok orangnya. Di pihak lain, juga perlu diperhatikan secara tertulis, adakalanya, jumlahnya tidak tepat 100 persen, akibat pembulatan.

Hasil dalam Tabel 1 dapat disajikan dalam bentuk grafik *pie chart* di bawah ini, dengan memakai judul yang persis sama.

Berdasarkan hasil ini, para pembuat keputusan atau seorang analis dapat menentukan atau memutuskan permasalahan yang akan dipelajari lebih lanjut, misalnya, masalah tidak memakai alat kontrasepsi dan *drop-out*. Sesuai dengan permasalahan ini, maka yang harus diketahui adalah faktor-faktor penyebab, terutama faktor penyebab terkendali, seorang PUS tidak memakai alat kontrasepsi dan/atau berstatus *drop-out*, seperti contoh analisis berikut ini.



Keterangan:

- A = Tidak memakai
- B = Pemakai baru
- C = Drop out
- D = Ganti metode
- E = Tetap memakai

2. Analisis tentang Faktor Penyebab

Dengan memperhatikan variabel tujuan, Y, yang didefinisikan sebagai Y=1 jika seorang PUS tidak memakai alat kontrasepsi,

dan $Y=0$ jika lainnya, maka dapat disajikan data seperti pada Tabel 2. Tabel ini menunjukkan persentase PUS yang tidak memakai alat kontrasepsi (alkon) menurut alasan tidak memakai, berdasarkan data SAKERTI 1997 dan 1998. Tabel tersebut juga menunjukkan persentase PUS yang *drop-out* menurut alasan yang dikemukakannya. Tabel 2 sebenarnya menunjukkan hasil analisis dengan memperhatikan tiga indikator masalah, sebutlah Y_1 =status pada tahun 1997, Y_2 =status pada tahun 1998, dan Y_3 =status *drop-out*. Berdasarkan tabel semacam ini dapat ditentukan atau dipilih faktor-faktor penyebab terkendali, yang akan atau harus ditindaklanjuti oleh para pengambil keputusan.

Sebagai ilustrasi, Tabel 3 menunjukkan grafik persentase PUS yang tidak memakai alat kontrasepsi menurut faktor penyebab terkendali. Grafik ini dibuat dengan memperhatikan tiga variabel, yaitu variabel tidak bebas seratus-nol, sebutlah Y , faktor-penyebab, dan tahun pengamatan sehingga grafiknya dapat dinyatakan sebagai grafik berdimensi tiga.

3. Analisis tentang Faktor Risiko

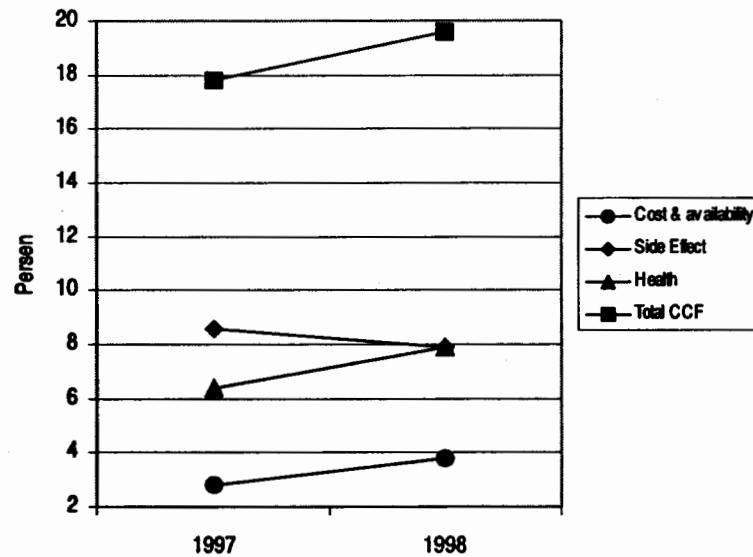
Berkaitan dengan faktor penyebab tak-terkendali atau faktor risiko untuk variabel status pemakaian alat kontrasepsi dapat diperhatikan berbagai variabel atau faktor sosial-ekonomi. Tabel 4 menunjukkan persentase PUS yang tidak pakai alat kontrasepsi menurut daerah (kota/desa), wilayah (Jawa Bali dan Luar Jawa Bali) dan jumlah anak masih hidup (JAMH). Berdasarkan statistik deskriptif ini dapat dikemukakan catatan dan kesimpulan sebagai berikut.

- 1) Dalam analisis ini juga diperhatikan variabel tujuan, sebutlah Y , yang didefinisikan sebagai $Y=100$ jika PUS tidak pakai kontrasepsi, dan $Y=0$ jika lainnya sehingga Tabel 4 akan menunjukkan nilai rata-rata Y (atau persentase $Y=100$) menurut daerah, wilayah, dan JAMH.
- 2) Berkaitan dengan program KB atau NKKBS, maka faktor risiko yang penting diperhatikan adalah para PUS yang telah mempunyai anak minimal tiga, dan tidak pakai alat kontrasepsi. Faktor ini dinyatakan sebagai faktor risiko

Tabel 2
 Persentase PUS Tidak Memakai Alat Kontrasepsi dan *Drop-Out*
 menurut Alasannya, berdasarkan Data SAKERTI 1997 dan 1998

Alasan tidak memakai kontrasepsi	Perubahan Status Pemakaian Alat kontrasepsi		
	Tidak memakai 1997	Tidak memakai 1998	<i>Drop-Out</i> 1997-98
Hamil	7,7	6,5	22,2
Ingin anak	23,0	24,6	23,1
Kurang informasi	4,1	4,8	0,9
Tidak disetujui suami	5,5	6,5	2,6
Biaya mahal	3,6	2,6	4,3
Kesehatan	5,7	5,7	9,7
Efek samping	7,9	8,6	10,3
Anjuran medis	2,2	0,7	0,0
Sulit mendapatkan kontrasepsi	0,2	0,2	0,0
Agama	0,0	0,2	1,7
Responden tidak setuju	5,7	4,6	3,4
Keluarga tidak setuju	0,5	1,2	0,0
Tidak peduli	2,9	1,4	0,0
Seks tidak sering	1,4	0,7	1,7
Sulit menjadi hamil	6,0	7,7	0,9
Menopause	8,4	7,2	6,0
Tidak nyaman	0,7	1,2	1,7
Ketidakhadiran suami	2,9	2,2	2,6
Pascamelahirkan (belum menstruasi)	3,1	0,7	0,9
Pascamelahirkan (belum berhubungan seksual)	1,0	0,5	0,0
Menyusui	3,1	1,9	3,4
Lain-lain	19,6	19,1	14,5
	115,2	108,8	109,9
Jumlah responden	418	418	117

Tabel 3
 Persentase PUS Tidak Memakai Alat Kontrasepsi menurut Faktor Penyebab
 Terkendali, berdasarkan Data SAKERTI 1997 dan 1998



karena PUS semacam ini mempunyai risiko untuk menggagalkan program KB, apalagi jika mereka berusia sangat reproduktif, misalnya, berusia di bawah 35 tahun. Berkaitan dengan hal ini, untuk melengkapi atau menyempurnakan hasil analisis, harus diperhatikan atau dibuat tabel yang menunjukkan PUS yang tak-KB menurut kelompok umur dan JAMH, tetapi dalam

tulisan ini belum dapat disajikan.

3) Jika diperhatikan wilayah JB dan LJB, data SAKERTI 1998 menunjukkan bahwa di LJB 42,4% PUS dengan anak minimal tiga yang tidak memakai alat kontrasepsi dibandingkan dengan 40,3% di JB. Akhirnya, dapat diambil kesimpulan bahwa risiko kegagalan program KB di wilayah LJB lebih besar daripada di wilayah JB.

Tabel 4
Persentase PUS yang Tidak Pakai Alat Kontrasepsi
menurut Daerah, Wilayah, dan Jumlah Anak Masih Hidup,
berdasarkan Data SAKERTI 1997 dan 1998

	Anak Masih Hidup (AMH)								Total	
	0		1		2		3			
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1997										
Total	89,3	84	44,4	277	38,7	323	30,4	589	42,3	1276
JB	93,2	44	42,2	147	29,9	144	38,8	237	41,6	572
LJB	85,0	40	46,9	130	38,8	182	39,8	352	42,9	704
Kota	90,3	38	41,7	108	32,9	143	35,1	268	39,5	847
JB	89,5	19	37,1	70	32,2	59	38,8	138	38,1	291
LJB	100,0	11	58,0	86	38,3	84	38,3	183	41,0	266
Desa	87,0	84	46,2	169	84,4	183	42,1	323	44,4	729
JB	90,0	25	40,8	77	26,2	35	43,2	104	43,0	291
LJB	79,3	29	45,7	92	39,8	90	40,6	219	44,1	438
1998										
Total	86,3	51	46,4	276	84,0	363	41,6	611	42,4	1276
JB	88,5	26	40,3	184	27,8	144	43,3	243	39,3	572
LJB	84,0	25	84,1	122	58,7	184	42,4	363	44,9	704
Kota	89,5	19	43,9	107	32,7	158	35,2	268	35,6	544
JB	83,3	12	35,6	71	26,7	00	32,8	184	84,7	277
LJB	100,0	7	58,3	35	35,7	90	39,6	184	42,7	297
Desa	84,4	32	47,9	189	35,1	186	43,8	343	43,2	732
JB	92,9	14	43,4	83	28,8	84	49,1	114	43,7	295
LJB	77,8	18	52,3	86	43,4	104	44,1	229	43,2	437

Note:

JB = Jawa Bali

LJB = Luar Jawa Bali

N = Jumlah PUS yang tidak pakai kontrasepsi + yang pakai, pada kelompok tersebut

% = persentase PUS yang tidak pakai kontrasepsi pada kelompok tersebut

Secara statistik dengan memakai nilai statistik rasio kecenderungan atau kesamaan (*Odd Ratio*) diperoleh $RK = 1,26$; yang mempunyai pengertian bahwa risiko PUS dengan anak minimal tiga tidak memakai kontrasepsi di wilayah LJB 1,26 kali risiko PUS di wilayah JB. Prioritas kebijakan harus diberikan kepada wilayah LJB dibandingkan dengan wilayah JB.

- 4) Jika diperhatikan perbedaan antardaerah perkotaan dan pedesaan, ternyata persentase PUS dengan anak minimal tiga yang tak-KB di pedesaan lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan di perkotaan, baik di wilayah LJB maupun di JB. Dalam kasus ini, kepada daerah pedesaan harus diberikan prioritas kebijakan dan program dibandingkan dengan perkotaan, baik di LJB maupun di JB.
- 5) Berdasarkan hasil dalam Tabel 4, kita dapat menyajikan beberapa macam grafik yang jauh lebih sederhana untuk menunjukkan perbedaan persentase PUS yang tak-pakai alat kontrasepsi antarwilayah dan/atau daerah terpilih. Sebagai ilustrasi, Tabel 5 menunjukkan "persentase PUS dengan AMH Minimal Tiga

yang Tak-pakai alat kontrasepsi menurut wilayah dan daerah berdasarkan data SAKERTI 1998".

4. Analisis tentang Faktor Risiko Tinggi

Untuk setiap indikator seratus-nol seperti yang disajikan pada Tabel 5, yang merupakan modifikasi dari *dummy variable* atau indikator satu-nol, selalu dapat disajikan atau dibentuk tabel berdimensi tiga atau empat, dengan membatasi karakteristik responden yang ditinjau. Dalam grafik tersebut secara khusus diperhatikan "PUS dengan anak minimal tiga berdasarkan data SAKERTI 1998" sehingga tabel ini dibentuk hanya dengan memakai tiga variabel, yaitu 1. status KB, 2. wilayah JB dan LJB, dan 3. daerah perkotaan/pedesaan.

Karena dukungan program siap-pakai, tabel dan grafik yang dimaksudkan dapat disajikan dengan mudah. Yang menjadi masalah adalah dalam hal memilih variabel-variabel yang relevan untuk mendukung setiap kebijakan dan program yang akan dibuat. Sebagai contoh terakhir, Tabel 2 menyajikan PUS yang tidak pakai alat kontrasepsi menurut jumlah AMH dan alasan

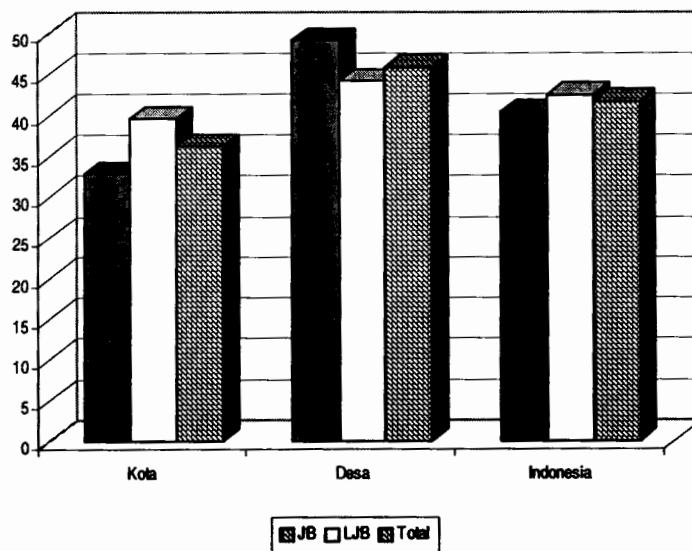
tak-KB, berdasarkan data SAKERTI 1997 & 1998.

Berdasarkan Tabel 2, dapat disajikan grafik yang sederhana untuk lebih menonjolkan permasalahan tertentu. Tabel 6 menunjukkan "persentase PUS dengan AMH minimal tiga yang tidak memakai kontrasepsi dengan alasan biaya dan ketersediaan menurut daerah, berdasarkan data SAKERTI 1997 & 1998". PUS dengan AMH minimal tiga dan tidak memakai kontrasepsi akan atau dapat dinyatakan sebagai faktor risiko tinggi.

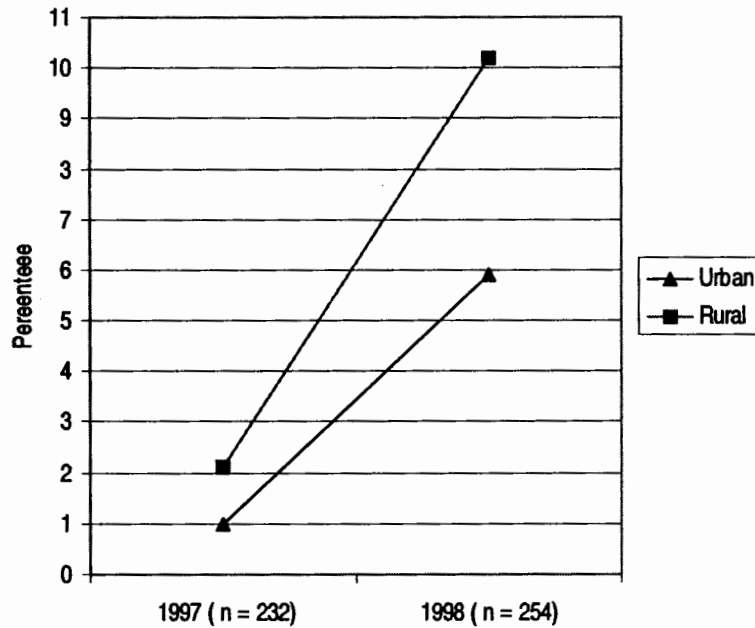
5. Analisis tentang Faktor Risiko Tertinggi

Di samping tabel-tabel yang telah dikemukakan tersebut, dapat pula diperhatikan suatu faktor risiko tertinggi atau risiko sangat tinggi berkaitan dengan status pemakaian kontrasepsi, yaitu PUS dengan AMH minimal tiga, berusia sangat reproduktif, misalnya, berusia 20-29 tahun dan tidak memakai kontrasepsi. Tabel 7 berikut ini menunjukkan persentase "PUS dengan AMH minimal tiga, berusia sangat

Tabel 5
Persentase PUS dengan AMH Minimal Tiga yang Tidak Memakai Alat Kontrasepsi menurut Wilayah dan Daerah, berdasarkan Data SAKERTI 1998



Tabel 6
Persentase PUS dengan AMH Minimal Tiga yang Tidak Memakai Alat Kontrasepsi dengan Alasan Biaya dan Ketersediaan Alat Kontrasepsi menurut Daerah berdasarkan Data SAKERTI 1997 dan 1998

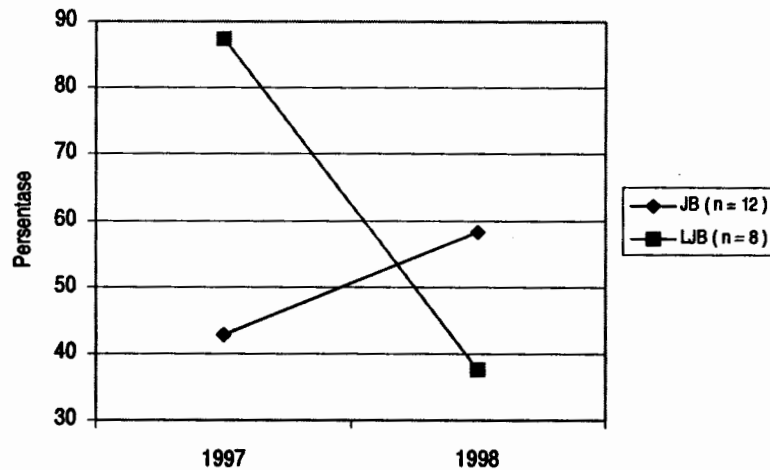


reproduktif (20-29 tahun) yang tak-pakai alat kontrasepsi dengan alasan hamil atau ingin anak lagi" berdasarkan data SAKERTI 1997 & 1998.

Hasil analisis ini menimbulkan masalah karena jumlah responden (PUS) yang mempunyai karakteristik "berusia 20-29 tahun dengan jumlah AMH minimal tiga" dapat dikatakan sangat kecil, yaitu 12 orang untuk Jawa-Bali

dan 8 orang untuk Luar Jawa-Bali. Walaupun jumlahnya sangat kecil, kelompok PUS tersebut tetap merupakan masalah yang tidak kecil berkaitan dengan program menekan pertumbuhan penduduk Indonesia secara keseluruhan. Seandainya di antara seluruh istri di Indonesia terdapat 10 juta istri yang mempunyai karakteristik seperti tersebut di atas pada tahun 1997,

Tabel 7
 Persentase PUS dengan AMH Minimal Tiga, Berusia Sangat Reproduksi (20-29 Tahun) yang Tidak Memakai Alat Kontrasepsi dengan Alasan "Hamil atau Ingin Anak Lagi" berdasarkan Data SAKERTI 1997 dan 1998



pada tahun 2000 sebagian terbesar telah menambah jumlah anak mereka, misalnya 5 juta di antaranya telah melahirkan dalam periode 1997—2000 karena mereka berusia muda dan tidak pakai kontrasepsi.

Berkaitan dengan jumlah kasus yang diobservasi sangat sedikit di antara seluruh sampel, dapat dikemukakan catatan bahwa setiap penelitian tentang peristiwa yang langka atau sangat langka, termasuk PUS berusia 20-29 tahun yang telah mempunyai anak minimal tiga dan tidak pakai alat kontrasepsi, kematian ibu,

dan kematian menurut penyakit, akan membutuhkan sampel dengan ukuran yang sangat besar agar dapat mengobservasi kasus yang cukup banyak.

Pengembangan Indikator Tunggal dan Indeks Komposit

Contoh tersebut jelas menunjukkan pentingnya memperhatikan suatu indikator tujuan atau indikator masalah, yang dalam analisis penerapan model statistik disebut variabel tak-bebas dalam menyajikan setiap tabel dan grafik. Indikator tujuan kuantitatif tersebut dapat

dikembangkan sesuai dengan minat dan bidang masing-masing peneliti. Indikator masalah yang paling sederhana adalah indikator satu-nol atau indikator seratus-nol untuk menyajikan nilai persentase seperti yang dikemukakan dalam contoh sebelumnya.

Sejak tahun 1994, LDFEUI (Lembaga Demografi Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Indonesia) bekerja sama dengan instansi lain, seperti BPS, Kantor Menteri Negara Kependudukan dan Menko Kesra, telah mengembangkan berbagai indikator tunggal kuantitatif berkaitan dengan berbagai masalah kependudukan, seperti kualitas hidup, kualitas SDM, kemiskinan, kesejahteraan keluarga, kesetaraan dan keadilan jender, dan sebagainya pada tingkat propinsi. Kemudian diperluas dengan indikator tunggal pada tingkat kabupaten, dan akhirnya dalam tahun 2000 diperhatikan indikator pada tingkat lokasi permukiman berdasarkan studi kasus di Kalimantan Timur. Pada saat ini, LDFEUI sedang mengembangkan indikator kesetaraan dan keadilan jender. Dalam bagian berikut disajikan ilustrasi pembentukan indeks kesetaraan dan keadilan jender (IKKJ) berdasarkan

pendidikan tertinggi yang ditamatkan.

Selanjutnya, berdasarkan kelompok indikator tunggal terpilih dapat dikembangkan indeks komposit dengan menerapkan analisis faktor. Pada tahun 1994, beberapa indeks komposit dikerabangkan dengan menerapkan analisis faktor, antara lain, Indeks Agung-1 (IA-1) dan Indeks Agung-2 (IA-2), yang dinyatakan sebagai substitusi Indeks Mutu Hidup (*Physical Quality of Life Index/PQLI*). Dalam hal ini indikator tunggal yang ditinjau haruslah *sederhana, dapat diukur, dan dapat diobservasi* sampai pada tingkat wilayah terkecil, dan mudah dipahami oleh orang kebanyakan. Kelompok indikator tunggal tersebut harus dipilih sedemikian rupa sehingga dapat diduga atau dihipotesiskan dan disepakati secara ilmiah dapat mengukur suatu *konsep* atau *variabel laten* (*latent variable*) yang tidak dapat diukur/diobservasi secara langsung, seperti kesejahteraan keluarga, kesenjangan sosial, dan kemiskinan. Para pembaca yang berminat dapat memakai referensi dalam daftar pustaka atau menghubungi LDFEUI.

Indikator komposit ini juga dapat ditinjau sebagai indikator masalah untuk menentukan wilayah atau kelompok masyarakat mana yang lebih menderita akibat permasalahan yang ditinjau. Kemudian, dapat ditentukan secara objektif wilayah atau kelompok masyarakat yang harus mendapat prioritas program dan kebijakan.

Indeks Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Jender (IKKJ)

Tabel 8 menunjukkan "distribusi (persentase) pendidikan penduduk berusia 10 tahun ke atas menurut pendidikan tertinggi yang ditamatkan, tipe daerah, dan jenis kelamin". Berdasarkan persentase ini dapat dihitung persentase kumulatif dan nilai IKKJ (Indeks Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Jender) yang disajikan dalam kolom terakhir. IKKJ dihitung dengan menerapkan rumus sebagai berikut.

$$IKKJ = \frac{\{P_{pr}/(100 - P_{pr})\}}{\{P_{lk}/(100 - P_{lk})\}}$$

di mana P_{pr} menyatakan persentase kumulatif perempuan, dan P_{lk} untuk laki-laki sampai dengan pendidikan tertinggi $k=2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7,$ dan $8,$ di mana untuk $k=1$ dan $k=9$ hanya dipakai persentase

tiap-tiap kategori, bukanlah persentase kumulatif.

IKKJ ini dihitung dengan menerapkan suatu statistik yang disebut rasio kesamaan (*odd ratio*) atau rasio kecenderungan, yang sangat mudah dihitung secara manual. Sebagai ilustrasi indeks ini dihitung sebagai berikut.

1) Untuk kategori $k=1$ (tidak/belum pernah sekolah) di perkotaan $IKKJ = 3,10 = \{7,54/(100-7,54)\} / \{2,56/(100-2,56)\}$. Nilai ini mempunyai pengertian:

"Khusus untuk daerah perkotaan, risiko perempuan berusia 10 tahun ke atas tidak sekolah 3,10 kali risiko laki-laki".

2) Khusus di pedesaan, $IKKJ = 1,51 = \{83,25/(100-83,25)\} / \{76,65/(100-76,65)\}$ untuk $k=3,$ akan menyatakan: "di pedesaan, risiko penduduk perempuan yang berusia 10 tahun ke atas berpendidikan paling tinggi tamat SD/MI 1,51 kali risiko laki-laki".

3) $IKKJ = 0,55 = \{2,37/(100-2,37)\} / \{4,23/(100-4,23)\}$ untuk $k=9$ di perkotaan akan menyatakan: "Di perkotaan, peluang (kemungkinan) penduduk perempuan yang berusia 10 tahun ke atas paling tinggi

Tabel 8
 Beberapa Statistik Penduduk 10 Tahun ke Atas
 menurut Pendidikan Tertinggi yang Ditamatkan, Tipe Daerah, dan
 Jenis Kelamin, Susenas 1999

k	Pendidikan Tertinggi Yang Ditamatkan	Perkotaan				IKKJ
		Persen		Persen Kumulatif		≤k
		L	P	L	P	P/L
1	Belum pernah sekolah (*)	2,50	7,64			3,10
2	Tidak/belum tamat SD	16,57	18,85	19,13	25,89	1,46
3	SD/MI	25,65	28,15	44,78	54,04	1,45
4	SLTP/MTs	19,71	19,01	64,49	73,85	1,49
5	SMU Umum	20,50	16,08	84,99	89,13	1,45
6	SMU Kejuruan	7,64	5,85	92,83	94,93	1,46
7	Dipl.I/II	0,76	0,96	63,59	95,93	1,61
8	Akademi/Dipl.III	2,18	1,70	95,75	97,63	1,63
9	Universitas (*)	4,29	2,37			0,55

(*) IKKJ dihitung khusus berdasarkan "persen"

k	Pendidikan Tertinggi yang Ditamatkan	Pedesaan				IKKJ
		Persen		Persen Kumulatif		≤k
		L	P	L	P	P/L
1	Belum pernah sekolah(*)	8,23	17,59			2,38
2	Tidak/belum tamat SD	30,75	30,65	38,98	48,44	1,47
3	SD/MI	37,67	34,81	76,65	83,25	1,51
4	SLTP/MTs	12,81	10,00	89,46	93,34	1,65
5	SMU Umum	6,14	3,96	95,68	97,36	1,68
6	SMU Kejuruan	3,01	1,87	98,61	99,17	1,68
7	Dipl.I/II	0,39	0,36	99,00	99,50	2,01
8	Akademi/Dipl.III	0,36	0,21	99,36	99,71	2,21
9	Universitas (*)	0,64	0,29			0,45

(*) IKKJ dihitung khusus berdasarkan "persen"

k	Pendidikan Tertinggi Yang Ditamatkan	Perkotaan+Pedesaan				IKKJ
		Persen		Persen Kumulatif		≤k
		L	P	L	P	P/L
1	Belum pernah sekolah(*)	5,97	13,55			2,48
2	Tidak/belum tamat SD	25,10	25,61	31,07	39,84	1,44
3	SD/MI	32,98	32,12	69,85	71,48	1,41
4	SLTP/MTs	15,55	13,69	79,51	85,15	1,48
5	SMU Umum	11,87	8,85	91,38	84,08	1,48
6	SMU Kejuruan	4,84	3,48	98,32	97,48	1,48
7	Dipl.I/II	0,64	0,55	98,98	98,08	1,64
8	Akademi/Dipl.III	1,08	0,81	97,84	98,87	1,84
9	Universitas (*)	2,07	1,14			0,55

(*) IKKJ dihitung khusus berdasarkan "persen"

menyelesaikan PT (universitas) 0,55 kali risiko laki-laki".

Perhatikanlah istilah "risiko" akan dipakai jika status yang ditinjau bersifat negatif (seperti tingkat pendidikan yang rendah, sakit, atau gagal) dan istilah "peluang" dipakai jika status yang ditinjau bersifat positif (seperti tingkat pendidikan tinggi, sehat, atau berhasil/sukses).

Ketiga ilustrasi ini dan hasil dalam Tabel 8 menunjukkan bahwa tingkat pendidikan perempuan lebih rendah daripada laki-laki, baik di perkotaan maupun di pedesaan. Selanjutnya,

Tabel 9 menunjukkan grafik indeks kesetaraan atau kesenjangan jender (IKKJ-Pendidikan) menurut tipe daerah. Indeks semacam ini dengan mudah dapat dihitung menurut wilayah (propinsi, kabupaten, kecamatan, atau wilayah permukiman penduduk) berdasarkan berbagai indikator lain, di samping tingkat pendidikan, misalnya, indikator kesehatan dan aktivitas ekonomi.

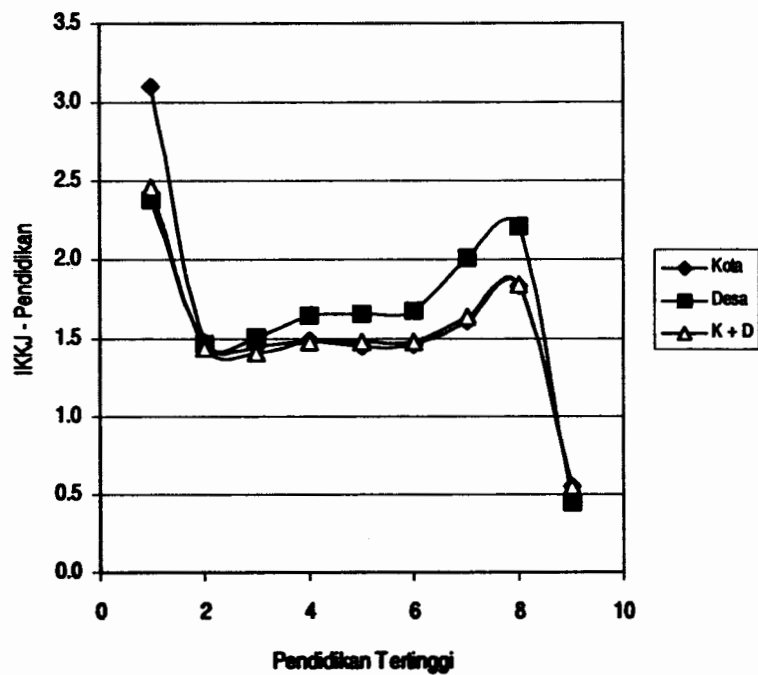
Selanjutnya, besarnya indeks yang diperoleh dapat dipakai untuk menentukan, secara objektif, wilayah mana harus diberikan prioritas dalam

program pemberdayaan perempuan. Grafik berikut ini menunjukkan IKKJ-Pendidikan menurut tipe daerah berdasarkan hasil dalam Tabel 8. Secara khusus grafik ini menunjukkan nilai atau grafik di atas JKKJ=1 untuk tingkat pendidikan akademi/ diploma III ke bawah, dan nilai atau tiga titik di bawah JKKJ=1 untuk tingkat pendidikan PT/ universitas menurut tipe daerah (kota, desa, dan kota+desa).

Subjektivitas Suatu Keputusan

Rangkuman statistik deskriptif sangat bermanfaat sebagai masukan bagi pengambil keputusan. Akan tetapi, setiap keputusan selalu tergantung pada *subjektivitas* para penentu atau para penguasa. Suatu keputusan dapat merupakan suatu keputusan demokratis sampai dengan keputusan otoriter atau diktator.

Tabel 9
IKKJ - Pendidikan berdasarkan Data Susenas 1999



Secara statistika, analisis data yang dilakukan untuk mendukung suatu keputusan sepatutnya berkaitan erat dengan pendapat atau kesepakatan ilmiah (*experts' judgment*). Tukey (1962, dalam Gifi, 1990: 23) mengemukakan sekurang-kurangnya tiga bentuk pendapat ilmiah yang pada umumnya dipakai untuk mendukung setiap suatu keputusan atau kebijakan dan program. Tukey mengemukakan catatan sebagai berikut.

- 1) Pendapat ilmiah berdasarkan pengetahuan dan pengalaman tentang bidang-bidang khusus yang berkaitan dengan pokok permasalahan yang ditinjau.
- 2) Pendapat ilmiah berdasarkan pengetahuan dan pengalaman tentang penerapan *metode analisis data* dalam berbagai bidang.
- 3) Pendapat ilmiah berdasarkan hasil-hasil yang abstrak tentang sifat-sifat metode analisis tertentu, apakah diperoleh berdasarkan pembuktian matematis atau secara empiris berdasarkan sampel.

Keputusan dan Peluang

Pada umumnya setiap keputusan yang diambil mempunyai tujuan untuk menyelesaikan suatu permasalahan tertentu.

Oleh karena itu, setiap keputusan dengan seodirinya akan berkaitan dengan suatu kebijakan atau program tertentu.

Jika kita berbicara tentang kebijakan dan program, para pembuat kebijakan seharusnya juga menyajikan beberapa alternatif yang akan dipilih dengan menerapkan suatu analisis yang disebut risiko-manfaat (*cost-benefit analysis*). Selanjutnya, harus juga memperhitungkan "peluang" keberhasilan atau kegagalan tiap-tiap kebijakan/program alternatif. Akhirnya, dengan dukungan kesepakatan ilmiah, dapat diharapkan akan diperoleh suatu keputusan yang "terbaik". Turbin & Meredith (1991) mengemukakan tiga bentuk keputusan (*decision*) berdasarkan teori probabilitas seperti di bawah ini.

(1) Keputusan dengan kepastian

Dalam keadaan atau kasus seperti ini setiap keputusan yang diambil telah dapat diduga apa yang pasti akan terjadi. Sebagai contoh, seorang ibu yang melakukan operasi sterilisasi pasti tidak akan hamil.

(2) Keputusan dengan risiko

Dalam kasus ini probabilitas atau peluang keberhasilan suatu program selalu lebih besar daripada nol dan lebih

kecil daripada satu. Berkaitan dengan peluang ini kita perlu membedakan antara *peluang objektif* dan *peluang subjektif*. Peluang objektif besarnya dapat dihitung berdasarkan teori probabilitas, di pihak lain peluang subjektif dengan besaran tertentu ditentukan atas dasar subjektivitas dari para pengambil keputusan dan/atau yang terlibat dalam pengambilan keputusan tersebut.

Sebagai contoh, dengan menggulingkan sebuah dadu (yang tidak cacat) maka peluang munculnya sebuah angka dapat dihitung secara matematis, dengan hasil = $1/6$. Di pihak lain keberhasilan suatu program pada umumnya tidak dapat dihitung secara matematis sehingga harus diterima pemakaian peluang subjektif. Berkaitan dengan peluang subjektif, maka secara teoretis pendapat atau kesepakatan ilmiah seharusnya menjadi faktor penentu. Akan tetapi, dalam praktek keputusan dapat ditentukan oleh berbagai faktor lain, seperti suara terbanyak (keputusan demokratis) dan kekuasaan (keputusan diktator – individu atau kelompok individu).

(3) Keputusan tanpa kepastian

Dalam kasus seperti ini, pembuat keputusan (*decision maker*) menyadari akibat atau dampak tiap-tiap alternatif keputusan yang akan diambil, tetapi dia (mereka) tidak dapat memperkirakan dengan meyakinkan tentang besarnya tiap-tiap peluang yang mungkin terjadi sebagai akibat atau dampak keputusan tersebut. Dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, keputusan semacam ini kerap kali tidak dapat dihindari.

Risiko dan Manfaat

Secara umum dapat dikemukakan bahwa setiap kebijakan dan program akan berkaitan dengan biaya dan manfaatnya. Oleh karena itu, biaya (*cost*), demikian juga manfaat, suatu kebijakan/program tidak selalu dapat dinyatakan dalam bentuk uang, maka dipakai istilah *risiko-manfaat* (Schmid, 1993: 55). Sebagai contoh, marilah dipikirkan risiko dan manfaat bagi bangsa Indonesia dengan keadaan alat kontrasepsi dapat diperoleh secara mudah, banyaknya wisatawan asing, globalisasi, program mobil nasional, monumen jam kependudukan di Yogyakarta,

penggantian dua menteri terakhir, dan sebagainya.

Selanjutnya, jika membahas risiko dan manfaat suatu aktivitas pembangunan, akan timbul pertanyaan siapa saja yang memperoleh manfaat (dampak positif) dari suatu kebijakan atau program; dan siapa yang menanggung risiko (dampak negatif) dari kebijakan tersebut. Sebagai contoh, pengrusakan yang terjadi akibat pembangunan jalan dan jembatan di DKI Jakarta.

Sesuai dengan keterangan di atas, juga dapat dinyatakan bahwa analisis biaya-manfaat merupakan bagian (komponen) atau pendukung yang sangat penting dari setiap keputusan atau setiap penilaian kebijakan/program. Pernyataan ini didasarkan atas pemikiran yang sangat sederhana yaitu dalam setiap analisis data perlu dikemukakan manfaat analisis data tersebut, di samping biayanya.

Walaupun metode analisis statistik telah baku, hasil analisis statistik tetap mempunyai risiko salah atau tidak rasional, antara lain, karena faktor-faktor di bawah ini.

1) Kesalahan data. Kesalahan data dapat bersumber pada, pertama, petugas, terutama petugas pengumpulan data.

Beberapa kasus menunjukkan bahwa ada petugas pengumpul data melakukan cara-cara yang tidak terpuji, antara lain, mengisi kuesioner sendiri tanpa mengunjungi responden. Kedua, objek atau responden penelitian. Ketiga, definisi operasional konsep atau variabel yang diobservasi atau diukur.

2) Pemakaian data sampel untuk membuat generalisasi. Agung (1992 dan 2000) telah membahas pengertian sampel representatif dan herhagai permasalahan berkaitan dengan generalisasi dan pengujian hipotesis berdasarkan data sampel. Selanjutnya, Agung (2000) menyajikan ilustrasi beberapa ruang sampel dan mengambil kesimpulan bahwa sampel merupakan himpunan individu yang *kehetulun terpilih* dengan jumlah yang sangat kecil dan bagaimana cara memilih sampel. Sebagai contoh, banyaknya sampel berukuran $n=5$ yang mungkin dapat dipilih dari sebuah populasi berukuran $N=100$ adalah 75; 287; 520; dan sampel yang terpilih adalah satu di antaranya. Di pihak lain, Agung juga mengemukakan

bahwa istilah sampel representatif masih dipakai dan dipahami secara salah atau kurang tepat. Sebagai ilustrasi yang sederhana, cobalah diperhatikan sepuluh teman dekat sebagai populasi. Andaikan akan memilih lima orang (atau 50%) di antaranya, apakah benar bahwa kelima orang yang *kebetulan terpilih* tersebut dapat mewakili atau menggambarkan secara tepat dari sepuluh teman dekat yang ditinjau dalam berbagai aspek.

- 3) Kesimpulan salah berdasarkan nilai statistik yang benar. Dengan asumsi data yang dipakai benar dan dapat dipercaya, maka semua nilai statistik yang dihitung atau diturunkan dari data tersebut mempunyai kebenaran mutlak hanya untuk kelompok individu di dalam sampel terpilih (Agung, 1992). Akan tetapi nilai statistik yang benar, secara statistik, tersebut adakalanya tidak dapat dipakai untuk membuat kesimpulan. Sebagai contoh, nilai rata-rata kadar pencemaran sungai yang dihitung berdasarkan 10 kali pengukuran, misalnya pada siang dan malam hari, menunjukkan bahwa kadar pencemaran

berada di bawah ambang batas. Kemudian, diambil kesimpulan bahwa sungai tersebut tidak tercemar. Dalam kasus ini dapat terjadi setiap malam kadar pencemaran melampaui ambang batas. Contoh lainnya, berdasarkan rata-rata nilai statistik siswa di kelas A dan B yang sama besarnya diambil kesimpulan bahwa kualitas siswa di kedua kelas tersebut sama.

- 4) Lebih meogutamakan nilai statistik dibandingkan dengan substansi. Di sini, kasus yang akan dikemukakan adalah mengambil kesimpulan bahwa dua variabel berasosiasi atau berkorelasi didasarkan atas besarnya koefisien asosiasi atau koefisien korelasi kedua variabel tersebut. Kadangkadang dilengkapi dengan hasil pengujian yang menunjukkan bahwa kedua variabel tersebut mempunyai korelasi yang signifikan, dan telah dihitung dengan memakai komputer. Agung (1994 dan 2000) secara tegas menyatakan bahwa asosiasi atau korelasi antarvariabel ditentukan berdasarkan teori dan substansi, bukan berdasarkan nilai-nilai statistik.

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