Abstract

The presence of the industrial estates and future development projects located in Karawang, West Java, Indonesia has had a deep impact on the local population. Those more educated or with previous work experience suited for industrial work have been able to benefit through employment in the industrial estates. Conversely, a large number of the local population residing in small predominantly agricultural based rural villages have not benefited in the same way. There has also been an influx of migrant workers to the area seeking work in the industrial estates. The presence of these migrant workers has created employment opportunities for the rural population through the establishment of small businesses such as warung (food and goods stalls), kost (room rentals) or by operating ojek (motor bike taxis). The rural population has also been affected by the social interactions with migrant workers.

This thesis examines the impacts and implications of migrant workers on Karawang by examining the spatial, social and financial interactions between migrant workers and the local rural population. My research intends to find answers to how have the migrant workers have had an impact on the local rural population in Karawang and their villages, and what sorts of transformations have occurred in Karawang as a result of the industrial developments. This thesis explores how the presence of these migrant workers is changing the livelihood patterns and lifestyles of the local rural population in enabling their agrarian transition.
Table of Contents

Abstract..................................................................................................................................... ii

Table of Contents .................................................................................................................... iii

List of Tables .............................................................................................................................v

List of Figures .......................................................................................................................... vi

Glossary .................................................................................................................................. vii

Acknowledgements ................................................................................................................. ix

1. Introduction ...........................................................................................................................1

   1.1 Objectives .........................................................................................................................6

   1.2 Theoretical framework .....................................................................................................6

2. Research and Methodology .................................................................................................12

   2.1 Conditions and Constraints of Research in Indonesia ....................................................12

   2.2 Methodology ...................................................................................................................14

   2.3 Limitations ..................................................................................................................... 16

3. Karawang .............................................................................................................................19

   3.1 Jakarta .............................................................................................................................23

4. Karawang Transformed .......................................................................................................27

5. Impacts of the Migrant Workers on Karawang .................................................................43

   5.1 Spatial Implications ........................................................................................................44

      a) Mobility .........................................................................................................................45

      b) Infrastructure .................................................................................................................48

   5.2 Social Interactions ..........................................................................................................54

      a) Residency Status ............................................................................................................55

      b) Gender ...........................................................................................................................58

      c) Social and Cultural Differences ....................................................................................62
5.3 Financial Effects ..................................................................................................................64
  a) Labour Opportunities .......................................................................................................65
  b) Inequality ..........................................................................................................................67
5.4 Role of the Government .....................................................................................................69
6. Conclusion ..........................................................................................................................71
Bibliography ............................................................................................................................77
Appendix 1 ...............................................................................................................................83
List of Tables

Table 3.1 Urban centres with more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1980, and rate of growth, 1920-1980 ................................................................. 25
List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Jakarta skyline ............................................................... 2
Figure 1.2 Rice fields in Karawang .................................................. 4
Figure 1.3 Margakaya Village .......................................................... 5
Figure 3.1 Map of the District of Karawang ........................................ 20
Figure 3.2 The Jakarta Metropolitan Area ........................................ 24
Figure 3.3 The Jabodetabek-Cirangkarta in West Java ....................... 27
Figure 3.4 The Jabodetabek-Cirangkarta in Banten ......................... 28
Figure 4.1 Map of the District of Karawang ..................................... 32
Figure 4.2 Map of Telukjambe Barat (green) and Telukjambe Timur (purple) ......................... 32
Figure 4.3 Framework of Indonesian Government (Law no. 22/1999) ............................... 35
Figure 4.4 Structure of Indonesian Government (Law no. 22/1999) ........ 36
Figure 4.5 Map of Indonesia with origins of migrant workers ............ 40
Figure 5.1 KIIC Industrial Estate, Karawang .................................... 47
Figure 5.2 Margakaya Village (2) ..................................................... 48
Figure 5.3 Downtown Karawang ..................................................... 48
Figure 5.4 Kost in Margakaya ......................................................... 51
Figure 5.5 Kost in Margakaya (2) ...................................................... 52
Figure 5.6 Kost in Wadas .............................................................. 52
Figure 5.7 Warung in Wadas .......................................................... 53
Figure 5.8 Warung along the river in Wadas .................................... 54
Glossary

Amdal - the Analysis Concerning Environmental Impacts

Angkat - type of mini bus

Bahasa Indonesia – Indonesian language

Bahasa Jawa – Javanese language

Bahasa Sunda – Sundanese language

Bandara-bandara – Javanese royal family lineage

Bule – foreigner/Caucasian

DAU (Dana Alokasi Umum) - General Allocation Fund

Desa – village

Dinas Tenaga Kerja - Manpower Service

DKI Jakarta - Jakarta Special Capital Region

DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah) – elected regional councils

EDTE (Entrepot Produksi Tujuan Ekspor) - export processing zone

Gotongroyong - mutual assistance

ibu kost – house mother, head of kost (lodging house)

Indomie - instant noodles

Jabotabek - JA-karta, BO-gor, TA-ngerang, and BEK-asi

Jumatan - on Fridays, Muslim men must perform the weekly congregational prayer called the Jumu’ah Prayer

Kabupaten – district

Kabupaten Karawang – District of Karawang

Kampung – village, urban village

Kecamatan – sub-district
Kegotongroyongan - performing mutual assistance

KKN (korupsi, kolusi, nepotisme) - corruption, collusion and nepotism

Kost – lodging house, room rental

Kota – city

Lebaran - Ramadan

Mandi - similar to a bathtub, but you do not go into it, you ladle water onto yourself from the tub

Malu – shame, embarrassment

Ojek – motor bike taxi

Orde Baru – New Order

Paddy mow Jawa Barat - rice bowl of West Java

Priyayi – Javanese government workers or learnt persons

Propinsi – province

SD - primary school education

Sendiri – alone, by oneself

SMA/SMU - senior high school

SMK - trade school

SMP - junior high school

STM - technical college

Warung – goods or food stall

Wong cilik - literally small people, common people

UUD (Udang-Udang Dasar [hukum dasar tertulis]) - basic law
Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Universitas Indonesia (UI) in guiding and supporting my research efforts, and for assistance and use of their channels of communication to reach my target audience. I had the privilege of working with Professor Gunawan Tjahjono from the Department of Architecture and Professor Iwan Tjitradjaja of the Department of Anthropology, both from UI, because of the relationship between my thesis supervisor Professor Michael Leaf and Professor Abidin Kisno who are highly respected researchers and scholars in Indonesia. UI is the oldest and the most prestigious higher-learning educational institution in Indonesia. UI has two campuses including the main one in Depok, located in a suburb south of Jakarta in West Java province, and a smaller one in Salemba in Central Jakarta. My association with such a well-respected institution was particularly beneficial because the University of British Columbia is not well known in Indonesia.

I am indebted to my research assistants and interpreters, Ms. Ayu Putri Dewanti and Mr. Irfan Nugraha whom had been recommended by Professor Iwan. Both were from the Department of Anthropology at UI, and had previously conducted field research in Karawang under the guidance of Professor Iwan. Ayu and Irfan provided knowledge of the region in addition to many contacts in the community, all invaluable to the conduct of my research. I also wish to recognize that Mr. Jumadi, a local government official, who provided much insight and support with his interest in my work. In addition to his professional guidance I feel that I now have an Indonesian family in Karawang.

I am grateful to the Challenges of the Agrarian Transition in Southeast Asia for their institutional support to carry out my field research in Indonesia. I would also like to acknowledge my supervisor Professor Michael Leaf and the Brahm Wiesman Memorial Scholarship for assisting me in my pursuit in studying Indonesian.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge my family who offered me support and unconditional love throughout the course of my studies and this thesis.
1. Introduction

My time spent in Indonesia to pursue my field research in Karawang, West Java began at the Soekarno-Hatta International Airport in Jakarta. Upon disembarking the plane I walked along the hallway with a large group of people towards the immigration counters. One gets a real sense of Indonesia just by walking through the airport by the immediate exposure to the people, the signs, the smells, the sights, etc. Once through immigration and moving to the baggage carousel, the real Indonesia continues to appear ever so slightly and then increasingly so. I retrieved my luggage and continued to move along to the exit where you are bombarded by people soliciting you to stay in their hotel, riding their taxi or ask you “are you Mr./Ms. so and so?” I chose a ‘Bluebird’ taxi driver – known for being the most reliable and safest cab service as long as you know the going fares to Jakarta. Upon exiting the airport, one is struck by an incredible heat wave. As I walk towards the taxi and I look around, I know that I’m back in Indonesia!

The airport grounds are well kept and give the feeling that you’re going to a resort in the tropics. The road from the airport exits onto a toll highway which takes you south into the city. Groggy from my long, 18+ hour flight I try to take in as much of the scenery as I can. As you leave the airport and drive along the highway you begin to see more of the ‘real’ Indonesia with the squatter settlements lining the road and under the bridges in vacant fields. As you keep driving, the scenery and built environment becomes more urban. Buildings and houses are lined as far as the eye can see, showing both rich and poor settlements; New Town (gated or private communities) developments and squatters. There are super malls, hotels, office towers, government buildings, school, and so forth. My taxi continues to go south into Jakarta Pusat, Central Jakarta. I stayed in a hotel in Jakarta for a couple of days to get settled and find somewhere more permanent to live.

Jakarta at times has a split personality. It is the city of monuments and the city of kampung (urban villages) with small unmarked roads winding behind the grand structures that line the main roads. “Once we pass through the typical highrise edge buildings which flank major streets of [Jakarta], we enter another world... the narrow alleyways framed by
tiny buildings” (Radovic, 2008). Within a five-ten minute walk from my hotel there are road side stalls and small restaurants with men preparing satay on the sidewalk. There is a Starbucks with men and women (both local and foreign) in business suits and fancy clothes with laptops. There are several shopping centres, both for the average Indonesian and the elite. “There is a very wealthy class here and it is growing, but so is the gap between rich and poor. While the top 2% are swanning around the brand name stores, more than half the country’s workforce earn hardly enough to feed themselves” (Bolderson, 2009).

**Figure 1.1 Jakarta Skyline**

![Jakarta Skyline](http://wikitravel.org/en/Jakarta)

Jakarta was both a stimulus overload and a place of refuge for me. There is a saying in Jakarta, “No traffic, no Jakarta.” The traffic and the sheer number of people living and working in the nation’s capital are incredible and can be overwhelming. The heat and lack of wind keep people inside or immobile in the shade. As a young Caucasian female, the attention one gets can be quite intense. These things and more make Jakarta a very stimulating place for your senses and emotions. Yet, Jakarta was the only place in my vicinity I could escape from it all. In the high-end malls and restaurants I could feel like I was anywhere in the world, the air was cool and cleaner, it is not as crowded, there is a mix of ethnicities and nationalities and I could find comfort foods not found in local places.
Karawang is located approximately 70 kilometres from Jakarta and is accessed by taking the toll road from Jakarta east towards Bekasi—a suburb east/southeast of the city, it is part of the Jakarta Metropolitan Area and is located in West Java province. The road from Jakarta to Karawang takes you through the city, into the suburbs and then through land quilted with farms and fallow land, industrial estates, New Town developments, cemeteries and service stations with restaurants and mosques along the highway. As you drive along the highway you get a sense that you are moving further and further away from the urban metropolis towards a more rural and local Indonesia. There are two exits from the toll road for Karawang; Karawang Barat (west) and Karawang Timur (east). The industrial estates and the villages (Margakaya and Wadas) where I conducted the majority of my field work are located in the western part of Karawang.

Once you exit the highway, the scenery changes again. The roads are less maintained and littered with giant potholes without shoulders or paved sidewalks. Rice paddy fields line both sides of the road behind local restaurants and other establishments. To reach the village of Margakaya, one enters through a new paved road clearly separated and wrapped around the outside the community which leads to a golf course. Wadas village is near the river and close to the town center. It is accessed by a small road off the highway that follows the water. The villages have no paved roads or pathways. The paths are too narrow for cars or even motor bikes, which must be pushed along the winding paths to move throughout the village. The villages back onto a river, which is their main source of water. There are chickens and sheep wandering throughout the village and children running around, yet the village remains fairly quiet. Most of the residents take part in some form of farming, and many have jobs outside of the village. The majority of the population is generally poor. Many of the houses have been passed down from one generation to the next. Some new houses have been built by those who have achieved some level of success. Many of the residents do not own a car or motor bike. Instead they use local transportation services such as ojek (motor bike taxi) or angkat (type of mini bus) when they need to leave the village. Televisions are found in most homes and act as a link to the outside world. Villagers seldom go outside of Karawang. Unlike Jakarta with its mix of local establishments and fancy foreign fare like sushi or French restaurants, these villages have a few small warung (goods and food stalls) attached
to homes. Larger self sustaining units can be found along the river. The town center of Karawang is more urbanized with shopping centers, businesses, restaurants, government buildings, and so forth. Karawang remains more localized and less influenced by companies and branded goods found in large urban centers of Indonesia.

Figure 1.2 Rice Fields in Karawang

Source: Ayu Putri Dewanti
Nevertheless, urbanization and commercialization are taking place in Karawang including the presence of Pizza Hut and KFC outlets. An increasing number of residents own cell phones and more people are engaging in non-agricultural types of employment. To an outsider (myself as a Canadian and my research assistants as urban Indonesians) Karawang still appears very rural. One cannot ignore the changes that are shaping the region and how those are affecting Karawang and its residents. Urbanization, no matter how small, represents a shift in Indonesia from a predominately agricultural and rural based society and economy to a more industrialized, commercialized and urbanized one. The agrarian transition represents one of the most dramatic shifts in the last three decades in Indonesia.

My research will contribute to a greater understanding of the agrarian transition by examining the livelihood changes and social inequalities being created through migration and population dynamics in Karawang. Many studies looking at the transformation of rural livelihoods from mostly agricultural based to more diverse income generating strategies focus on the industrialization and the urbanization of the area. My interest lies in
investigating how migrant workers in the industrial estates are affecting and changing the livelihood strategies of the rural population in Karawang.

1.1 Objectives

The presence of the industrial estates and future development projects located in Karawang has had a deep impact on the local population. Those more educated or with previous work experience suited for industrial work have been able to benefit through employment in the industrial estates. Conversely, a large number of the local population residing in small predominantly agricultural based rural villages have not benefited in the same way. However, the influx of migrant workers to the area has created opportunities for the rural population through the establishment of small businesses such as warung (food and goods stalls), kost (room rentals) or by operating ojek (motor bike taxis). The rural population has also been affected by the social interactions with migrant workers. Therefore, I am primarily interested in the young, single migrants employed in the formal sector in the industrial estates and their interactions with the local rural population.

The objective of my master’s thesis is to study the impacts of the migrant workers on Karawang. My research will examine the spatial, social and financial interactions between migrant workers and the local rural population. More specifically I will focus my research on the areas where migrants live, work and interact with locals. I will explore how the presence of these migrant workers is changing the livelihood patterns and lifestyles of the local rural population in enabling their agrarian transition.

1.2 Theoretical framework

I am interested in finding answers to the following questions: How have the migrant workers had an impact on the local rural population in Karawang and their villages? And what type of impacts have they had? Lastly, what sorts of transformations have occurred in
Karawang as a result of the industrial developments? To gain a better understanding of these issues and how Karawang relates to other places, I am interested in how others have tried to answer similar questions regarding agrarian transition and labour migration. If for instance what is being said in the literature is not present in my field site, I want to try to understand why.

While the migrants were not the catalysts for the transformation of Karawang and the process of agrarian transition the district is currently undergoing, they have been a factor in the evolution of Karawang. Generally, literature on agrarian transition looks at what is happening in the rural areas and then in the urban areas, how they are affected by each other and how they are linked. In *Southeast Asia “Rural-Urban Interactions,”* Jonathan Rigg is interested in what effect the loss of labour due to sending members to work in industry have had on agricultural methods of productions. He also looks at how the character of the city and its activities has been changing with the influx of migrant workers arriving from the rural areas. He sees the two places, and the ‘in between bits,’ being influenced by the evolving ties between the rural and urban and how this is also linked to the future of both the agricultural and industrial sectors (Rigg, 2003). What is interesting about Karawang is that both of these phenomena are happening at the same time in the same place. Rather than leave their rural homes to find work in the industrial sectors, the industries have moved into the rural, agricultural areas. Yet at the same time there is an influx of migrant workers arriving from other parts of the province and country. This means that livelihoods and demographics of Karawang are being affected by the changes, not only by industrialization, but by the increase in a more diverse population – namely the migrant workers.

The agrarian transition represents one of the most profound processes of social change in the world in the last three centuries. In wealthier, more developed countries this transformation is largely complete, but in more developing societies this process is still underway. Classic understandings of the agrarian transition draw mostly from examples and approaches from a European and Western context; this leaves many questions and gaps when applied to contemporary situations in the developing world. ChATSEA (Challenges of the Agrarian Transition in Southeast Asia) defines the transition “as the transformation of
societies from primarily non-urban populations dependent upon agricultural production and organized through rural social structures, to predominantly urbanized, industrialized and market-based societies” (ChATSEA, 2009). ChATSEA has also identified four conceptual ‘windows’ to update our understanding of the transition. They are: “an intensifying process of globalisation through which social processes are integrated across global space; a more complex allocation of resources in the form of livelihoods as issues of sustainability and equity are acknowledged; a reworking of spatiality, as processes of change are understood to be geographically uneven, and accepted spatial categories are reformulated; and, a recognition of the diverse array of institutions and actors that drive social change, as well as the importance of how such actors are subjects with complex and changing identities” (ChATSEA).

Spatially speaking the more rural location of Karawang coincides with what Tommy Firman argued in “Urban development in Indonesia, 1990–2001: from the boom to the early reform era through the crisis,” that Indonesian cities were shifting from functioning as manufacturing centres to finance and service sectors, while the manufacturing industrial activities were moved to the outskirts and countryside (Firman, 2002). In “Rural to urban land conversion in Indonesia during boom and bust periods,” Firman describes the rapid transformation of fringe areas, originally dominated by agricultural uses, into residential subdivisions and industrial estates (Firman, 2000). Karawang is indeed experiencing this land conversion, and as Firman indicates, is located on the fringe of the Jakarta Metropolitan Area.

The locals in areas undergoing transformation are, according to Rigg in “Land, Farming, Livelihoods, and Poverty: Rethinking the Links in the Rural South,” becoming increasingly divorced from farming and therefore the land. Rigg states that patterns of wealth and poverty in these situations become more diffuse and diverse as non-farm opportunities have expanded the mobility of people (Rigg, 2006). Marc Askew, in “The cultural factor in rural-urban fringe transformation: land livelihood and inheritance in western Nonthaburi,” conversely argued that well before industrial development moved into the area, the locals were already diversifying their livelihood strategies to respond to changing market demands.
from the city (Askew, 2000). Due to Karawang’s agricultural status, before the industrial developments locals were primarily engaged in farming and land based activities for their livelihoods. While some locals participated in more diverse strategies, it was not until the development of the industrial estates that a larger proportion of the population engaged in more non-agricultural based livelihood strategies. Similar to the case described by Rigg, social inequality has also increased after the developments. However, many of the locals have not experienced an increase in mobility due to their new employment.

The majority of the studies focusing on internal labour migration follow the movements of migrants from more rural areas to the cities and periurban areas. In *Thai Women in the Global Labour Force*, Mary Beth Mills examines the Thai experience of rural-urban labour mobility, especially the movement of young women. Mills found that “in the course of moving between village and city, migrants must negotiate not only shifts in space but also shifting identities and social relations” (Mills, 1999). According to Yaohui Zhou in “Leaving the Countryside: Rural-to-Urban Migration Decisions in China” (Zhou, 1999), the migrations of rural labour to urban areas in China from the mid 1980s to the late 1990s has created the largest flow in world history. Tim Bunnell and Eric C. Thompson both have studied the rural to urban migration of Malays in Malaysia and the social repercussions in both the cities and the *kampung* (villages) (Bunnell, 2002, Thompson, 2004). As I mentioned earlier, Karawang is unique because the migrant workers are moving to a rural area for employment opportunities, rather than to urban centres as these studies suggest.

On the surface migration from rural areas to urban and periurban centers appears to be based on economic factors. The pull of the modern city is often a reason for many of the younger migrants’ decision to move as well. Mills discusses the glamorization of urban life and livelihood in Bangkok as a pull factor for many of the rural female migrants (Mills, 1999). Rigg in “Land, Farming, Livelihoods, and Poverty: Rethinking the Links in the Rural South” discusses the wider social and cultural modifications in the rural areas as a result of ‘social remittances’ from those who have migrated to more urban areas (Rigg, 2005). For many of the younger rural generation they want to build futures that avoid farming. The cosmopolitan draw for many younger migrants is an important driving force in migration. In her master’s thesis “Social Relationships of Migrants Living in Dormitories in the Process of
Urbanization: A Focus on Binh Tri Dong, Vietnam”, Thien Phan emphasizes the modern factors and the urban appeal are strongly influencing people’s decisions to move (Phan, 2007). This was not the case in Karawang, every migrant interviewed moved specifically for work related reasons. For many of the locals, they would like their children’s future to be less rooted in agricultural work.

Studies of labour migration often focus on migration as a response to rural poverty or as directed by economic decisions of the larger household (Mills, 1999). These issues did play a role in the decisions made by the migrants I interviewed regarding their move to Karawang. Additionally the ongoing agrarian transition (Rigg, 2006) taking place in Indonesia and the increased level of education attained by part of the population has been affecting labour migration patterns, especially among the younger generation. “’Labour mobility’ refers to the freedom of workers to practice their occupation wherever opportunities exist” (Human Resources Department of Canada). The migrants I spoke with had the education levels and the skills necessary to work in the industrial estates. Those skills and attributes have enabled migrants to relocate and improve their economic situation. Development in Indonesia varies substantially in growth rate and in sector specialization between different regions thus requiring flexibility in labour migration profiles to accommodate the needs of respective developing areas. In accordance with UUD (Udang-Udang Dasar [hokum dasar tertulis] basic law), article 27, all Indonesians have the right to work anywhere in Indonesia. Therefore, migrant workers relocating to Karawang do not need any special permits or visas to live or work in the regency, thereby increasing their access to more employment opportunities. All the migrants need to work in the industrial estates is a certain level of education or training.

The literature on labour migration in Southeast Asia, and Indonesia in particular points to the feminization of migration, certainly over the past twenty years or so. Firman in “Metropolitan expansion and the growth of female migration to Jakarta,” provides a quantitative study of the increase in female labour migration into the Jakarta region and how this shift from male to female migration has been in response to the shift of economic activities in the city and the type of industries found in the area (Firman, 2002). More
qualitative studies on feminized migration include “Spaces of protest: gendered migration, social networks, and labour activism in West Java, Indonesia,” by Rachel Silvey, where she examines the gender geography of labour activism through a comparative investigation of two communities in West Java, Indonesia (Silvey, 2003). Rebecca Elmhirst in “Tigers and Gangsters: Masculinities and Feminised Migration in Indonesia,” is concerned with the implications of feminized labour migration for young men in Lampung, Indonesia (Elmhirst, 2006). In Thailand, Mary Beth Mills has examined the Thai experience of rural-urban labour mobility, especially the movement of young women (Mills, 1999). However, as I discovered this does not appear to be a concern in Karawang. It is impossible to estimate the ratio of male to female migrants to Karawang because statistics of migrant workers are not kept by the local or central government. However, through my own observations and those of other local researchers, there is a much larger proportion of male migrants workers than females in Karawang.

Philip Kelly’s article “Spaces of labour control: comparative perspectives from Southeast Asia,” seeks to examine how space is used in the control of industrial labour in several sites of rapid development in Southeast Asia. At the core of article, Kelly is trying to find out how labour is regulated through practices that seek to construct and control the spatial relationships between workers, their households and communities, their employers and the state. His article compares three areas that have undergone rapid development and emphasizes the difference between the different control regimes in the different contexts (Kelly, 2002). This study is useful when looking at Karawang because it provides a framework to explore the power structures and sources in Karawang and how they affect both the locals and the migrants, especially in regard to the role of the different levels of government and the spatial, social and financial interactions of the locals and migrants. In Karawang, the companies that hire the migrant workers have very little interaction or involvement in the lives of their workers outside of the workplace.
2. Research and Methodology

My research interests on migration, agrarian transformation and urbanization were aligned with the work conducted by Professor Gunawan Tjahjono and Professor Iwan Tjitradjaja in a particular region of Indonesia. Professor Gunawan invited me to conduct my research in Karawang as a member of their group which was supported by a network of contacts. The key objective of their project aimed at gaining a better understanding of the processes involved in the transformation of Karawang and how those are affecting the social fabric of the community. I was the only researcher investigating the topic of migration in Karawang.

2.1 Conditions and Constraints of Research in Indonesia

Indonesia is a rather informal society. Daily and business activities are based on relationships between individuals and the use of a simple transactional system. It can be very daunting and difficult for an outsider to gain entry and build the necessary relationships to successfully conduct field research. During my preparation I had imagined a much more complicated and complex society. I expected a certain level of bureaucratic complexities to gain access to people for my interviews. However I was delighted in the simplicity and informality that came from setting interviews through a phone call or sms/text messages because of the contacts available through my connections with UI. Ironically the informality typical of daily living in Indonesia can also create challenging conditions to conduct interviews. Most interviews took place in communal areas or front porches of people’s homes resulting in dealing with frequent distractions from the local environment.

I was prepared to face the challenges of being a foreigner and a female in a society dominated by patriarchal values. I was also concerned about the perception and reception I would encounter in a smaller community like Karawang, let alone Indonesia in general. The patriarchal nature of this society is evident in government and local officials in Karawang as well as in the profile of management and supervisors in the industrial estate. Men are the
heads of households and represent the vast majority of workers in the industrial estate. Unintentionally gender differences became a common theme in this male dominated culture, especially in the more rural areas. Women whom we formally spoke with were generating revenue from kost and were running warung selling various goods and products. Nevertheless they were often shy in nature and would rarely give long answers to my questions. Most interviews were conducted with men where women present in the households would serve drinks and snacks. Interestingly being a foreigner facilitated the interviewing process by removing any gender barriers that exist by the local rules or customs regarding male and female roles. Surprisingly people were willing to speak openly with me. Contrary to my original apprehension, being a bule, (a foreigner -- a Caucasian specifically) was positive and resulted in succeeding in my field research activities in Karawang. I had the distinct impression that a reason for their openness and accommodation was directly linked to the fact that a foreign researcher was interested in their lives. That elevated status of “foreignness” was especially evident in this rural area versus the more cosmopolitan capital of Jakarta. My project greatly benefited from being accompanied by a local Indonesian male and a female research assistant (Irfan and Ayu) who bridged any cultural, linguistic and gender barriers. Being aware of the local customs, I felt privileged that my assistant and I were given equal status to conduct interviews amongst men, especially those holding government and supervisory positions in industry. Despite overcoming my original gender apprehensions and about being a foreigner I maintained a high level of awareness in this country throughout the time I spent in Karawang.

Personal safety was a real concern during my research activities in Karawang. Initially I had planned on living in Karawang for at least part of my time in Indonesia so that I could conduct additional ethnographic research and to gain a deeper understanding of the community and the local population. After consulting with professors at UI, I was cautioned against residing and circulating alone in this area. Similar concerns expressed to my female research assistant by her supervisor, this led Ayu to working in a team with Irfan. Incidentally my research became very dependent upon the availability of my colleagues. While initially disappointed with the fact that I would not spend as much time in Karawang to freely explore the community, I was delighted with the thoughtfulness and attention to my
wellbeing displayed by UI staff and colleagues. As a result I lived in and traveled frequently from Depok, a town located at approximately 90 minutes from Karawang. This was the biggest constraint during my field research.

2.2 Methodology

In qualitative research, generalizing claims are less explicit. However, everyday social life depends upon the success of actors generalizing (Payne and Williams, 2005). Thus my research is not trying to produce sweeping statements that hold good and true over long periods of time, nor am I attempting to provide answers to such dynamic and complicated processes of change. Yet moderate or intermediate types of generalizations can be made from qualitative research that are flexible and open to change over time. Looking at the entire District of Karawang, the majority of my respondents came from two small villages located near the industrial estates. It is important to note that specific conditions applicable in these villages cannot be generalized to the entire district. Each village and every region exhibit unique experiences with development. Nevertheless some extrapolation is relevant through the experiences, stories, challenges, relationships and life trajectories shared by individuals that were interviewed.

The conventional definition of a case study is the detailed examination of a single example of a close of phenomena (Dictionary of Sociology in Flyvbjerg, 2003). Some would argue that case studies cannot be used to generalize, or are only useful in the preliminary stages of investigation. Conversely the closeness of a case study can provide a wealth of details relevant to real-life situations. This type of research contains an element of narrative, and good narratives can approach the complexities and contradictions of everyday life (Flyvbjerg, 2003). Despite the limitations acknowledged in proving a level of accuracy from a case study, I submit, like others before me that much can be learned through this methodology. Case studies are an excellent vehicle to learn from different examples of real life conditions. Additionally they can help validate previous research studies examining similar topics or provide different or contradictory views on existing theories (Flyvbjerg,
This particular case study will help fill the gaps in the very limited research published on labour migration in Indonesia since the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 and the ensuing riots in 1998 and change in government in the early 2000s. My objective with this case study is to provide a perspective of a “snapshot” of the lives of migrants and locals in a couple of the villages surrounding the industrial estates in Karawang. It is not an attempt to represent an entire population of migrant workers or rural dwellers in Indonesia or Karawang.

“The reliance upon secondary data, though suitable for many kinds of research is quite restrictive when attempting to access social processes and actions that may occur within communities” (Krannich and Humphrey, 1986). In-depth fieldwork and other strategies for directly observing people can provide ideal avenues for the investigation of case studies. I applied in-depth ethnographic research strategies throughout my field work based on a case study methodology. An approach selected throughout my research process was the use of ‘key informants’ through formal and informal interviews. ‘Key informants’ has received considerable support as a method for obtaining data pertaining to the study of communities and organizational units (Seidler, 1974, Krannich and Humphrey, 1986). Migrants, local residents, government officials, elected officials, civil servants and factory managers were interviewed. A total of 26 formal interviews were conducted including 13 migrants, four local residents, eight government officials (including three village heads and one local district official) and one factory manager. Additional observations were gathered from daily interactions and informal conversations with the local population. The selection of migrants was based on several criteria:

- Migrants working in one of the industrial estates
- Migrants living in one of the nearby villages to the industrial estates
- Migrants working in a number of positions in the industrial estates
- Migrants both with and without previous work experience elsewhere

The selection criteria for participants from the local population were based upon their potential for interaction with the migrant workers, such as but not restricted to:

- Locals who owned and/or operated room rentals (kost)
- Locals who owned and/or operated commercial/vendor stalls (warung)
• Locals who owned and/or operated motor bike taxis (ojek)
• Locals who lived in villages that were also inhabited by migrant workers
• Local village heads

The purpose of this field research was to gain a better understanding of the interactions between migrant workers and the local rural population in Karawang. More specifically, my objective was to observe the impact of migrants and the industrial estate on the local population. My research did not rely on a quantitative questionnaire nor did it apply statistical sampling research discipline. The central methodology was qualitative. Interview guidelines were developed using themes that were supported by a series of open-ended questions focused on key topics of interest to my research. Semi-structured questionnaires were created and translated for each group of interviewees. For instance, specific questionnaires were customized for the profiles of migrant workers and factory managers respectively. A more generalized platform was created to address local and government officials featuring in-depth and tailored sections exploring their knowledge, positions and experience. My research assistants emphasized and encouraged oral history and storytelling techniques during the interviews. Each session ranged from 30 to 90 minutes in duration and varied greatly depending on the profiles of participants. Additions and refinement were made to the interview guidelines as I gained a better understanding of the situation in Karawang and was exposed to more people.

2.3 Limitations

The lack of privacy due to environmental and cultural factors created some challenging conditions during the structured interviews. The informal nature of Indonesian society and the curiosity of the locals towards a research project in progress brought many distractions. Actual locations for interviews were selected by locals who had accepted on my behalf to recruit and mediate with migrants who would be willing to participate. Interestingly, migrant workers immediately become part of the locals’ world through increased visibility once they left the privacy of their rooms. Migrants somewhat displayed a sense of unease in addressing some questions during the interviews which was caused by the
exposure to more people and limited privacy. This situation could potentially create more neutral or less objective answers from the migrants in regard to their living conditions in Karawang. Locals appeared very open and forthcoming amongst each other and less intimidated by more intense communal living and less privacy. Another factor impacting the outcome of the interviews is the reciprocity system inherent in the Indonesian culture. People often get involved in something not because they especially want to, but because they feel obligated to. The sense of obligation was displayed by some respondents towards others who had invited them to participate in this project. This was evident with migrants towards locals who had mediated their participation. I personally felt this sense of obligation which led me to participate in various activities and in meeting people outside the scope of my project in response to a virtual bartering system present in Karawang. Such as helping a local official’s son practice his English or get my photos taken with the locals bold enough to ask.

The majority of respondents did not display much anxiety or discomfort during their interviews despite the presence of researchers, including a female foreigner, which could have been surprising and somewhat disruptive to locals and migrants. They were more anxious during the recruiting process for the interviews. Regardless of the possible intimidation factor during the recording of interviews, participants gradually engaged and eventually displayed full openness during the process. However some were self-conscious of their perceived limited contribution to the project and tended to consider themselves not worthy of the attention. Some people had difficulties understanding the reasons why I was interested in them and why they had been selected versus someone else. This was more evident in the case of women interviewed as well as with some of the younger migrants. Local and government officials were very comfortable in opening up during the interview process.

Working in a country with a culture and language different than my own was challenging and restrictive at times and presented potential limitations in my research. Nevertheless my background in Asian Studies and having spent the previous year and a half performing in depth research on Indonesia allowed me to feel fairly comfortable in Indonesia overall. Culturally, I learned as much as I could about Indonesian culture and was sensitized
to being respectful of the cultural realities when appropriate. In hindsight I would have benefited from additional learning about Muslim Culture in Indonesia and Islam as a religion in general. Ayu and Irfan were great teachers and helped me to avoid potential pitfalls that could have created trouble for me. Even though I had spent the year prior to my field research studying *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language), I wish that my Indonesian language skills were better. Not only would I have preferred being more proficient in understanding each participant, but I could have further explored their answers if I had led the interviews. My research assistants led the interviews and asked all the questions which allowed for better communication and a smoother interview process. However at times some elements were lost in translation or limited further exploration during the time it took them to fully understand the intent and essence of my questions.

Unsurprising to academics and researchers, time and resources also acted as limitations to my work. As previously noted, personal safety and traveling distance to and from Karawang restricted my access to people and places of interest. In addition to my own observations I also relied upon the observations of my research assistants and previous researchers in Karawang. Financial resources were an issue, particularly due to the expenses incurred while traveling to and from Indonesia. I traveled three times to, and lived a total of 125 days in, Indonesia throughout my masters including language instruction and visits in preparation and for my actual field research. I have no regret in choosing to do my field work internationally. The experience gained in Indonesia was deeply gratifying and could not have been duplicated elsewhere in the world or in a different manner.
3. Karawang

My research builds on studies undertaken by researchers and students from UI under the direction of Prof. Gunawan Tjahjono. The main objective of the larger project is to gain a better understanding of the processes involved in the transformation of Karawang and how those are affecting the social fabric of the community, especially in the process of agrarian transition. Kabupaten Karawang (the District of Karawang) was selected as the site of the case study based on the rapid social and economic changes occurring in the area and the transformation in its physical landscape. A trend occurring since the early 1990s has seen Indonesian cities shifting from manufacturing centres to finance and service sectors, where the manufacturing and industrial activities have moved to the outskirts and countryside (Firman, 2002). Indonesia has also experienced a rapid transformation of fringe areas originally dominated by agriculture into residential subdivisions and industrial estates (Firman, 2000). Karawang is located just outside of Jakarta, along the Jakarta-Bandung corridor representing the two of the most populated metropolitan areas in Indonesia. It is a strategic location because goods can flow easily to and beyond both areas. This region is destined to play an important role in the future of Indonesian economic and industrial development.

The District of Karawang is located in West Java province on the outskirts of the Jakarta Metropolitan Area – north of Bogor and the District of Cianjur and east of the District of Bekasi. Karawang is divided into 30 sub-districts with 309 villages. The village (desa) is the lowest level of government administration in Indonesia, followed by sub-district (kecamatan), city (kota), district or regency (kabupaten) and province (propinsi). See Figure 3.1 for map of the District of Karawang (Karawang Dalam Angka 2008).
Figure 3.1 Map of the District of Karawang

Census data from 2007 indicated a population for the District of Karawang of 2,055,469 people with an annual growth rate of 1.95 percent. The population is distributed among 509,091 households representing a low density of 1,172 people per square kilometre in the district, compared to Bandung, the capital of West Java, which has a density of 13,693 people per square kilometre. Approximately two thirds of the population are 15-64 years old and identified as the productive age group, compared to 18 percent in the 15 and below age
category. The overall level of education is low, making education one of the district’s top development priorities. More than half (1,179,863) of the entire population above the age of 10 has the equivalent or less of *SD* (primary school education), 269,551 residents of Karawang have a completed *SMP* (junior high school), 212,677 have achieved *SMA/SMU* (senior high school) and 42,154 have completed some form of post-secondary schooling. Ethnically the local population is composed mostly of individuals of Sundanese descent and 99.8 percent of the population is Muslim (Karawang Dalam Angka 2008).

Karawang is known as the *paddy mow Jawa Barat* (rice bowl of West Java) and is considered an important contributor to the national rice needs. A large proportion of regional household income is earned through agricultural labour activities. In 2007, 32.27 percent of the working population was officially employed in the field of agriculture and fishery. It is important to note that many people continue to take part in agricultural activities in addition to their official employment status. In the same year 21.66 percent were employed in commerce and 20.28 percent were employed in manufacturing and industrial work.

Karawang's main industry is agriculture and aquaculture but industrialization is increasing significantly since the central government of Indonesia designated Karawang for the development of integrated industrial estates and as a key player in the expansion of the national economy in 1989. One can argue that industrialization first began in the early 1980s with the extension of the toll highway which passes through the district and corresponding to the clearing of lands around the forests to agricultural production. Karawang is expected to maintain its agricultural status in food production while balancing the needs created by the development of its industrial sectors. As a result, the local government has directed planning authorities to develop regional infrastructure that will support economic and social growth in the context of maintaining agriculture and stimulating industrial development. The new infrastructure has a dual role to play in supporting growth and being instrumental in linking the region from within and outside of its boundaries.

Karawang is expected to balance the retention of its agricultural base while the industrial sector develops and flourishes. Historically, farmers and livestock in the fields and
in the villages were a familiar scene compared to the present. Very little pollution was created by light volume of traffic and few vehicles on the roads. The number of part-time farmers has decreased with an even greater reduction in the number of full time farmers. In 2007 small farm holdings decreased compared to 2006, due to plantation and cash crop production such as coconut and kapok production which have increased by 0.89 percent and 44.2 percent respectively. However, the overall agricultural production in Karawang has increased despite shift to industrial and service sectors. In 2007 rice paddy production increased 1.9 percent from 2006. Generally, crop production has also increased including legumes and fruits, but the production of vegetables has decreased. Productivity of peanuts and soybean increased 40.09 percent and 1.72 percent respectively. Production of vegetables decreased; mustard greens by 0.56 percent, long beans by 10.46 percent, chilli by 2.41 percent, eggplant by 45.66 percent. Spinach increased in production by 33.53 percent, edible mushrooms by 2.06 percent, cucumbers by 22.39 and swamp cabbage by 12.91 percent. Fruit production including rambutans, orange, guava, jackfruit, papaya, durian, rose apple, sapodillas, soursop and breadfruit increased, while the production of other mangos and bananas decreased (Karawang Dalam Angka 2008). The move to larger scale farming is aligned with global agricultural trends towards a more industrial style of expanded food producing units.

Karawang has not become a major urban centre in Indonesia, nor is it officially part of Jakarta’s metropolitan area. It is however associated with the tremendous growth surrounding the periurban area. As the paddy mow Jawa Barat it is defined as rural. In many extended metropolitan areas in Southeast Asia, “settlements have spilled beyond recognized urban boundaries and even beyond contiguous urban areas, especially along main highways” (Dick and Rimmer, 1998). This phenomenon happened for several reasons including the fact that factories located in rural areas can draw from local labour in the surrounding villages. It is easier to work in rural areas to avoid social overhead costs and outstrip growing cities’ modest infrastructure. Firman also argues that more heavy industrial production in Indonesia has been moving to the outside of cities for some time. Karawang’s strategic location along a main highway and proximity to both Jakarta and Bandung has made it a destination for industrial development and therefore attractive to migrant workers.
For people living in Karawang, rather than leave their rural homes to find work in the industrial sectors, the industries have moved into their rural and agricultural area. Interestingly those enterprises are attracting an influx of migrant workers originating from other parts of the province and the country. The increase in industrial development is also changing the livelihoods and demographics of Karawang. Locals are diversifying their livelihood strategies to respond to changing market demands and the loss of agricultural land.

### 3.1 Jakarta

While my field research was carried out exclusively in the District of Karawang, this area must be understood in the wider context of the Jakarta Metropolitan Area. Karawang is located at the intersection of two larger linkages to the city, the metropolitan and the peripheral regions.

Jakarta is the capital of Indonesia and the centre of administrative and commercial institutions. Between 1961 and 1980, the population of Jakarta doubled and steadily increased by the 1990’s due to in-migration from the rest of Indonesia. Temporary migration patterns affecting the region go largely undocumented. Daily commuting from the periurban into the city can be viewed as migratory element in the Jakarta metropolitan area.

The boundaries of the Jakarta Special Capital Region (DKI Jakarta) were established shortly after independence by the *Djakarta Raja Plan* of 1952. *The Jakarta Plan* of 1965-85 announced the spread of urbanization into the surrounding counties in the province of West Java. Development and access to this land became a component of planning reports dated 1973. It also required to define the Jakarta Metropolitan Area which encompassed DKI Jakarta, Bekasi to the east, Tangerang to the west, and Bogor to the south (see Figure 3.2). Keeping with the Indonesian language affinity with abbreviations that form new words, the first syllables from each of the four geographic areas were conjoined to create ‘Jabotabek:’ JA-karta, BO-gor, TA-ngerang, and BEK-asi (Giebels and Abeyasekere in Cowherd, 2002).
Therefore, Jakarta or DKI Jakarta represents the city, Jabotabek represents the metropolitan area, and Botabek represents the area outside the city in the metropolitan area.

**Figure 3.2 The Jakarta Metropolitan Area**

Population growth from 1920 to 1971 was concentrated in the largest cities on Java and those of the outer islands. After 1971, a correction took place that saw growth located within commuting distance of metropolitan areas and satellite centres. Jakarta expanded its boundaries over the adjoining districts of Bekasi, Tangerang and Bogor. Jones and Mamas, in “The Changing Employment Structure of the Extended Jakarta Metropolitan Region,” argued that “the dynamics of metropolitan growth in Jakarta cannot be confined to the official boundaries of Jakarta. “This expansion is particularly evident in the province of West Java located outside of the Jakarta metropolitan area” (Jones & Mamas, 1996). They also reported that Botabek experienced significant population growth rates and increased employment of 425 percent or eight times greater than the 52 percent in DKI Jakarta, the inner ring under direct influence from the city (Firman, 1997). This growth is particularly apparent in Bekasi and Depok, both located in West Java. Table 3.1 outlines the population growth centres with more than 100,000 inhabitants in Indonesia; I have highlighted Jakarta, Bogor, Bekasi and Depok to emphasize the growth.
Table 3.1 Urban Centres with More than 100,000 Inhabitants in 1980, and Rate of Growth, 1920-1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Rate of Growth Per Annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JAVA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta</td>
<td>306,209</td>
<td>533,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>192,190</td>
<td>341,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandung</td>
<td>94,800</td>
<td>166,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semarang</td>
<td>158,036</td>
<td>217,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malang</td>
<td>42,981</td>
<td>89,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surakarta</td>
<td>134,285</td>
<td>165,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogyakarta</td>
<td>103,711</td>
<td>136,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogor</td>
<td>45,595</td>
<td>65,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kediri</td>
<td>43,222</td>
<td>48,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cirebon</td>
<td>33,051</td>
<td>54,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madiun</td>
<td>31,593</td>
<td>41,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasikmalaya</td>
<td>14,216</td>
<td>25,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jember</td>
<td>16,491</td>
<td>20,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pekalongan</td>
<td>47,852</td>
<td>65,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magelang</td>
<td>36,213</td>
<td>52,944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tegal</td>
<td>34,687</td>
<td>43,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukabumi</td>
<td>23,533</td>
<td>34,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudus</td>
<td>42,045</td>
<td>54,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garut</td>
<td>14,045</td>
<td>24,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekasi</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purwokerto</td>
<td>12,584</td>
<td>33,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cilacap</td>
<td>18,991</td>
<td>28,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depok</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasuruan</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>37,081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klaten</td>
<td>9,373</td>
<td>12,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cianjur</td>
<td>11,955</td>
<td>20,812</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hugo et al, 1987

The Jabotabek area is clearly the main focus of economic activity in Indonesia. The growth of industries, trade, finance, and property in the 1980s and 1990s reflected its integration into the global capitalist system (Firman, 1999). New Town developments, industrial estates, office buildings, shopping centres, and centres of higher education required
the conversion of considerable farmland from the periphery. This encouraged people to move from Jakarta to the fringe areas in Botabek. The rise in commuters and the explosion of infrastructure, such as roads, ports, water supply, and electricity resulted in Jabotabek being transformed from a single-core to a multi-core city (Firman, 1999). Continued restructuring of the metropolitan affirms the enormous pull on the country’s population (Firman, 1999). High and constant growth rates in the Jakarta/Jabotabek area brought urban redevelopment changing the function of the core area (DKI Jakarta) from manufacturing to finances and services. Manufacturing moved to fringe areas such as Botabek and beyond (i.e. Karawang) (Firman, 1997).

Jabatabek became Jabodetabek by incorporating the City of Depok into the Jakarta metropolitan area. In 2005, the population was estimated to be 23.6 million, the largest metropolitan area in Indonesia and the tenth in the world. Approximately 8.7 million people lived in Jakarta, 5.6 million in the four cities of Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi, and 9.1 million in the three districts of Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi (Forbes, 2004). In 2006, former Jakarta Governor Sutiyoso proposed a concept of extending the boundaries of the Jakarta mega-city (metropolitan area) as a solution to resolve long-standing problems including flood and waste management, transportation and urbanization. The development concept would see Jakarta, several districts in West Java (including Bogor, Depok, Bekasi and Cianjur) and Banten's Tangerang district incorporated into a single area called "Jabodetabekjur". (Government of Indonesia, 04/09). With continued growth, new official and unofficial terminologies reflect the changes. One such unofficial term is Jabodetabek-Cirangkarta, which includes the municipalities of Serang and Cilegon in Banten, the District of Serang and the districts of Karawang and Purwakarta in West Java.

During my field research in Indonesia (March-May, 2009), planning offices in Jakarta were discussing of the addition of these districts to the Jakarta Metropolitan Area or the Jabodetabek acronym. The Bandung Metropolitan Area (the capital of the province of West Java) is located less than 20 km from the edge of the District of Bogor bordering the District of Purwakarta, forming a continuous urban corridor. Figure 3.3 shows the JMA extending into West Java. While Figure 3.4 shows it extending into Banten.
Figure 3.3 The Jabodetabek-Cirangkarta in West Java
DKI Jakarta in blue, Botabek in red, Cirangkarta in orange, and the Bandung Metropolitan Area in green. Karawang is the orange coloured district located at the top of the figure.

Figure 3.4 The Jabodetabek-Cirangkarta in Banten
Jabotabek definition in red, Cirangkarta in orange.
4. Karawang Transformed

The central government of Indonesia designated Karawang for the development of integrated industrial estates and earmarked the region to become a development engine for the national economy. Historically, planning and development decisions and funding for this region and others were centralized in Jakarta. Now, regions have the autonomy to make investment related decisions for their districts on the basis of societal need and aspiration. As a result of the decentralization process, the local government of the District of Karawang should be actively involved in decisions leading to the industrialization and development of the area by creating regional policies supporting this evolution. In addition to two levels of government, foreign investors are playing a role in shaping the transformation of Karawang and of other areas in Indonesia.

The period from 1966-98 is known as Suharto’s *Orde Baru* (New Order), a time in which Indonesia embarked upon a distinct political and economical course. The regime came out of the chaos and massacres of 1965, following an attempted coup by the Communist Party (Sulistiyanto and Erb, 2005). Through an authoritarian and militaristic regime Suharto pushed for socio-economic changes, foreign investment, industrial growth and productivity. Economic development was a major priority, however often affected at a price and where nepotism was rampant. Under this regime the armed forces played a dual function (military and civil) in the economy. Military officials were not questioned resulting in uncontrolled corruption and cronyism or *KKN: korupsi, kolusi, nepotisme* (corruption, collusion and nepotism) – which Indonesia became famous for. Elections were held every five years; however the victory of Golkar, the ruling party, was secured beforehand (Hellwig and Tagliacozzo, 2009). Over his 32-year rule, various laws were formulated ostensibly to ‘de-concentrate’ the power of the state to local regions and thus guarantee the unity of the nation. This strategy worked effectively to centralize control (Sulistiyanto and Erb, 2005). Suharto institutionalized the concept of functional or societal groups whereby workers, farmers, religious leaders as well as women and children gained formal representation in assemblies. Living conditions of average Indonesians improved with better schooling and health care despite the majority of the population not having the opportunity to develop their full
potential under the regime (Hellwig and Tagliacozzo, 2009). Increased concentration and accumulation of power exercised by Suharto caused public dissatisfaction in the later years of the New Order. The Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 devastated the Indonesian currency and undermined the legitimacy of the government which led to the resignation of President Suharto who was eventually forced to step down (Sulistiyanto and Erb, 2005).

The industrial developments in Karawang were established as part of the priorities of the New Order government in its desire for Indonesia to expand. Indonesia was a relative latecomer in foreign investment and in competing for global markets outside of petroleum products and oil production. Until the mid 1980s, Indonesia adopted a protective regime in relation to foreign investment that was supported by an import-substitution policy where most foreign firms focused on the domestic market. Foreign investment was seen as a supplementary source of income in addition to Indonesia’s earnings originating from oil exports and revenue from foreign-exchange. Foreign investment restrictions resulted exclusively in joint venture initiatives. In 1986 Indonesia undertook bold liberalization and deregulation measures owing to plummeting oil prices to attract and stimulate foreign investment. Indonesia attempted to restructure its economy by increasing non-oil exports which eventually led to a “deregulation aimed at an outward oriented trade policy and at improving the investment climate” (Pangestu, 1997). As a result of these changes, beginning in the late 1980s, export-oriented domestic and foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows began to rise rapidly in Indonesia, originating mostly from East Asia. “Initially, in 1985–86, foreign-ownership restrictions and divestment requirements were relaxed for export-oriented investments and those located in bonded zones” (Pangestu, 1997).

The first surge of FDI into Indonesia occurred in 1988-90 when the textile sectors received large amounts of export oriented investments from East Asia. By 1992-93 textiles became Indonesia’s largest non-oil export (World Bank, 1996: 12 in ADBI, 2006). Also in 1992-93 less stringent rules and regulations were extended to 100 percent foreign owned enterprises. From 1994 through 1996 a second surge of FDI is attributable to a large extent to the phenomenon that saw substantial increases in the levels of capital invested worldwide. Inflows of investments continued to rise in Indonesia as a result of significant liberalisation
of foreign investment regulations intended to attract more export oriented capital to sustain the growth of the manufacturing sectors (World Bank, 1994: 12 in ADBI, 2006). A new form of stand-alone export processing zone (EDTE, Entrepot Produksi Tujuan Ekspor) was also introduced at this time. These changes resulted in a dramatic growth in exports, as well as export oriented foreign investments.

The clearing of new land available for industrial development through deforestation and/or forced irrigation of marsh land in Karawang began in the 1980s. First near the forests to maintain the existing agricultural land base, but then eventually farmers’ land was rezoned as well to diversify the economy and prepare for industrial developments. Land was sold for less than 10,000 Rupiah per meter. In 1983 the rupiah exchange rate to Rp970 per US$1, in 1995 the exchange rate was just over Rp2,200 to US$1 compared to the current rate of approximately Rp10,000 per US$1. Written information that would describe the history and document the events that led to land clearing around Karawang does not exist; it exists only in the memory of the locals. Land clearing in Karawang was done to help increase access to land and grow national revenue through a policy of increased agricultural output and industrial development. Since the designation from the central government and the initial clearing, 8,100 hectares have been established for industrial area and 5,117.5 hectares for three entrepreneur and industry zones. Increased industrial investment is part of the overall plan for the improvement of the district (Karawang Dalam Angka 2008).

The government used repressive approaches and language to push the developments ahead in Karawang. Those against changes were seen as a hindrance to progress. The community was frightened by the government and strong men tactics used to ‘convince’ locals to sell their lands. Locals from nearby villages helped to clear the lands for the industrial estates despite and perhaps because of the oppression and pressure applied by the government. Locals believed their work would be rewarded by being given priority for employment in the newly formed industrial estates. During the land clearing, farmers were also very dependent on government subsidies and were reluctant to oppose the government.
Indonesia required new developments to compete in global markets and Karawang needed to develop its infrastructure and economic output to support the central government’s initiatives. The development of the industrial estates also created high expectations in providing a sustainable future for the next generations from diversified income and labour opportunities for people moving away from farming. Elder locals and heads of families believed in a better future for their children. The presence of industrial estates and future development projects had a profound socio-political and economical impact on the population of Karawang. Expectedly market dynamics created challenges resulting from the conversion of farm land to industrial, residential and commercial parcels. The locals did not oppose the concept of development given the potential of improved economics and enhanced living standards. Development was perceived as a significant positive for the district. “Kalo orang males ya manaambah, malah pikirannya negative” (G-O). (Only ‘lazy’ people saw it as a negative.) The locals assumed they would find jobs and trade work in the industrial estate, unfortunately this was not the case.

The initial planning phase of industrial development in the early 1990s was well received but the structures that were built generated mixed feelings towards the projects. Increased economic benefits were evident in locals’ ability to purchase consumer goods such as TVs, motorbikes and cars. Negative consequences caused conflicts within the community. Increased pollution came from the number of vehicles on the roads. From the 2000s, the overall environment is ‘dirtier’ compared to the time prior to the developments with increased domestic and industrial waste in the area. This could be a result of the waste created by the industrial developments, the increase in population and the increased consumerism in the area. It is perceived by the locals and some of the government officials that impacts from climate change have affected Karawang are a result of the industrial activity in the area. Locals believe that these impacts have largely gone ignored. Problems with the water channels such as accessibility and quality of water are also believed to be a result of the developments and a hindrance to the villages.

The arrival of the industrial estates in the mid 1990s also affected the electoral boundaries of Karawang. The industrial estates are located in the sub-district of Telukjambe.
Since the development of the estates, the sub-district has been divided into two sub-districts, Telukjambe Barat (west) and Telukjambe Timur (east). See Figure 4.1 and 4.2 for the location of Telukjambe and its new boundaries. This change in boundary meant that new government posts had to be made in accordance to the new sub-district and the villages within them. Under the New Order this would have fewer implications as the government was centralized, but in the decentralize system it would mean that resources would have to be fairly allocated.

**Figure 4.1** Map of the Regency of Karawang  
**Figure 4.2** Map of Telukjambe Barat (green) and Telukjambe Timur (purple)

Source: Kabupaten Karawang website [http://main.karawangkab.go.id](http://main.karawangkab.go.id)

In the case of Indonesia, decentralization can be defined through a structure of political or administrative systems and processes whereby power was disseminated from the central government to the districts. The people of Indonesia expected these radical changes to provide better government, better public services, more prosperity, more justice, and more equality. However, the implementation of the decentralization and democratization process was much more difficult and complicated than the Indonesian people had imagined (Pratikno, 2005).
After the Asian Financial Crisis and the downfall of the Suharto regime, the political climate created the conditions for the empowerment of those who saw themselves as alienated by the Java-controlled government. Similarly, natural resource rich regions were politically emboldened after years of being exploited by Jakarta (Bahl & Martinez-Vazquez, 2005). A push for more democracy gave rise to regional demands from the central government to decentralize its authorities and functions (Usman, 2002). Some believe that decentralization was the natural step to the democratic initiative that followed the fall of Suharto. President Habibie endorsed a program of local autonomy and very limited authority to the provinces soon after he came to office (Bahl & Martinez-Vazquez, 2005).

The Asian Financial Crisis erupted in mid-1997 and led to sharp declines in currencies, stock markets, and in the valuation of assets of a number of Asian countries. The crisis threatened these countries' financial systems and disrupted their real economies, with large contractions in activity that created a human crisis alongside the financial one (IMF 01/1999). When Thailand floated the baht, Indonesia's monetary authorities widened the rupiah trading band from 8 to 12 percent. The rupiah suddenly came under severe attack in August, 1997. Before the crisis, the exchange rate between the rupiah and the USD was roughly 2000 rupiah to 1 USD. The rate had plunged to over 18,000 rupiah to 1 USD at various points during the crisis. It is estimated that Indonesia lost 13.5 percent of its GDP that year. According to Firman, “the Indonesian economy experienced the worst impact: the currency fell significantly, foreign capital fled away, and investor confidence plummeted” (Firman, 2002). In Indonesia, the crisis was a result of over-investment and over-borrowing by the private, corporate and banking sectors (Saldi, 1998). It also involved political factors related to bad governance involving KKN in the government (Firman, 2002).

Since the Asian financial crisis, many industrial and services firms closed down, as the economic activities in the major cities in Indonesian decreased. The crisis resulted in a large number of laid off workers, rapidly increasing the number of unemployed people in Indonesia. Workers affected were not only from the formal sector but also from the informal sectors (the informal economy is an economic activity which is neither monitored nor taxed by the government and is not included in a country’s GNP) impacted by a decrease in
demand for their products and services. Interestingly many workers previously from the formal sector began pursuing work in the informal sector taking marginal jobs as a survival tool. Reports indicated that many former workers based in Jakarta had returned to their villages. However, they became a burden for the village communities as people in the countryside were also hit hard by the financial crisis. This created a reverse effect, where former migrants to the cities returned home. Paradoxically and despite the fact that urban work opportunities decreased, new rural migrants were going to Jakarta in search of work.

After the Asian Economic Crisis in 1999, demonstrations were held in Karawang advocating for an increased provision of employment opportunities for local residents. Originally, locals requested that 70 percent of the labour force employed in industrial estates be composed of local residents contrasting with the reality of 30 percent at that time. Currently the policy states that 50 percent of the workers should be locals. This policy is not binding; it is a verbal agreement between the local government and the factories.

Decentralization in Indonesia came into effect on January 1st, 2001. The passing of Law no. 22/1999 on Regional Governance crystallized the concept of decentralisation and regional autonomy into reality. The key features of Law no. 22/1999 were the devolution of a wide range of public service delivery functions to the regions, and the strengthening of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD) (elected regional councils) which received wide ranging powers to supervise and control the regional administration. Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4 outline the new structure of the Indonesian government under Law no. 22/1999 (Usman, 2002, Pratikno, 2005). While much of the literature on Indonesian decentralization illustrates the breakdown and dissemination of power from the central government to the districts, in fact the provincial governments are still actively involved in the decision making processes for many of the districts. This is certainly the case in Karawang. Figure 4.3 outlines that some of the power was directly given to the districts from the central government, and others were handed down to the provinces. The right side of Figure 4.4 illustrates the levels of power and decision making. However, almost three years after decentralisation came into effect; there were numerous issues with the process that were problematic, such as lack of transparency, accountability, and limited participation by the local population in district and
municipal decision-making. In 2003 and 2004 revisions were made to the law which focused on the clarification of *kewenangan* (regional functions), the introduction of direct elections of the Head of Regions and the subsequent changes in the accountability mechanisms. Other issues that were repeatedly mentioned include personnel management issues and the organisational structure of regional governments (Embassy of Indonesia Ottawa).

**Figure 4.3** Framework of Indonesian Government (Law no. 22/1999)


The national government is now limited to five public policy areas: International Affairs, Defence, Monetary Policy, Religion, and the Judiciary. Other activities and civic authorities that are not on the list fall into the responsibilities of the district and municipal governments (Pratikno, 2005). “The decentralization policy provides more autonomy at the district and municipal levels than at the provincial level... it is also mentioned that the district and municipal governments are not subordinate to the provincial government” (Pratikno, 2005). The national government is present in each province with offices responsible for the application of policies under their jurisdiction. The provinces have to obtain the cooperation of local governments in the implementation of broader regional plans. Accessibility to financial resources available to local and provincial governments has also been decentralized. “While in the past there were no provisions in the law to allocate block grants, this law now stipulates that 25 per cent of national revenue should be distributed as block grants to the local governments. Of the total, 10 per cent is allocated to all the provinces and the remaining 90 per cent is given to all the districts and municipalities” (Pratikno, 2005). Minimum wages are now determined by local governments (ADB CER).

The transition from a centralized to a decentralized state was widely criticised for being too hasty. The situation was aggravated by the lack of transparency, accountability,
and limited participation by the local population in the decision making process that affected their respective district and municipality. However, the intergovernmental transfer program that accompanied the decentralization which enabled policy changes towards regional autonomy was more successful. The program established and determined the new responsibilities in the different regions. The principal component of the transfer system was the DAU (Dana Alokasi Umum, General Allocation Fund), which was a funding mechanism known as a general purpose grant. It replaced two existing grant systems that had been conditional (Bahl & Martinez-Vazquez, 2005). The regional allocations from the DAU were sizable. Most of the allocated money had been sufficient only to fund routine local government expenditures after the transfer of employees and responsibilities from the central government down to the regions (Usman, 2002). Complications and problems for the intergovernmental transfers arose with tax sharing arrangements for natural resources and fiscal management by the local governments. Presently, the central and local governments share the revenues acquired from natural resources such as oil, mining, forestry, and fishery. However this has led to great disparities and controversy regarding percentage and distribution of funds. Law no. 22/1999 and 25/1999 state that decentralization is, as a budgetary matter, mainly applied to the expenditure side therefore, there is no increased capacity of local government to tax income or assets (Usman, 2002).

Karawang does not control manpower policies which are supposed to be a regional jurisdiction. Regulations on labour in Karawang are defined and managed by the central government. The authority of Dinas Tenaga Kerja (Manpower Service) in Karawang is limited to supervision and warning when there is a violation, such as workplace safety, and violators are summoned to the business administration court. However, the local government is negotiating with the regional authorities to establish its own labour regulations and push their ideas forward and gain more autonomy. The local government evaluates the appropriateness of investments in Karawang and governs over matters such as Amdal (the Analysis Concerning Environmental Impacts).

Karawang wants to implement regulations for community development. In Batam (a free trade zone with substantial industrial development near the Singapore border) a policy
requires a company to build one school for every factory. In Karawang there are approximately 600 companies, if that policy was applied this would result in companies contributing up to 600 schools. The government would like to institute some sort of policy whereby the companies building factories in Karawang could also help support community and social services in the area. In the past some companies have helped the community by providing social services such awarding scholarships to local students, providing circumcisions services (male circumcision is among the rites of Islam), or supporting food relief in the form of *indomie* (instant noodles) when there was a flood. The local government’s hope is that these actions can continue and grow in the form of development cost levies.

Unions from the factories came together with the local government to draft labour regulations for Karawang. However, the real negotiating power of the unions is unknown. They are often viewed as an extension of internal human resources departments. A matter of particular interest is the sourcing of workers and contract work assignments. They did not want ‘outsourcing’ (outsourcing in Indonesia is defined as contract work assignments, these contracts are generally a couple of months to a yearlong) in Karawang where almost 50 percent of the factory workers are contract labourers from a total of approximately 60,000 labourers made of locals and migrants. The local government could enact a policy of no ‘outsourcing,’ but this could possibly lead to 60,000 unemployed labourers. A review of the policy on contract work and migrant labour led to a decision not to eliminate but evaluate better alternatives to the situation. One of the government officials believed that “itu tidak lebih hampir sama dengan trafficking. Jadi kayak jual beli orang” (migrant contract work is not far from trafficking, it is like trading in people).

The growth and transformation of Karawang has brought an influx of migrants from other parts of Indonesia to the area. The official annual growth rate of 1.95 percent excludes the large number of migrants who have relocated to the region (Karawang Dalam Angka 2008). Migrants generally fall into two groups of economic activities. First are those who work for corporations as part of the formal industrial segment. The second group is composed of outside entrepreneurs and those who seek opportunities in the informal
segment. Migrants in the formal sector are predominately from the Island Java and are hired either as full time or contract workers by different corporations from the industrial estate. They tend to be more educated than the locals, as most jobs in industrial trades require SMA/SMU (senior high school), SMK (trade school) or STM (technical college) diploma. The workers are predominately viewed as temporary, therefore not integrated in the local community. These migrants are mostly young single workers with the occasional family units. The informal segment is dominated by Madurese, another distinct ethnic group in Indonesia. The Madurese have taken part in and have experience in the development of other industrial zones. Their financial resources allow them to purchase local land assets and develop those with residential and industrial buildings. The influx of outsiders creates distinct lines from the original relatively homogeneous Sundanese local population. Consequently Karawang has evolved from a relatively homogeneous community to a mixed ethnic, culturally diverse and disconnected population.

The migrant workers in Karawang mostly fall in the 19-30 age group. At the time of my interviews, they had been living in Karawang anywhere from a few weeks to eight years. I met some older workers who had come to Karawang around 12 years ago and have since either brought their families with them or created families here, but they were definitely the minority. All the migrants I interviewed were single (masih single - indicating that they would not remain that way forever). Out of all the migrants I interviewed only one was in a relationship; one of the female migrant workers had a boyfriend. The majority of the migrants were in Karawang alone without any relatives. They see themselves living in Karawang temporarily. All of the migrants I spoke with were contract or ‘outsourced’ workers, as opposed to full time employees. Overall, they do not have strong social networks or support systems in Karawang.

The majority of my respondents were from different parts of Java: seven were from West Java, two from Central Java, one from Jakarta, in addition to one from Lampung, one from North Sumatra and one from West Nusa Tengara. There was a mix between more urban people, from places like Jakarta, Bogor and Medan, and people from places similar to Karawang, such as Tasikmalaya, Kuning and Sukabumi, and others from smaller places like
Bima (NTB) and a village in Lampung. See Figure 4.5 for a map of the origins of the migrants. Earlier, I mentioned that Karawang is primarily inhabited by Sundanese people, while many of the migrant workers were Javanese. However, I found that several of the migrants I interviewed from West Java were able to speak Sundanese and a couple were Sundanese, as West Java is almost synonymous with Sunda, and it is rather common for people in that area to speak some of the ethnic dialect.

**Figure 4.5** Map of Indonesia with origins of migrant workers

The reality of the labour situation for locals working in the industrial estates greatly disappointed the community. People from Java, Sumatra, and other regions were recruited to work in the factories. Companies were working with contractors and recruitment companies to bring in migrant workers. Priority employment was supposed to be given to communities close to the estates, but resulted in more migrants coming into the region. There are no data available on the exact number of migrants working in the industrial estates, only estimations and observations. Feelings of jealousy were expressed by locals towards migrant workers. The origins and demographic profiles including the local residence of workers were not
factors retained by companies in the recruitment of qualified workers. Some locals even asked for letters from government officials to help them obtain employment in the industrial estates. The lack of education, trade skills and experience were the limiting obstacles for the local labour market.

In 2007 during Lebaran (Ramadan) another protest took place. The locals wanted the government to institute a policy that would give locals priority in the labour market for the industrial estates. However, the local government could only intervene against companies that had violated any labour regulations. This proved very challenging for the local government. The real solution to the problem resides in increasing the quality and level of education for the local population. Manufacturing sector management sought protection from the local government against the demonstrators. Some threatened to move their companies away from Karawang. In the end, the head of the district dealt with the situation by coordinating various security and policing activities to pacify the situation. Afterwards, council watched over the situation for more potential protests on the streets or in front of the government buildings. The government supported protestors’ request for a 17 percent pay increase and helped define and monitor the growth of wage increases. Data were inconclusive as to whether the workers received the pay increase or not. However, since that time people have not engaged in local protest.

After years of remarkable political reform, strong economic growth and investment in public institutions and subsequent membership in the G20, Indonesia seemed well positioned to weather most external shocks. However, as the scale of the current global financial crisis grew, it became clear that no country would be left unaffected from its impact and Indonesia was no exception (WB, 03/09).

Although the crisis began in the United States in August of 2007, the financial crisis really began affecting Indonesia in September of 2008, with the ensuing fall of stock market prices, depreciation of the rupiah and significant increase of the government bond yield. In March 2009 Joachim von Amsberg, World Bank country director for Indonesia, stated that “Indonesia [was] doing as well as it can in this situation” (WB, 03/09). Indonesia has a strong domestic market, only exporting about 30 percent of its GDP, which lessens its
reliance on the strength and condition of the global economy (WB, 03/09). Daniel Citrin, Deputy Director of the Asia Pacific for the International Monetary Fund, believes that Indonesia is reasonably well positioned to withstand moderate slowdowns in the Western economies (Citrin, 2008). On the contrary, Islam and Chowdhury found “a recent World Bank policy note [classified] Indonesia as a ‘high exposure' country that faces significant crisis-induced deceleration of growth and a significant increase in poverty” (Islam and Chowdhury, 05/05/09). Overall, the future for Indonesia and its economy does seem positive; it will however rely upon the actions of the government in addition to the strength of the international economy.

Karawang can feel like worlds away from everywhere and at times it can be hard to see how small villages are connected and affected by the global markets. Nevertheless these villages have certainly felt the impact of the current global economic crisis. It seems that Karawang is less affected by how Indonesia is fairing in the global markets, but more due to the fact that a large proportion of the factories located within the industrial estates are owned by foreign companies, which adds to the impact of globalization. Countries like Japan, Korea, Singapore and some European countries have experienced difficulties throughout the economic crisis directly affecting Karawang. I asked the locals how the global economic crisis was affecting them personally and its impact on Karawang.

“Yes, very much, the lodging house is quiet and no one is living in it. My husband’s work has also become quiet, no overtime and more days off.” (L-T)

“Yes, I hope this global crisis will finish fast, so my stall can be busy again, that’s all.” (L-E)

“Yeah, usually there are 30-40 thousand workers, now there are 10 thousand. Before many workers would use this service (ojek), but now it is very rare.” (L-Su)
“Yah, semoga aja krisis cepat berlalu dan kosan jadi bisa diisi oleh para pekerja pendatang.” (L-T)
Yeah, I hope that this crisis will pass quickly and my rooms can be filled with migrant workers.

How has the global economic crisis affected the locals in Karawang? Negatively, and the locals have experienced a decrease in profit linked to the decrease in the number of migrant workers living in the area. This is especially significant when many of the local entrepreneurs involved in the migrant worker market have borrowed in order to build a kost, buy an ojek or open a warung. Unlike migrants who can return home or try to find work elsewhere, locals of Karawang have very limited mobility and are much more sensitive to changes in the economy. Low levels of education and skills, poverty and lack of experience are major contributing factors to their current situation. Even though locals experienced some benefits through some forms of business opportunities from the migrant worker market, safety nets are non-existent to ensure long term sustainability should migrants or companies leave the industrial estate.
5. Impacts of the Migrant Workers on Karawang

As indicated earlier, migrant workers are generally single and have no relatives in Karawang. Upon beginning my field study I was particularly intrigued by the possible discovery of linkages and inter-relationships that may have developed in the social fabric of Karawang. I was interested in spatial and social relationships between migrants and the local population. My research brought me to examine the spatial, social and economic structure of the areas where migrants live and work and how they interact with locals. I became fascinated by the complex nature of their interactions with the locals and how their presence affected life in the villages. My original research idea was to focus on the lives and tribulations of the migrant workers, but it became apparent that what was more relevant and fascinating in this case, was their interaction with the locals. The migrants and the locals are so different on so many different levels. For example, many of the migrants come from different ethnic groups than the locals (the locals all mostly Sundanese, while the migrants come from a variety of different ethnic groups); therefore there are cultural and linguistic differences. The migrants are better educated than the locals and appear to be more ‘cultured’ or cosmopolitan. The migrants are also better off than many of the villagers as their jobs in the industrial estates pay higher wages than what the locals receive. I decided to divert my research to look at the impacts and implications of the migrants on the locals. Using Rigg’s and Askew’s examination of locals I explore the effects of the spatial, social and financial implications with regard to their interactions with the migrant workers. I also examine their shift from predominantly agrarian based livelihoods to more diverse strategies of work (Rigg 2003, 2006, Askew, 2000). Lastly, using Kelly’s examination of how space is used in the control of industrial labour I explore the role of the government in Karawang (Kelly, 2002).

5.1 Spatial Implications

A common element in the literature on agrarian transition is the separation between the rural and the urban spheres. For people living in Karawang, rather than having to leave their rural homes to find work in the industrial sectors, the industries have moved into their
rural, agricultural based area. Interestingly those enterprises that have established themselves in Karawang are attracting an influx of migrant workers originating from other parts of the province and the country. As a result the livelihoods and demographics of Karawang are changing. How are these changes to Karawang and its population playing out spatially in the district and its villages? In this section I discuss the spatial implications of the presence of the migrants in Karawang. First, I look at the mobility of the migrants and the locals within the micro context of Karawang and the macro context of Indonesia and look at how their level of mobility has affected their lives. Then, I provide some insight on the physical changes in Karawang, with a look at the infrastructure that has been built as a result of the industrial estates and the migrants.

**a) Mobility**

Migrants are highly mobile in relation to labour opportunities and readily accept moving from one city or region to another when necessary. Are migrants as mobile within Karawang as they are within Indonesia? Confronted at a micro level with options such as where to eat and with whom, migrants suddenly display a very sedentary behaviour, removing their sense of mobility previously seen when they make labour relocation decisions.

“Biasanya di dekat-dekat saja, biasanya pakai uang sendiri, tidak ada tunjangan, kadang kalau makan berangkat sendiri kadang ramai-ramai. Kalau ramai-ramai bisa cerita-cerita.” (M-Sy)
Usually just very close, usually with my own money, there is no allowance, sometimes I eat alone, sometimes in a crowd. If in a crowd we chat and tell stories.

“Biasanya sendiri, di warung.” (M-S)
Usually I eat alone, in the stall.

“Di warung dekat-dekat sini, kadang sendiri, kadang sama teman.” (M-A)
In the stalls very close from here, sometimes alone, sometimes with friends.
The same limited sense of movement can be seen in the way some of the migrants spend their free time.

“Saya orangnya malas ke luar, jadi paling di kosan saja dan ngobrol dengan teman.” (M-A)
I’m lazy to go out, so mostly I stay in my room and chat with friends.

“Kalo... gak ada shift, ya kalo hari libur. Sabtu minggu kan pulang, paling pulang ke Bogor.” (M-D)
If I don’t have a shift, if it’s the weekend. On Saturday I will go home, mostly home to Bogor.

Lastly I asked migrants about places in Karawang where they felt uncomfortable or unwelcomed.

“Biasanya saya tidak datang ke tempat maksiat.” (M-Sy)
Usually I don’t go to immoral places [bars, places with prostitutes].

“Oh, enggak... biasa aja.” (M-D)
Oh, no… it’s ordinary.

“Selama sya di sini gak ada... sih.” (M-I)
For me, there isn’t… [any places would feel uncomfortable going].

Despite any indications of any unwelcoming or undesirable areas in Karawang, their actions and limited movements indicate a restricted level of inner community mobility compared to their macro decisions. Locals on the other hand move significantly more freely throughout their village and the district. Migrants are motivated by financial incentives which justify their “transactional” mobility through labour migration patterns based on economic factors. Locals engage in a “relationship” mobility based on deeper social interactivity and on building connections with others from the district.

The industrial estates are visually very different from the rest of Karawang. Roads are all paved, wide, clean, lined with palm trees and separated by grass boulevard medians. Villages have dirt roads often too small for cars to circulate amongst the many pedestrian trails. Streets in urban downtown Karawang are congested, fairly narrow and dirty. Formal
gates at the entrance of the industrial estates are not evident but clear demarcations exist between estates, villages and urban areas. Industrial estates have an international flair and look to them. Most companies owned by foreigners are exemplified by the names of the companies and languages that are different from what one sees and hears in the rest of Karawang. For example in the industrial estate KIIC, there are Japanese banks and restaurants. These differences make the industrial estates even less accessible and more intimidating for the local population.

**Figure 5.1** KIIC Industrial Estate, Karawang
Figure 5.2 Margakaya Village (2)

Source: Author

Figure 5.3 Downtown Karawang

Source: Author

It appears that both groups experience a sense of restricted mobility with regard to the industrial estates, evidenced by some people who can freely enter the estates while others cannot regardless of the absence of formal security guards or a large entrance gate. Drivers of motorized vehicles are easily allowed access to the grounds and to circulate throughout the
estates. A clean and wealthy appearance leads to a higher level of mobility through the estates. Industrial estates are fairly open places but each factory is gated and fenced up. People need appropriate clearance to access factory grounds. Migrants can enter the estates without any problems but can only access their respective factory workplace. Locals, unless work related, have no reason to be there and are not visible in the estates. Locals enjoy a higher level of mobility within Karawang, while the migrants are more mobile in the industrial estates and within the larger Indonesian context.

b) Infrastructure

As I mentioned earlier, land clearing in Karawang began in the 1980s to help diversify the economy and prepare for industrial developments. Industrial development began approximately a decade after the initial land clearing in the early to mid 1990s. In preparation for growth and development the central government built a toll highway from Jakarta to Bandung (Karawang is located along the way). The toll highway would make transport to and from Karawang to the major cities more accessible and it would allow for increased movement of products throughout the area as well. For some of the population, the new highway made it easier to leave Karawang for employment or educational opportunities. For most of the villagers where I conducted my research, the highway had a different effect. The highway brought development and people to the area; it did not enable them to leave Karawang.

The industrial developments that came to Karawang came as a result of the central government’s designation for the development of integrated industrial estates in Karawang includes two main developments: Karawang International Industrial City (KIIC), and Kawasan Surya Cipta, or Kota Industri Suryacipta (Surya Cipta). KIIC is located within the sub-district of Teluk Jambe in the southwest part of the district – where Wadas village is located. The industrial estate covers a total land area of 780 hectares, of that area, 341 hectares are currently sold or in use and there is another 204 hectares ready to be sold. Surya Cipta is located within the sub-district of Ciampel, also in the southwest. Phase I (500
hectares) of land development began in May 1994 with the first industrial lot in 1995. Phase II was started in 1997 covering an additional 500 hectares. By end of 2001, 224 hectares were sold as industrial lots and for standard factory buildings. Phase III is now in its planning stages. Surya Cipta’s development covers a total of 1,400 hectares; 849 hectares for industrial, 112 hectares for residential, 151 hectares for green open space, 42 hectares for commercial and 245 hectares for road and supporting facilities. A smaller industrial estate located in the south of the district, slightly east to KIIC and Surya Cipta in the sub-district of Cikampek is Mandalapratama Industrial Estate. The estate covers an area of 300 hectares, with 201 hectares sold or in use with the remaining 99 ready to be sold. See Appendix 1 for more information on the companies in each of the industrial estates.

The industrial development and growth in Karawang has also brought an influx of migrants from other parts of Indonesia to the area. The migrants that have had the largest effect on the villages near the industrial estates are the young migrant workers in the formal sector. Many of the workers were brought to work in Karawang through labour recruiting companies and through labour contracts with the factories. They are, for the most part, temporary residents in these villages, but residents nonetheless. Neither the factories or industrial estates, nor the government provides any sort of housing for the workers. This has been left to the free market or the informal sector to fill in the gaps.

The locals have built kost as a result of the demand for housing on the part of the migrants. Some have simply built units attached to their homes, while others have built separate structures on their property. The rooms are fairly small; approximately 3 meters squared, and usually include a bathroom -- which consist of a squatter toilet and a mandi (similar to a bathtub, but you do not go into it, you ladle water onto yourself from the tub). For eating, some have cooking utensils in their rooms, but many eat out in the nearby warung or restaurants. Generally the migrants live alone in their rooms, except for the female migrants I spoke with. For the most part, the migrants chose their rooms because of its location, its proximity to work and the highway. Therefore the locals located in one of the villages near the industrial estates and the highways are at an advantage in running successful kost. The kost themselves have changed the physical appearance of the villages. Some of the
structures built blend in with the existing houses and structures, while others look quite different than the houses. For example one of the kost in Margakaya was attached to the owner’s house (Figure 5.4), but looked very different from the original structure. The new structure was newer, nicer and more modern than the existing house. Another kost in Margakaya was a long building built beside a house which had eight rooms, four on each side and a hallway down the middle (Figure 5.5). This larger, longer structure is very different compared to the houses in the village. In Wadas village, the kost were generally built in styles similar to the houses, but were often attached to one another like row houses or townhouses (Figure 5.6), something not typical in the construction of regular houses. This difference in architectural style is evidence of the migrants in the villages, as they are not seen very often walking throughout the villages.

Figure 5.4 Kost in Margakaya
Figure 5.5 *Kost* in Margakaya (2)

Source: Author

Figure 5.6 *Kost* in Wadas

Source: Author
Another physical transformation the villages have undergone is the increase in warung throughout the villages and along the river and major roads. All villages, both in rural and urban setting, in Indonesia you find warung. What is significant to Margakaya and Wadas is the increase in the number of warung as a result of the influx of migrants living in and near the villages. It is true that the warung are not as dramatic of a change to the built form of the villages as the construction of kost are, however the increase in warung show that there is something going on within the villages. Either they have experienced an increase in population or the locals have experienced an increase in income or financial means. In the case of these villages, it is the migrant worker population that has lead to the establishment of more warung.

**Figure 5.7 Warung in Wadas**

Source: Author
As a result of their presence in these villages, what sort of effect have the migrants had on the villages spatially or physically? The difference in level of mobility between the migrants and the locals throughout Karawang and Indonesia further illustrates and represents the differences between the two groups. The often imaginary physical boarders that each group can or cannot cross create real boundaries between them. This further inhibits social interaction and sense of belonging for the migrants with the locals. I think the most profound spatial or physical difference the migrants have made on the villages is the construction of housing made especially for them. The visible differences in architecture let any passerby know that there is a migrant presence in the villages.

5.2 Social Interactions

The temporariness or permanence of the migrants is an important aspect to learning more about the inclusivity and sense of belonging within the villages where the migrants live. The gendered division of labour in Indonesia and the gendered migration to Karawang are interesting when comparing Karawang to similar growing industrial zones, but also for
looking at social interactions between the migrants and the locals. As noted above, the cultural and ethnic differences between the migrants and the locals are apparent linguistically, but are there further social implications present and how is this affecting the migrants’ sense of place and belonging? In the following section I will address the social interactions and implications of the migrants on the locals. I will look at the implications associated with the status of their residency of the migrants, the gendered migration and the cultural and ethnic differences between the migrants and the locals.

a) Residency Status

To frame the migrants’ sense of place and presence within the community and in the villages, I asked how long they intended to stay in Karawang and whether they planned on moving permanently. Respondents expressed mixed feelings towards the concept of living permanently in the community. The results from my interviews indicate a clear link between employment and place of residence. Migrants would not stay in Karawang if their employment contracts were not renewed. I also wanted to define the migrants’ sense of belonging in the community and whether they identified as transplants (a more permanent perspective of someone who moves in a new region for work opportunities and who wants to integrate themselves into the local society) or as transients (a mindset vis-à-vis a time vision that has short term perspectives (weeks/months) or years but a firm desire to not reside permanently in the region). Were they merely in Karawang for income generating opportunities? Or is there a desire embedded within to eventually return home that blocks them from integrating into the local society?

“Ya kalo diangkat jadi karyawan tetap... mungkin di sini…” (M-AM)
Yeah if I get appointed as an employee… possibly here…

“Rencana… Paling lama… paling lama dua tahun.” (M-Y)
The plan… the longest… the longest two years.

“Gak ada sih ya. Cuman karena nggak ada pilihan lainnya.” (M-R)
Don’t have [a plan]. Because I didn’t choose this place.
The orientation of temporarily living in Karawang made me wonder about the reasons why they had moved to Karawang. Some moved here by choice while others were transferred to the area by their companies. Those working in the field of security reported being sent to Karawang by their companies or officers.

“Pertama kali kerja di PT BAS. Awalnya komitmen ya, ditempatkan di mana aja. Karena kebetulan di sini butuh orang, ya mau nggak mau, harus.” (M-R) 
The first time I worked in PT BAS (name of the company). At the beginning there is a contract that I would be placed anywhere. By chance they needed people here, it wasn’t about if I wanted to come here or not, I must.

“Karawang ditentukan oleh perusahaan, jadi seperti sistem militer, harus siap ditempatkan di mana saja.” (M-Sy) 
Karawang was determined by the company, so like the military system, must be ready to be placed anywhere.

Some of the migrants had relatives in Karawang who were either migrants themselves or locals. One female respondent mentioned moving to Karawang for this exact reason.

“Karena ada keluarga di Karawang. Jadi kalau apa-apa ada keluarga yang bisa membantu.” (M-P) 
Because of having family (relatives) in Karawang. So anything happens I have family that could help.

For many of the migrants, it was a matter of where they could find work, specifically in industrial areas.

“Ya di sini kan lahan industrinya banyak.” (M-AM) 
Yes, here there are a lot of industrial lands.

“Yah, karena ditempatinnya di Karawang…” (M-Ra) 
Yes, because the place [industry/work] was in Karawang.

What are the implications of the temporary nature of migrant workers? Locals were asked about their attitudes towards migrant workers. Their comments were somewhat vague and neutral. Locals identified the financial and transactional nature of their relationships with
migrants as opposed to a framework of social relationships. It is arguable that temporariness is the main reason for the social distance between the migrants and the locals. Migrants were asked about their attitude towards Karawang, more specifically; if they felt comfortable, were they treated fairly by locals and if they felt accepted by the community? While some were fairly positive about their situation others were not. Details to support their satisfaction or dissatisfaction were difficult to record as respondents were not willing to share their impressions openly because of locals nearby the interview site.

“Diterima... orang-orang ramah juga.” (M-AM) 
Accepted... people are friendly too.

“Ngerasa diterima nggak sama orang sini?” (Ay)
Do you feel accepted by the locals?
“Iya...” (M-Y)
Yeah...
“Kenapa?” (Ay)
Why?
“Gak tau yah. Karena apa yah? Gak tau, enak.” (M-Y)
I don’t know. Because what? I don’t know, it’s good.

“Yah, kalo itu pikiran positif saja, nalau kita berpikir baik, maka organ akan menerima kita dengan baik.” (M-Sy)
Yeah, if your thoughts are positive, if our thoughts are good, then people will receive us well.

After eight months... “Gimana yah, ah, masih gitu-gitu aja *laughs* Kalo dibilang...kurang betah sih, nggak tau kenapa.” (M-D)
How yeah, it’s still only so-so. If living... it doesn’t feel at home, I don’t know why.

Why do the migrants not have a sense of belonging to the community? Most migrants’ goals are to follow work opportunities until they have enough money and are ready to settle down, most will likely return near or to their hometowns, or receive a full time, permanent position in one of the factories. The use of migrant labour in the industrial estates further contributes to the role of migrants as temporary village dwellers. It is easier for the companies to hire and fire contract workers from outside the region in regards to market fluctuations and demand for their products, than to have a large workforce of local permanent workers. The companies are fairly opportunistic and are not interested in creating
long-term bonds with the local communities because they are there solely for financial gain. In terms of infrastructure, there is nothing in place for migrants that would provide a sense of belonging or something beyond work as part of their lives in Karawang. The migrants live in small rooms, some with private outdoor space, and there are no places designated for socializing or coming together other than the mosque in the villages. There are also no places for migrants to establish roots within the community, there is no infrastructure for social activities and real estate is not readily available for purchase or development within the villages.

b) Gender

The literature on labour migration in Southeast Asia, and Indonesia in particular points to the feminization of migration, certainly over the past twenty years or so. However, as I discovered this does not appear to be the case in Karawang. Observations and discussions with locals and researchers from UI indicate a significantly larger male component amongst migrant workers. Generally, female workers are not visible around the villages, near the industrial estates or downtown Karawang. It is impossible to estimate the ratio of male to female migrants to Karawang because statistics of migrant workers are not kept by the local or central government. It is assumed that the type of factories and production facilities located within the industrial estates are affecting the gender definition of the workers. A significant number of industries are involved the production of heavy machines, which are traditionally associated with male workers. Other influencing factors include in the limited housing situation for migrant workers and the perceived lack of safety in Karawang. Employee housing is not provided by the companies in the industrial estates. Therefore, migrant workers must find their own accommodation, often in the form of kost in villages nearby the industrial estates or in small apartments or houses. Personal safety in Karawang, albeit not known as a dangerous area, is perceived as an issue for younger and single females especially for those living in more rural areas. A layer of official and informal gender behavioural norms exist and influence the living conditions of the migrants. Karawang is a Muslim area and all migrants were Muslim as well. In “Veils and Ecstasy:
Negotiating Shame in the Indonesian Borderlands”, Johan Lindquist discusses the position of ‘malu’ in the lives of young female migrants who work as factory workers or prostitutes on the rapidly developing Indonesian island of Batam (near the border with Singapore). He found that “female migrants use these techniques [of veiling themselves] in order to deal with malu, meaning approximately shame, embarrassment, shyness, or restraint and propriety” (Goddard 1996:432; Peletz 1996:228 in Lindquist, 2004). The example on Batam is extreme, but it could underscore similar issues present when females migrate within Indonesia, including Karawang. In Karawang while many of the poorer village women did not wear veils, women who had moved to Karawang with their husbands over 12 years ago all wore veils, especially if they left their homes. The female migrant workers I interviewed, one wore a veil and the other did not, but they were escorted to and from their homes for the interviews by a male friend, to ensure their safety and possibly their propriety.

What is also interesting is the division of labour across gender lines between the migrants and the goods and services providers in the villages where they live. This made me wonder about the types of interactions may exist between these two groups, if any. As a result, social interactions between the migrants and the locals look gendered. The majority of the migrants are males and a large proportion of the business operators from the informal economic sector who provide goods and services to migrants are females. This situation would not be easily apparent to observers not familiar with different gender divisions of labour in Indonesia. The person who operates a kost or rents rooms is usually referred to as an ibu kost, which could be translated into ‘house mother.’ While men can also operate a lodging house, the Indonesian term itself categorizes this function is a female role. Warung are not as easily gender defined. Stalls selling daily necessities and food in villages and neighbourhoods stalls are normally run by women. Larger prepared food stalls are operated by both men and women. One of the major reasons why kost and warung are run by women is that these types of businesses can be operated from the home or from a small building attached to the home. Small warung are often located in front of someone’s home where families may also live behind large food stalls. Rooms rented from kost are normally attached to an existing home or located just beside the house. These jobs allow a family to
earn extra income, while permitting the woman to attend to her household duties. The *ojek* are all operated by men.

During my first visits in the villages I could not discern nor could I have known where migrants lived. Everyone move to and from each others’ houses, chat, help each other out while children run around everywhere. Migrants tend to stay in their rooms, near their rooms or visit friends (other migrants) in their rooms. They go out to eat and socialize around the food stalls near their rooms or along the main roads. For the most part they have limited visibility and are not walking throughout the villages. The rooms that I visited were all located along the edge of the villages near the main roads. As I spent more time in the villages, I realized that more activities and interactions, such as buying food and using the local *ojek* services, were taking place over and above what I could notice during my original visits. This led me to ask the migrants about their interactions with the locals. Some migrants indicated that they rarely interacted with locals because they were too tired to go out after work. For the most part migrants kept to themselves or amongst themselves in their social life in Karawang.

“*Jarang berhubungan, karena bila pulang dari kerja waktu yang saya gunakan untuk istirahat.*” (M-Ra)
Rarely interact, because when I come home from work I use that time to rest.

“No, I spend more time in my room.” (M-A)

Others said they did interact with the locals, but on a more superficial level or very little.

“Yes, mostly just greetings though. Not too much like that.” (M-N)

When asked how the relations were with the locals, one migrant responded:

“Yes, normal [good], but I rarely socialize with the residents around here when I’m finished work.” (M-S)
I wondered if the lack of interaction in the villages is based on the difference in gender between the workers and the providers of goods and services. In Indonesia, and more specifically in the rural areas, married women do not socialize with unmarried men. Generally men socialize with men and women with women. Men and women come together when families socialize. Overall, the migrants are generally single, and they do not take part in mixed gender socializing that the local married/family men are. Otherwise a separation usually exists between both groups. I wondered if the separation was related to gender specifics or in being a migrant versus a local.

I asked locals about their feelings and attitudes towards the arrival of migrants in their community and about their interactions with them. One woman referred to the increased number of migrants compared to previously but never spoke to her interactions with them, nor would she address if their presence was viewed as positive or negative. Others spoke about the arrival of the migrants in relation to increased business or financial opportunities. Local officials in the villages were also fairly neutral on the subject, but reported talking to the migrants. The most honest answer I believe came from a woman whom is neither a local nor a migrant, but is considered an outsider by locals. She has lived in Karawang, in the same village, with her husband since 1997. These were her thoughts on the subject.

“Ya susah, diluarin belum penerimaan lagi…” (U)
Yes it was difficult, as an outsider cannot be accepted again…

“Tanggapan warga sini? Ya biasa-biasa aja.” (U)
The resident’s response [to newcomers]? Just so-so.

It appears that while a large proportion of the migrant worker population is male, this does not seem to have a substantial affect on the social fabric of the villages or its residents. After spending more time in the villages, especially on Friday afternoons when almost everyone has time off due to Jumatan (on Fridays, Muslim men must perform the weekly congregational prayer called the Jumu’ah Prayer), I noticed very limited interaction between local men and migrant workers. It is clear that the impact of the migrants has more to do with
their status as outsiders, rather than their gender. Also, if we look at the case of the woman above, it reinforces the status of being an outsider rather than being temporary is a bigger obstacle in regards to fitting in or being accepted by the locals.

c) Social and Cultural Differences

There are a number of social and cultural differences between the migrants and the locals. One of the major differences in ethnic background for many of the migrants with regards to the locals. As I mentioned earlier, Karawang is primarily composed of people of Sundanese decent. In 1998, the Sundanese numbered about 33 million, most of who lived in West Java. The important difference between the Sundanese and the Javanese is a stronger attachment to Islam among the Sundanese (Dixon, 1999). Particular to Karawang, is that people are known for their style and ability to dance. The Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia and are primarily located in central and eastern parts of the Island of Java. Traditional Javanese society is class based with the higher status classes of bandara-bandara (royal family lineage) and priyayi (government workers or educated persons) and the lower status groups of wong cilik (literally small people, common people). Most Javanese follow Islam, but some also follow Christianity or a form of animistic religion; all of the Javanese migrants I spoke with were Muslim. Besides the traditional class based system in Javanese culture and the stronger attachment to Islam with the Sundanese, the main difference between the two groups is language. The Sundanese speak Bahasa Sunda and the Javanese speak Bahasa Jawa. Physically, the two groups are almost undistinguishable. While Javanese and Sundanese are the two most dominant cultures found within the migrants and locals, there are also migrants of Betawi descent, Batak descent and Bima descent, among others.

Education is a major factor for obtaining employment within the industrial estates. It is also another major differentiating factor between the migrants and the locals. As indicated earlier, approximately 7% (212,677) of the local population obtained a SMA/SMU (senior high school) diploma and approximately 1.5% (42,154) completed some form of post-secondary education from a base in excess of two million people in Karawang.
Comparatively, approximately half of the population has only completed SD (primary school) level of education. All the migrants I interviewed had achieved either SMA/SMU, SMK (trade school) level of education or had a STM (technical college) diploma. This drastic difference in levels of education attainment can be attributed to the differences in socio-economic backgrounds of the migrants versus the locals. For many of the locals in Karawang, the ability of continuing on in school after SD is tied to their family’s financial means. Going to school costs money and someone not in school can help contribute to the family financially. Unfortunately, this has lead to a reduced ability to work in the industrial estates for the local population. If this cycle continues, Karawang will continue to receive an influx of migrants seeking work or with employment in the industrial estates. This will perpetuate the differences in socio-economic status of the migrants and the locals and potentially create bigger gaps between the rich and the poor in Karawang.

Going back to the notion of residency status and reasons for migration, none of the migrants I spoke with opted to relocate with their family, hence possibly causing a chain migration. Unlike many internal labour studies, cosmopolitanism and the pull of the city were not factors to migrate to this region of Indonesia. Labour opportunities were the main reason for relocating. Rather than moving to the city for work and an urban experience, the migrants are the ones bringing a more urban lifestyle to a rural area. As many of the migrants come from more urbanized areas than Karawang or have lived in such places, in addition to their higher economic status and high levels of education. This contrast made me wonder if the urban experiences or lifestyle of the migrants had an effect on the locals? Upon further inspection of this issue and spending more time in Karawang, it appears that this urbaneness or prior experience with an urban lifestyle further separates the migrants from the locals and has not changed the locals’ lifestyles or made them want to interact with the migrants.

Although Karawang has a population of over 2 million people, it has that small town feel about it, especially in the villages. Everyone knows everyone else, no one locks their doors, they help each other out, they hold on to the status quo and so forth. Another thing that is often associated with a small town mentality is not warming up to outsiders. It is very difficult for people from outside of the district to fit into the local communities; the locals are
tolerant of their own kind but distrustful of outsiders, I think this is especially the case for the migrants because they are not there to put down permanent roots in Karawang and therefore the locals see no need to including them in the community.

Therefore, what sort of community is created when locals are not connecting at a social level with migrants? Does it create a lack of interest or sense of belonging from the migrants for the village and its future? What appears to be happening is it is creating an increasingly divided and uninvolved community. At the time of my research there were no government or industry sponsored events to encourage interaction between the locals and the migrants and there are no public spaces besides the mosques where the two groups could come together. This lack of community or open social space further hinders the possibility of creating ties. One of the old village heads lamented on the loss of kegotongroyongan (performing mutual assistance) in the village. In his view this was the direct result of the loss of agriculture and the development of the industrial estates. When the villagers are no longer interested in participating in gotongroyong (mutual assistance), it becomes very hard to convince the migrants to join in. The loss in the sense of community is partly attributable to the presence of migrants. Other factors affecting the social fabric of the community are the result of changes created by larger social and political changes in Karawang and Indonesia. The temporariness and status of outsiders of the migrant workers is just two of many factors pertaining to the loosening of the once tightly knit community. It can be argued that migrants are attributed a larger cause and effect role in the disappearance of the old community because of their presence and visibility factor.

5.3 Financial Effects

The financial exchanges between the migrants and the locals appear to be the most common type of interaction between the two groups. As it has been noted above, the migrants and locals do not interact socially very often, and when they do, they do so out of necessity. Because of the relative amount of interactions that are financially based, it is evident that this has had some effect on the locals. How has the presence of the migrants
affected the locals financially? To investigate this question, I looked into the labour opportunities available to each group and how they potentially affected each other. I also looked into the social inequalities that have risen as a result in the change in economic opportunities for the locals and the migrants.

**a) Labour Opportunities**

The migrants in Karawang are not only migrating from one place to another as a means to an end. Mobility is simply their way of life, which involves relocating to areas where work is available on a seasonal or longer basis. Migrants tend to consider contract, part-time or seasonal work as temporary opportunities hoping to land permanent full time worker status in Karawang or elsewhere, or to possibly return home. This situation accentuates the diversity of migrant workers in Karawang, which further separates and differentiates the profile of migrants from the local population. Returning to the argument of migration as a response to rural poverty or as directed by economic decisions of the larger household (Mills, 1999), it makes me wonder why more of the local rural population under or unemployed in Karawang are not migrating elsewhere. What is stopping the locals from participating in some form of labour migration? What is so different about the migrant workers and the locals in relation to their mobility level?

Education is a major factor for employment in the industrial estate. As a result of lower levels of education the majority of the locals are severely disadvantaged when it comes to labour opportunities. Educated individuals and those with prior work experience have benefited from the presence of the industrial estate through employment opportunities. However, a large number of the local population are located in small rural villages that are predominantly agriculture based. These individuals have not benefited to the same extent. Some of the rural population have sold their farm land to development companies which generated immediate income. The loss of sustainable revenue from farming has created the need to generate yearly income from new sources.
Compared to the locals, all the migrants interviewed had completed some form of senior level of schooling. The majority of the respondents graduated from trade school where many studied either automotive, electronics or machine production. The majority also went on to work in their field of study, except for one who chose to work in security instead of automotive. Three of the migrants completed their senior high school; this type of education is often a precursor to further college or university studies. From this group, one respondent was currently attending university part time in neighbouring Cikarang while working part time as a security guard. Another had completed a year-long computer course and the other had studied at the naval academy. Two received a diploma from a technical college, one in automotive who works as a mechanic and one in audio video who now works as a welder.

Therefore, what types of labour opportunities are available for the locals in Karawang? The influx of migrant workers to the industrial estate has provided some financial opportunities to locals through the establishment of warung, and kost or by operating ojek. Migrants tend to eat their meals in warung located near their rooms. All of my respondents lived in a kost except for one of the females who lived in a small shared apartment with a friend. Men mostly lived alone (sendiri) and tended not to have roommates. Their choice of residence is directly linked to the location and proximity of the industrial estate, the main highway and to transportation. It is important to note that neither industrial estates nor the companies employing workers provide housing of any kind for migrants. Workers found their rooms either through word of mouth or through the local ojek. Ojek represent the main source of transportation for the workers. Employers provided transportation to work for the female respondents but not for personal reasons. Males did not have any form of transportation provided to them. Some of the males commuted on their motor bikes while others used ojek exclusively.

An interesting aspect of the informal economy in Karawang is the absence of any goods and services on the grounds of the industrial estates. There are no warung or kaki lima (food vendors with mobile carts) on the estates. Food is either provided to workers by the companies through cafeterias within the factories or the workers leave the industrial estate to eat at a restaurant or warung. It is not possible for locals to operate a business on the
industrial estates despite requests made about obtaining permits. Ojek are allowed to go to and from factories, but pick-up stands are located outside the estates and not permitted on the grounds.

b) Inequality

Social inequalities are evident when considering the challenges related to accessing resources such as opening a commercial stall, building rental rooms or buying a motor bike. This situation limits the number of people who can take advantage of new livelihood opportunities.

“Karena, ibu sudah nggak punya kerjaan lagi, sudah tua, nggak bisa kerja lagi. Ibu pengin sih mau buka kosan, tapi ibu nggak punya modal jadi nggal bias.” (L-E)
Because, I haven’t worked again, I’m getting old, I couldn’t work again. I wanted to open a boarding house (room rental), but I didn’t have the capital, so I couldn’t.

“Dulu di sini tuh banyak warung, tapi pembelinya sedikit, jadi lebih baik buat kos-kosan aja.” (L-T)
Previously there were many stalls here, but not so many customers, so it was better to build a boarding house then.

“Saya maunya dagang, tapi karenna nggak ada modal jadi ngojek…biarpun kredit.” L-Su)
I knew the trade, but I didn’t have the capital so I became a motor taxi driver… must have credit.

Locals not suited or capable for employment in factories have found ways to benefit in some way financially from the developments through the informal and migrant market based economy. What impact is this having on the locals and the villages? As I mentioned earlier, social inequalities are increasing among the villagers. Some have established a warung or a kost and some have become ojek, while others have not joined the market.
Financial success varies greatly amongst local entrepreneurs and ranges from relative wealth to those who can barely keep their heads above water. “Yah sebatas makanan ini saja... Tergantung, biasanya kaula mereka ingin makan makanan yang selain ibu jual, mereka
Besides the inequalities present among the locals, there are also inequalities between the locals and the migrants. Overall the migrants receive higher wages than many of the villages engaged in the informal economy. The minimum wage in Karawang in the formal sector is between Rp912,225 and Rp1,013,583 a month, depending on the job. Therefore, we can assume that the migrant workers receive a wage within that scale or higher. Meanwhile, the minimum wage for the province of West Java is only Rp568,193 a month (Patung, 2008). It is hard to determine the wages received by the locals because of their involvement in the informal sector. Many of the kost in the villages were rented out for Rp300,000 per month. One of the warung owners said that “Yah, tergantung, kadang dapat 300 ribu rupiah kalau ramai, kalau sepi paling 100-200 ribu” (L-E). (Yes, it depends, sometimes I can make 300,000 rupiah if it’s busy, if it’s quiet than the most would be 100,000-200,000 rupiah.)

What is evident with many of the locals is the uncertainty of their monthly wages, as opposed to the migrants that are on more fixed wages. This uncertainty with their financial situation can lead to increased vulnerability for the locals if there were to be changes in the economic climate, as is the case with the current economic crisis. One of the women who ran a kost had only ever had three renters because they had finished constructing the rooms around the time the economic crisis hit Indonesia. The migrants are not so fragile because of their elevated labour mobility and the option of returning home if they cannot find a job elsewhere.

One of the largest impacts the migrants have had on the locals is how they have affected them financially. As a result of the influx of migrant workers into Karawang, locals have opened up businesses to serves to needs of the migrants. Some business like ojek and warung would exist regardless of the presence of the migrants. They have certainly increased the number of operations and increased the income generated from the businesses. Businesses such as kost are more directly associated with the arrival of the migrants and are that much more dependent upon the migrants for financial gain. Kost are often viewed as the best type of business to get into in the villages because of the high income generating
possibilities and the low labour needed to run them. Yet, this business is one of the most vulnerable to get into. Most people who construct a kost have to borrow money to do so; therefore if the rooms are not rented out they are not able to pay back the loan. This can entrench some of the locals even further into poverty. Ojek and warung need more labour to operate the business and receive less than a kost would, but they are more stable businesses due to their nature of having both a local and migrant customer base. In good economic time people who run kost may earn more, but in the current economic crisis many were affected more negatively.

Another reason why the migrants have had such a large affect on the locals financially is the locals’ dependence upon the migrants. The presence of migrant workers stimulates the local economy and is especially important to the financial outcome of many individuals through their activities in the informal business sector. One local acknowledged that “tidak ada, biasa aja, malah menguntungkan.” (L-Su) if they [migrant workers] weren’t here, then this wouldn’t be profitable.) Many of the locals have either supplemented their incomes or based their incomes upon business opportunities that cater to the migrants. When the economy took a turn for the worst, the locals became even more dependent upon the purchasing power of the migrants.

5.4 Role of the Government

The local and the central government are not involved in the taxing or regulating the transactional market between migrants and locals in Karawang. Locals do not necessarily require a special permit to erect a secondary building or to modify an existing structure on their property to operate a kost or warung. Ojek drivers do not need a permit or special licence to work or operate a business. Locals need to source enough capital independently to build a structure or buy goods needed to run a business without any extra requirements imposed by the governments. No particular incentives from the governments are offered to locals to open business catering to the migrant market. In Depok, West Java, the government urged people with different financial initiatives to build structures that would provide
accommodations and services for the university population after the decision was made to relocate UI in that community. In addition to financial benefits offered to operate a business close to the university, the government helped by fostering the development of those activities. Karawang is different; governments are not involved in the development of physical and social infrastructure catering to the migrant worker population. The gap left by the industrial estates and the government in building and providing employee housing is filled completely by the informal sector. Warung and ojek are not exclusively targeting migrant workers however they represent a largest and important customer base. Similarly no central or local government planning or provisions took place to address the needs for transportation and food requirements before migrants came to the industrial estates. A local informal economy simply developed on the basis of the free market system of meeting the demand created by migrants.
6. Conclusion

This thesis examined the impacts of migrant workers on Karawang by looking at the spatial, social and financial interactions between migrant workers and the local rural population. More specifically it focused on the areas where migrants live, work and interact with locals and explored how the presence of the migrant workers is changing the livelihood patterns and lifestyles of the local rural population in enabling their agrarian transition. My research intended to find answers or to gain a greater understanding of how the migrant workers have impacted the locals and their villages. I wanted to discover what sorts of transformations that have occurred in Karawang as a result of the industrial developments. However, the impacts of the industrial estates and the migrant workers are part of larger transformations that have been taking place in Karawang and Indonesia.

It has been approximately 25 years since industrialization first began to take place in Karawang. Over that period Karawang and Indonesia at large have experienced a lot of changes; social, politically and economically. Indonesia began allowing FDI in the mid 1980s and experienced two major surges in investment. The first one started in the late 1980s and a second in the mid 1990s. In Karawang, clearing of land in preparation for development and industrial growth also began in the 1980s, while major industrial development commenced in the mid-1990s. In 1997 Indonesia was greatly affected by the Asian Financial Crisis, which crippled its economy and impacted its position in the emerging world markets. Karawang was also negatively affected by the crisis which led to locals protested against the industries for improved compensation. A few years after the financial crisis in 2001, Indonesia underwent massive political changes with the move from a centralized to a decentralized government. Under decentralization the national government is now limited to five public policy areas: International Affairs, Defence, Monetary Policy, Religion, and the Judiciary. While other activities and civic authorities that are not on the list are supposed to be the responsibilities of the district and municipal governments (Pratikno, 2005). However, as noted above, as a district government Karawang has limiting governing authority or decision making power in some of the areas that are hypothetically supposed to be its responsibility. The central government maintains a high level of control over the district.
This is perhaps due to the fact that the integrated industrial estates are considered to be international affairs because there are so many foreign companies located in them. Or because the industrial estates were originally created and controlled by the central government and they have not relinquished their power over the estates to the local government. Officials in Karawang are eager to increase their political influence and authority in labour regulation policies and industrial development. The current global economic crisis has impacted Indonesia and specific to my research, Karawang. While Indonesia is poised to recover from the economic meltdown, locals in Karawang are concerned about their situation. They hope for a speedy recovery for Indonesia and for the world markets that will allow companies that own factories in the industrial estates in Karawang to re-engage in economic activities.

Changes experienced by Karawang over the last three decades have had a major impact on the lives of the local population and consequently on the speed of agrarian transition. One significant change to the villages of Margakaya and Wadas was the impact on the social fabric of the community. The loss of kegotongroyongan (performing mutual assistance) in the village was attributed to a loss of agricultural production and industrialization. One major negative effect is that people no longer come together to help build or improve their built environment. Historically bridges and irrigation systems were built communally by the villagers. Now they expect these services will be provided by the government or want to be remunerated for their time and effort. The transformation from a predominately agricultural based society to more diversified livelihoods has had a significant impact on the social networks people once relied upon heavily. The agrarian transition has also impacted the equity amongst villagers. While inequality existed before the industrialization of the area, the new developments increased the differences among people. Locals with education or previous work experience well suited for work in the industrial estates benefited from the developments through employment. Those not qualified to work in the industrial estates have benefited financially through the development of the informal labour market of goods and services targeting the migrant worker population. Considerable differences in levels of financial success exist within this group. Inevitably, some locals have not participated in either the formal or informal sector of employment resulting in no
improvement of their economic situations. These people remain the poorest among the villagers with no access to social safety nets. The poorest will remain deprived while others improve their financial and social status.

A major factor that has contributed to changes experienced by residents of Karawang is the increased migrant worker population. Migrants have had a significant impact on the spatial, social and financial aspects of the locals’ lives. I found the most profound spatial or physical transformation impacting the villages has been the construction of kost to accommodate the temporary population. New buildings and different types of architecture are affecting significantly the built environment of the villages. These changes are visually noticeable from afar by the increased density and closer based on the style of the buildings. Regrettably the infrastructure does not accommodate or encourage social interactions between the local population and migrants or amongst the migrant workers. Village mosques are the only places that can accommodate large groups but they are solely for men. The locals mostly interact on their front porches. Migrant housing does not accommodate socializing due to non-existing physical space to do so. Interaction between locals and migrants is very limited. Migrants are rarely invited inside locals’ homes. This low level of interaction is due to a number of factors. The migrants have a temporary residency status in the villages. Migrants do not plan on becoming permanent residents or on joining the community. Their presence and status are based on employment opportunities. The temporary nature of their residency does not encourage locals to incorporate migrants in their community. Locals are in general adverse to outsiders. Many migrants also come from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds than the locals which create further distinctions between the groups as well. The vast majority of migrants are male while many of the informal market good and service providers are female. The low level of interaction between locals and migrants is also directly linked to cultural legacies of restricted contacts between men and women. Financial transacting for goods and services represents the most common type of interactions between the locals and the migrants. Migrants transact with locals for the procurement of food and daily necessities, accommodation or transportation. Migrants have a relatively low dependency on the local economy. Conceivably, they could go to another village or part of the district to find goods and services. Conversely, locals are very
dependent on the migrants for revenue. The locals openly admitted to needing the migrants to run their businesses successfully. The current economic crisis which led to a decrease in the migrant worker population has significantly affected the local economy as a result of decreased production in the industrial estates. Interestingly, migrants do not appear to take advantage of the situation. Migrants are a positive factor for local entrepreneurship as a result of their presence and numbers.

The District of Karawang has acknowledged the importance of education and is making it one of its top development priorities. Evidence collected throughout my research and further analysis indicate that the level of education or lack thereof is the most important factor affecting the lives of both the locals and the migrants. Educational achievement separates the locals into different groups with various levels of opportunities for employment and mobility. Education is therefore a major factor in the inequality present amongst the locals. These differences are often perpetuated over time due to poverty and people’s inability to access resource networks. Education is also a major factor as it relates to the differences between locals and migrants. To work in the industrial estates a certain level or education or training is needed. The migrants I spoke with all had achieved at least a senior high school level of education. That level is required for employment in many of the positions. More than 50 percent of the local population has the equivalent or less of a primary school education. Local government officials continue to advocate for better employment opportunities for locals in the industrial estates. Unfortunately many locals do not have the skill sets or capabilities to work in the desired positions. The ability to work in the industrial estates cannot be based upon local policies or by-laws that favour local workers. An institutional shift is required in Karawang to enhance the education of its residents. New mechanisms have to be implemented to keep children in school longer. Training initiatives are also required for the older low educated generation. Companies in the industrial estates can also participate by increasing the number of scholarships they give to local students and could provide resources to the schools. Some programs could have short-term impact but it will likely take years to develop and implement the policies that will benefit the next generation of workers in Karawang.
Karawang is unique in that it has been experiencing transformations in regard to its agrarian transition and industrialization, but it is experiencing these changes in its own way. The location of Karawang is not on the direct periphery of the Jakarta Metropolitan Area, it is more rural than most locations studied by researchers following these changes. However, there are trends that point to more industrial development moving into the rural areas in Indonesia rather than within the metropolitan boundaries (Firman, 2002). Karawang’s relationship with the city also differs from areas undergoing similar transformation. Karawang’s rural location and status has generally kept it at a greater distance from the city, both physically and socially. The local villagers in Karawang do not have a direct relationship with the city and do not feel that the character of their villages or lives has changed as a result of it either. It is the industrial estates that have had an impact on their lives. The effects of agrarian transition and industrialization are more pronounced in changes in their livelihood strategies, rather than in their socio-cultural habits. Another interesting characteristic of Karawang’s agrarian transition is the low level of out-migration and labour mobility of the locals. As land and people are being affected by industrialization or urbanization and changes in livelihood, many people leave their place of origin in search of work and non-agricultural based labour opportunities. This is not the case in Karawang; the locals have remained in Karawang as they look for different money making opportunities.

While the locals are not partaking in labour migration to look for opportunities outside of Karawang, workers from other areas of West Java and Indonesia are migrating to Karawang for employment in the industrial estates. When a lot of people think about migrant workers, they think of poor, marginalized people who work for lower-wages, possibly performing manual labour. Contrary to this generalized view, the migrant workers in Karawang are highly educated, earn good wages and experience a high level of labour mobility due to their education, skills and experience. Mills discusses the limited resources with which the workers have to confront the power of employers and challenge experiences of exploitation in her study of female migrant workers in Bangkok (Mills, 1999). Kelly’s study of labour control looks at the different mechanisms employers and governments used to control workers movement (Kelly, 2002). The exploitation these workers experienced, and the lack of control over their actions and lack of power to overcome it. The migrant workers
in Karawang did not feel exploited, nor did they want to confront their employees. Ideally they would prefer to be permanent full-time workers, versus contract labour, but their work conditions were agreeable. The migrant workers in Karawang are part of a breed of individuals that leave their places of origin in search of well-paid, skilled employment opportunities. I believe that as Indonesia continues to industrialize these types of migrant workers will become more and more common.
Bibliography


The Asia Foundation. *Second Report of Indonesia Rapid Decentralization Appraisal*. The Asia Foundation, 2002. www.bakti.easternindonesia.org/gsdl/cgi-bin/library?e=d-000-00---0pdf--00-0-0--0prompt-10---4------0-1l--1-de-50---20-help---00031-001-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=pdf&cl=CL2.6&d=HASH77a519cd81669c71d656f7


Hogan, Trevor, Houston, Christopher. “Corporate Cities – Urban Gateways or Gated Communities Against the City?: The Case of Lippo, Jakarta,” Critical Reflections on Cities


“Indonesia,” World Back Database Group and UNCTAD. FDI.net. www.fdi.net/country/sub_index.cfm?countrynum=94


Appendix 1

KARAWANG INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CITY

Data Perusahaan di Kawasan Industri :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Perusahaan</th>
<th>Status Perusahaan</th>
<th>Negara Asal (PMA)</th>
<th>Bidang Usaha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PM A</td>
<td>PMD N</td>
<td>Non PMA/ PMD N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PT. HORIGUCHI ENGINEERING INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PT. PANTJASONA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PT. WAJASENTOSA METALINDO</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PT. INKALI</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PT. KAWAMURA INDAH</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PT. KAWAKASEI INDAH</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PT. HAGIHARA WIHARTA INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PT. MARUMO INDONESIA FORGING</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Industry Type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PT. TOYOBO KNITTING INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Textile Knitting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PT. MIZOBATA LAJU</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PT. ASTRA INTERNATIONAL</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Design Center</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PT. FUJI TECHNICA INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Auto part &amp; Body Car</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PT. SAITAMA STAMPING INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stamping/Metal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PT. NBC INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mesh Cloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PT. JALCO ELECTRONICS INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Electronic Components</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>PT. OGAWA INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Perfume/Cosmetic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PT. SHARP SEMICONDUCTOR INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IC/OP To Device</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>PT. MESINDO PUTRA PERKASA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Car Spare Part</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>PT. ONAMBA INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cable and Plug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>PT. YAMAHA MOTOR PARTS MANUFACT. INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Casting Components</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Product/Service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>PT. A&amp;K DOOR INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Wooden Door</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>PT. IWATANI INDUSTRIAL GAS INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Industrial Gas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>PT. ANEKA KIMIA RAYA</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Specialty Chemical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>PT. DAI-CHI KIMA RAYA</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td>Textile Auxiliaries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>PT. INDOTECH METAL NUSANTARA</td>
<td>Malaysia/Indonesia</td>
<td>Metal Stamping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>PT. JIBUHIN BAKRIE INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td>Automotive parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>PT. ASTRA DAIHATSU</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Automotive Component</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>PT. ASIAN ISUZU CASTING CENTER</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td>Casting Factory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>PT. AT INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td>Casting / Machining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>PT. SHIKINO INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>IC &amp; Parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>PT. TOWA KOGYO INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Wood Product</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>PT. NHK GASKET INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td>Gasket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>PT. AIR LIQUIDE INDONESIA</td>
<td>France/Indonesia</td>
<td>Industrial Gas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Country/Affiliation</td>
<td>Product/Service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>PT. MATSUSHITA SEMICONDUCTOR INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>IC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>PT. MITSUBISHI JAYA ELEVATOR AND ESCALATOR</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td>Elevator Parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>PT. KYORAKU BLOWMOLDING INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Plastic Formation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>PT. KYORAKU KANTO MOLD INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Plastic Mold Formation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>PT. WAVIN DUTA JAYA</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>PVC Pipe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>PT. MIKATASA AGUNG</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Adhesive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>PT. NARASENI PERKASA</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Metal Handicraft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>PT. HIBM CONCRETE MANUFACTURER</td>
<td>England/Indonesia</td>
<td>Pre stressed concrete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>PT. UNI-CHARM INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td>Hygienic products</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>PT. NKS FILTER INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Metal Processing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>PT. SHIN-ETSU POLYMER INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Plastic, Silicone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Country/Location</td>
<td>Product</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>PT. PT. DAI NIPPON PRINTING INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Printing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>PT. SUNCALL INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Roller Printer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>PT. FREYABADI INDOTAMA</td>
<td>X Japan/Singapore</td>
<td>Chocolate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>PT. CERES MEIJI INDOTAMA</td>
<td>X Japan/Singapore</td>
<td>Confectionery Product</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>PT. KAWAI INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Piano &amp; Parts of Piano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>PT. FCC INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Clutches and part of Clutches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>PT. TOTOKU TORYO INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Varnish for enameled wires</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>PT. IMAI INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Plastic Formation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>PT. NOAH TEX</td>
<td>X Japan/Indonesia</td>
<td>Textile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>PT. NAIGAI SHIRTS INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Garment/shirts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>PT. FUJITA INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Connecting Rod</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>PT. MUGAI INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Parts of automobile &amp; Motorcycles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>PT. AICHIKIKI AUTOPARTS INDONESIA</td>
<td>X Japan</td>
<td>Part of automobile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Products</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>PT. MARUICHI INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Motorcycle Clutches shoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>PT. TOYO BESQ PRECISION PARTS INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Automotive &amp; Motorcycle parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>PT. HAMATETSU INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Automotive &amp; Motorcycle parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>PT. KOYAMA INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Automotive &amp; Motorcycle parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>PT. FUJI SPRING INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Automotive &amp; Motorcycle parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>PT. ISK INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Metal Molding Frame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>PT. ORIENTAL MANUFAKTURING INDONESIA</td>
<td>Indonesia/Malaysia/Tanzania</td>
<td>Electronic &amp; Motorcycle Part Molding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>PT. TRIX INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Automobile &amp; Motorcycle parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PHASE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>PT. TOYOTA MOTOR MANUFACTURING INDONESIA</td>
<td>Indonesia/Japan</td>
<td>Automobile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>PT. PROCTER ANG GAMBLE HOME PRODUCT INDONESIA</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Consumer Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>PT. VOITH PAPER SERVICE INDONESIA</td>
<td>German/Indonesia</td>
<td>Roller for Paper Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>PT. TAIHO NUSANTARA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Automotive parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>PT. TAIKSHA MANUFACTURING INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Metal articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>PT. YAMAHA INDONESIA MOTOR MANUFACTURING</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Motorcycle parts &amp; its Equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>PT. IDEMITSU LUBE TECHNO INDONESIA</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Lubricant Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>PT. MINDA ASEAN AUTOMOTIVE</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Automobile &amp; Engineering Parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Perusahaan</td>
<td>Status Perusahaan</td>
<td>Negara Asal (PMA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PMA PMDN Non PMA/PMDN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PT. ATSUMITEC INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PT. BEKAERT INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Belgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PT. BIDGESTONE TIRE INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PT. CHIYODA INTEGRE</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PT. CS INDO TECH</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PT. E-PACK INDONESIANOLOGI</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PT. GS BATTERY</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PT. IZUMI EPS INDONESIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PT. JVC ELECTRONICS</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PT. KIA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PT. KILANG VECOLINA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PT. LEVI STRAUSS</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Amerika Serikat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PT. LIMA TEKNO INDOESIA</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
<td>Aquarium Accessories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PT. MOLDS &amp;DIES INDOESIA</td>
<td>Italia</td>
<td>Machinaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PT. NAKAJIMA ALL INDOESIA</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
<td>Typewriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>PT. NT PISTON RING INDOESIA</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
<td>Piston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PT. PASIFIC PRESTRESS INDOESIA</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Building Baterial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>PT. PAKOAKUINA</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Automotive Component</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>PT. SANDEN INDOESIA</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
<td>Air Condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>PT. SK FIBER INDOESIA</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Yarn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>PT. SUPER STEEL KARAWANG</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
<td>Steel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>PT. TIARA FAJAR TRANSPORTINDO</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>PT. TOYO DIES INDOESIA</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
<td>Dies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>PT. TSUZUKI &amp; ASAMA</td>
<td>Jepang</td>
<td>Automotive Component</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Data Perusahaan di Kawasan Industri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Perusahaan</th>
<th>Status Perusahaan</th>
<th>Negara Asal (PMA)</th>
<th>Bidang Usaha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PMA</td>
<td>PMDN</td>
<td>Non PMA/PMDN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PT. KIA TIMOR MOTOR</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PT. AUTOCAR INDUSTRI KOMPONEN</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>