

The Mobility of Population at Sub-Urban Area in Gempol Village, Pasuruan Regency, East Java

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Abstract

The mobility of population occurs because the gap between rural and urban developments. It forces rural workforces to consider the strength and weakness of the origin and the destination before they mobilize to the urban. Research focuses on two aspects: (1) the reasons why migrants mobilize and activate themselves at informal sector and (2) the governance for informal sector. Result of research indicates that (1) migrants mobilize to Gempol Village because of economic difficulty, especially when job and business opportunities are lacking in the origin. Successful migrants in urban may trigger chain migration because new comers believe that their predecessor will help them. The advance of transportation and communication also stimulates this migration. However, due to lacking of human resource capacity, these new migrants are only absorbed into informal sector; (2) informal sector is never well governed by related institutions although this sector is functional for migrants and Gempol Village community for subsistence production. The actors of informal sector are often repressively treated by Satpol PP during control operation and their presence is restrained by Local Regulation regardless bureaucratic error that underestimates rural and agricultural developments. The problems related to population mobility and informal sector are not easily resolved because the policy-maker is only examining the downstream problems (in urban) without investigating those in upstream (in rural). Therefore, the mobility of rural population may still continue if development policy still emphasizes on urban rather than rural.

Keywords: Population mobility, Job opportunity, Informal sector

1. Introduction

Population mobility reflects a disparity in rural and urban developments. Some economic, trade, industry and service activities are highly concentrated in urban. The phenomena of the mobility of population and labour forces are two sides of a coin. Lacking of job opportunity in rural is putting difficulty to job-seekers. Development policy only favors industry sector and disregards agriculture sector. Structural transformation gap occurs. The existing industries are capital intensive and high technology such that job-seekers from rural are usually low educated and therefore, they are difficult to access the job in formal sector.

Besides such urban bias, the gap is also found in regional development between Java and outside Java. Almost all growth centers, trade and industry centers, and also education centers are settled on Java Island. It increases the competition among job-seekers. High-educated labour forces are assembled in Java Island and this only sweeps aside the rural job-seekers from labor market.

Productive farmland in rural is narrowing due to perpetual conversion by non-farming interest. Based on Agriculture Census in 2003 and 2013, the number of smallholders is increasing, and East Java has the highest proportion of this group (BPS, 2014). The rural poor do not have their own asset and agriculture represents their main subsistence (Quibria, 1991 ; Winarno, 2008 ; Arief and Sasono, 2013)

Such vulnerable rural condition encourages job-seekers to mobilize to urban. Along with third demographic revolution, population mobility changes from permanent into non-permanent supported by the advance of information, communication and transportation technologies. Migrants are smart creatures who understand well the social situation of the origin, and their mobility to urban is the effort to deal with the problems in the origin.

Based on push-pull theory, Lee (1966) has stated that migrants will mobilize if positive values in the remote destination are higher than the origin. This mobility also depends on how individuals perceive the origin and the destination.

Gempol Village remains in industry area and represents the corridor connecting Surabaya, Malang, and Pasuruan. It is an attractive spot for rural job-seekers and migrants from other cities to activate themselves at informal sector. Low income workers must need cheap goods and services to fulfill their daily life. The arrival of migrants is consistent to the adage, "*Ants always come to sugar*", and therefore, chain mobility is inevitable (Mabogunje, 1970) although it helps to develop activities at informal sector.

Withstanding the modernization and social change in rural, the phenomenon of internal population mobility is still important topic to examine. The learning about this phenomenon will combine the perspective of demographic study and the sociology of micro space. This research, thus, is expected to contribute the solution to the socio-economic problems, either in rural or urban.

Based on this background, the article is focused on several issues. First is the reason why migrants mobilize and activate themselves at informal sector. Second is how about the governance of informal sector. This article attempts to reveal the

mobility of population and labour forces at informal sector such that it provides inputs to policy-maker to resolve social phenomenon in Gempol Village.

2. Research Methods

Research is conducted in Gempol Village, Pasuruan Regency, East Java. This village is selected because it remains in industry area where the population is very crowded and migrants are coming from regencies/towns to occupy informal sector. The unit of analysis is migrants with many activities at informal sector.

Research uses qualitative approach because social phenomenon is only uncovered through qualitative approach (Strauss & Corbin, 2010). In other words, qualitative research is not only concerning with visible reality, but also with the hidden reality. The reality must be seen comprehensively, and actual meaning is only captured through information depth (Mulyana, 2010).

Primary data are the main data and it is supported by secondary data. Primary data are obtained through unstructured deep interview to obtain views and opinions of the participants. Participative observation is also conducted to examine behaviors and activities of the individual in research location (Creswell, 2010). Life experience (life history) of the individual as research subject is explored to increase the understanding of research object.

Qualitative data analysis refers to the concept of Milles & Huberman (2014). They assert that qualitative data analysis is perpetually and interactively conducted until research stages are finished and data are saturated. Interactive data analysis model involves data reduction, data display and conclusion.

3. Result

3.1. Reason of Population Mobility

Spatial mobility of migrants is not easy decision. Migrants must consider the condition of the origin and the destination. Push-pull theory of Lee (1966) and Mead's symbolic interaction (Ritzer, 2007) are used as the orientation to identify reasons of the mobility of migrants.

3.1.1 Economic Demand in The Origin

Limited job opportunity in rural is very obvious either in agriculture or non-agriculture sectors. The wage of farm laborers is very low and the sustainability of job is not certain. The job may be available only in 10 or 12 days per month with low wage of Rp. 300,000 or Rp. 400,000, or less than the one-fifth of regency/town minimum wage in East Java Province.

Job opportunity shrinkage and wage lowness in the origin put the difficulty to subsistence fulfillment either for unmarried workers or married workers. Dealing with this scarcity, migrants reduce meal frequency of their family into twice meal a day with the existing menu, which is often not quite giving the nutrient for health. Many of these migrants decide to feast because they do not have money to buy rice and even they eat instant noodle or salted rice with 3 or 4 members of the family.

In urban, job and business opportunities are more available, mainly in the sector which does not need big capital and specific skill, such as informal sector. If potential migrants decide to stay in the origin, they face a reality that family subsistence cannot be fulfilled. Migrants are induced to mobilize because population mobility is a strategy used by rural families to survive and to fulfill subsistence life. Before economic crisis in 1998, more than one-fourth of rural families in Java have depended on the income remitted by their family members who mobilize into city (Hugo, 2000).

Being smart individuals who understand the condition of the origin, the potential migrants are always responsive to the resource scarcity. Therefore, mobility to Gempol Village is non-permanent (circulation and commutation) due to some reason. First is high cost of life necessities and house rent. If the family stays in the origin, it will be economic. Second, migrants can still interact and assemble with nuclear family or their friends from the origin. Third, migrants still can attend the ritual of life cycle in the origin. After they arrive in Gempol Village, their income is uncertain. But, at least, family members must not take a feast anymore and can eat three times a day with more satisfying menu than before mobility. New migrants are usually non-permanent, but after they interact with immediate community, along with better economic condition, they decide to be permanent migrants. Migrants who are still close with family members and parents in the origin are non-permanent occupants.

Migrants often come from low-level family. Their parents do not have agriculture land. Even if they have, it is too small to be the legacy of family members. Land shrinkage is also found among big holders due to land conversion and population pressure. To fulfill the subsistence of typical rural family in Java, consisting of husband, wife and three children, it needs more or less 0.7 hectares rice fields and 0.3 hectares dry fields (Penny & Singarimbun, 1973). Therefore, migrants are often poor because their agriculture sector cannot be dependable anymore to be the economic backbone for subsistence income.

Migrants perceive that job opportunity at agriculture sector begins scarce and therefore, it must be compensated with job opportunity at non-agriculture sector. The fast increasing number of labour forces may deteriorate the economic of rural family because the possibility of being unemployment and getting less income is greater. The slow provision of job opportunity and the lacking of other alternatives are only triggering mobility to urban. Gilbert & Gugler (1996) add that population mobility from rural occurs because urban economic prospect is better than rural. Chaves (2009) declares that

migrants mobilize themselves because they do not have farm land, the income from agriculture sector is very low, and job opportunity in rural is very limited. If migrants decide to mobilize, they are not confused anymore with planting season which is typical at agriculture sector. Such symptom is apparent almost in three recent decades among rural labour forces in Java (Darmajanti and Starlita, 2012).

3.1.2 Chain Mobility

Relatives or friends in Gempol Village are the pioneer for new migrants because the predecessor must have opened the way to this village. Previous migrants can give information about the destination, job opportunity and business opportunity, or social environment. Positive information about social situation in the destination may encourage migrants to mobilize. Negative information can discourage migrants to mobilize (Mabogunje, 1970). Migrants mobilize to Gempol Village after receiving information from previous migrants by cellular phone or by conversation during home coming. Rural tradition is still persistent. When a migrant comes home to the village, many relatives and neighbors will visit and ask information about the destination. In certain case, migrants are intentionally giving specific time to share their experience and success in the destination. The information about migrants' homecoming to the village will be disseminated fast through words-of-mouth. Migrants who settle in urban are the trustable information source and becoming a reference to make the decision of mobility. In other words, migrants who stay long in urban are considered as having knowledge and insight about job and business opportunities.

Migrants in Gempol Village actually have activated themselves at informal sector in regency/town, but the support of relatives or friends in the destination is still needed. The activities at informal sector include child cloth seller, construction laborer, housekeeper, food seller, and others. When migrants do not satisfy with these activities, they use their social network in urban to obtain information about business opportunity at Gempol Village. Although information about destination and job opportunity can be obtained through social network, migrants seem trusting more their relatives or friends from the origin (Drever, 2008; Gibson et al, 2010; Alibaygi & Karamidahkordi, 2009).

Previous migrants can accelerate the arrival of new comers, mostly job-seekers. They are often absorbed into informal sector, and thus, they can have a job less than a week. Many migrants in Gempol Village feel comfort with their social environment and decide to be permanent migrants, thus reducing their intention to come back to the origin. Although the income is only adequate for subsistence life, migrants perceive that the destination is better than the origin.

The mobility of migrants at Gempol Village is quite different from mobility actors in the developed country. In such country, migrants mobilize gradually, from small town to big city, and finally to the bigger city. Principally, migrants always mobilize to another city regardless stricter demographic administration system and control operation by Satpol PP. Migrants mobilize to Gempol Village as the survival strategy. They do not manage into bigger city because they fear of strict competition among the actors of informal sector. In other words, migrants mobilize only for horizontal employment because they like to be the actors of informal sector.

Previous migrants represent the social network that triggers chain mobility because in the destination, new comers will be assisted to socialize with social environment. The first arrival of migrants may be the most difficult moment for survive, but migrants can pass through the time and be successful in economic activity. The dependence of new comers on previous migrants is quite big, especially when migrants have low socio-economic. The educated migrants, however, do not need the assistance of previous migrants (Hugo, 1981; Kartini, 1995).

Preliminary research have found that previous migrants are important because they are the pioneer, able to give information, accommodation, work recommendation and apprentice place, and becoming the reference for the life in the destination (Alisyahbana, 2005; Suyanto & Karnaji, 2005; Ito, 2010). Previous migrants also give senses of calmness and enthusiasm for new comers. Jellinek (1995) has found that rural migrants only have limited monies such that previous migrants are keeping the solidarity by not only providing temporary lodging, but also temporary consumption, capital loan, and business training (apprentice), or even giving protection when new migrants must face law enforcing officers. The closeness between previous migrants and new migrants is quite prominent when new comers are low educated and willing to activate themselves at informal sector.

3.1.3 The Advance of Technology, Communication and Transportation

In decade of 1990s and the early 2000s, telecommunication booths are easily found in the rural. In one last decade, cellular phone has been more established and it reduces the problems of distance and time in typical communication few decades ago. Migrants can communicate with family members in the origin. Structure and infrastructure of transportation have supported migrants such that they must not spend too much cost for mobility.

Easily afforded transportation structure has allowed migrants from regencies/towns in East Java to come to Gempol Village. Non-permanent migrants can go home to the origin in every chance by public transport or by riding the motorcycle from Gempol Village. The driver of motor-tricycle is willing to come home to Tongas, Probolinggo, by spending two a half hours in the journey. Mambo ice commuter decides to go to work from the origin in Pasuruan Regency to Gempol Village, by

riding the public transport for one hour. Transportation by motorcycle dispatcher also facilitates population mobility. In the last decade of 1990s, bus and urban transport have penetrated rural coverage, and motorcycle dispatchers are ready for 24 hours service. It is really helpful for the mobility of migrants.

One thing for sure is the development of television media (TV). More than 10 private TV stations have operated with broadcasting time more than 18 hours per day. Various events are shown, ranging from news to electronic cinema. The demonstration and the broadcasting of events may trigger migrants to mobilize to get better job.

This condition differs from population mobility in Java Island on two or three decades ago. At that time, the advance of technology is not yet established such that migrants are still doubt with their mobility decision. Nowadays, the doubt of migrants becomes blurred because they can decide easily to mobilize and to determine the destination.

3.1.4 The Change of Family Structure

In nuclear family, husband is the head of family and takes responsibility to the socio-economic condition of the family. However, women also do mobility because of marital failure or husband death such that they must stand as the seeker of subsistence. Big family cannot be dependable anymore for wellbeing, and their economic is only enough for subsistence. Such motives are found among migrants who are the owner of tent stall and also among who work as the attendant of this stall. They work to relieve family economic burden because the family income is not enough to fulfill family subsistence.

Stall attendants collect monies every day although they must work overtime. The collected monies are remitted or entrusted to friends who go home because migrants may go home twice a year, especially at Idul Fitri and Idul Adha. Their income as stall attendants is fair enough such that they fear that new migrants will replace their position if they go home so long. Permanent and non-permanent migrants are willing to activate themselves when they are still physically strong because another source of income must be taken to fulfill another subsistence life.

As previously stated, an important reason why migrants mobilize is economic difficulty in the origin. Non-economic factors are also influential, such as previous migrants and family structure change, but economic factor remains persistent. Migrants are mostly coming from the disadvantaged family, low educated, and whose parents are rural laborer. They mobilize to Gempol Village to fulfill their subsistence and help their parents, and in this case they are called as conservative migrants because they do spatial mobility only to work at informal sector. It does not differ a lot from the findings of monumental researches in Java Island on three decades earlier, including Hugo (1981) and others. Problems faced by migrants are still around the poverty and the limited job opportunity in rural, although industrial growth is centered in eastern part of Java Island.

3.2 The Activities at Informal Sector

Before undergoing mobility into Gempol Village, migrants have once activated themselves at informal sector in other regency/town but the spatial narrowing for the actors of informal sector has forced them to move into sub-urban area. This area is considered as more convenient. It is actually comforting such that migrants begin to feel Gempol Village as their home and never hesitate to postpone their homecoming. Information about job opportunity at informal sector is easily obtained through social network (Saefullah, 2002 ; Effendi, 2005).

Permanent migrants build stalls selling soft drinks and hard drinks (alcohol beverage). To attract consumers, the stall owner turns on audio DVD to persuade consumers to sing karaoke and to enjoy the music. Being the experienced the actors of informal sector, migrants understand the behavior of consumers who visit not only for drinks but also to relieve their saturation or exhaustion after daylight working. It is not surprising if consumers are willing to sit until midnight or even about dawn, meaning that it will increase the income of stall owner. Indeed, stall owner attempts to keep the consumers happy such that consumers will be the regular customer. Too often, consumers may come from neighborhood such as from Gempol District, or from distant such as Mojokerto and Sidoarjo.

Stall consumers are so crowded and this develops good income. The price of soft and hard drinks is quite expensive but consumers will pay for these beverages because they can also enjoy night entertainment. The income of hard drink sellers is bigger than the expected subsistence fulfillment and their economic status is often better than usual drink seller. Opening hard drink stall needs very huge administrative cost because it involves land clearance, building permit, and capital which not all migrants can afford. Land price may so high, and migrants may prefer to allocate the money for school fee of their children or even for subsistence fulfillment. If they are street vendors with wagon, each vendor will keep the solidarity by sharing electric facility and even giving small spot around the stall. Such wagon vendors are still few, covering the sellers of meatball, fried rice, chicken noodle and meat chopstick.

The unemployed permanent migrants can use badminton field or house yard as parking lot. The income from parking service will be shared with another parking officer. In Gempol Village, there are four parking services. Two of them occupy semi-permanent building and their net income is three times higher than urban minimal wage of Pasuruan Regency but with long work hour.

Tent stalls use bamboo and wood to prop up plastic canvas roof. The back is covered by canvas, whereas the sides are intentionally open during dry season. The stalls are unique because it uses *lampu teplok* with dime light. Merchandises are displayed on wooden table. Although the design of tent stalls is very simple, it remains attractive for the light-pocket consumers to be a recreation spot to enjoy a cup of coffee and to see the flow of river water.

There are two types of tent stalls based on ownership. First type is the stall owned by non-permanent migrant who manages the stall themselves assisted by their family members. Second is the stall owned by permanent migrant (the boss) but the attendant of the stall is usually from Madura. The self-owned stall usually serves soft drinks and coffees which seem indifferent to the boss stall, but the income of self-owned stall is lower than the boss stall and may only be adequate for subsistence fulfillment. The owner of self-owned stall relies on their income only from the sale of beverages, cigarettes and snacks. Their consumers are not as many as those who visit the boss stall. In other words, self-owned stall owner is rarely receiving tips or not quite often keeping the change excess from consumer shopping. Despite different income, the stall owners attempt to keep the harmony and to avoid the conflict which may distort the wellbeing of informal sector activities. Not all peoples activate themselves as stall owners because it needs recommendation or permit from local chief.

Stall attendants do their mobility after being invited by the boss such that they do not have business capital or place to prepare. The boss always takes young female from the origin because they acquaint well with their family. Similar attitude and life style among them may facilitate the cooperation and the avoidance of cheating. The boss and the attendant are interdependent because the income accepted by the boss depends on the activity of stall attendant. Daily contribution paid to the boss is ranging from Rp. 300,000 to Rp. 400,000. The attendant is paid Rp. 20,000 per day. It is small wage but they get adequate tips from consumers. In a month, stall attendant may obtain twice urban minimum wages of Pasuruan Regency. The boss usually provides facilities of accommodation and consumption, and if the parents of migrants visit to Gempol Village, they can spend overnight in the boss' house.

To increase their income, many stall owners or food sellers undergo unique rituals. They often use mystical charms given by paranormals. These charms are then put on tent/display desk, or in cloth or wallet. It may be enclosed into face powder disk, and when the user applies the powder to their face, the consumers are easily attracted to the stall. This powder is not only used by female staff, but also male. The sacred words from prominent religious person are also pronounced implicitly before opening the stall. Such charms can increase the persuasive force in dealing with strict competition among the stalls. Several informants uncover that the charms are easily obtained from horse-shoe area (Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Jember) and they compete to each other for these charms. Sometimes, one paranormal or prominent person is not enough, and two or three charms are needed to be more convincing.

3.3. The Governance of Informal Sector

Referring to Merton's Structural Functionalism Theory, informal sector in Gempol Village is functional for migrants to undergo economic activities such as being clean water seller, tricycle driver, meatball seller, fried rice seller, beverage seller, and cheap food and coffee drink provider. For the community of Gempol Village who does not have stall, the stall itself opens business opportunity because the community can produce subsistence commodities to be entrusted into the stalls. Such entrustment is benefiting some community members as their main income or even supplementary of the family.

The existence of the actors of informal sector may also help the wellbeing of community members. For instance, clean water seller can supply water every day to the stall because Gempol Village has a limited stock of clean water. Tricycle driver may take stall owners to shop in the market or carries consumers to the nearby food or beverage stalls. More importantly, informal sector also provides cheaper foods or beverages for formal and informal sector workers who cannot afford to buy expensive menus in restaurant. In the bank of Porong River-Gempol, almost all formal sector workers, including factory workers, military or police officers from military base around Gempol District, and informal sector workers, are the regular visitor to enjoy light foods and beverages. Functional dependence between each informal sector in Gempol Village and the immediate community has empowered the existence and the activity of the stalls. If the stalls are not functional to grass root communities, the existence vanishes. Permanent migrants who activate themselves at informal sector have descended throughout second generation. Non-permanent migrants have moved few times across other regencies/towns, and they perceive that Gempol Village is a comfort place to activate themselves at informal sector.

Although informal sector is functional for grass root communities, "bureaucrats" give negative label to this sector because they consider it as disturbing beauty, cleanliness and orderliness. Therefore, the activities of informal sector are quite disturbed and often, hardly treated by Satpol PP during control operation. The development of informal sector is a fair consequence because the country fails to provide job opportunity and social security fund for the unemployed. Local regulation to govern informal sector does not keep the favor of peoples such that migrants are difficult to accumulate their capital. Migrants mobilize vertically and only moves their job place or changes the commodity but still within informal sector. Therefore, the pattern at informal sector is not different from the involution at agriculture sector, which the absorbability is infinite but is not enable to increase the welfare of the actors.

Informal sector activities in Gempol Village are functional for the actors, but dysfunctional to the immediate communities. The stalls sell alcohol beverages which consumers drink until they are intoxicated. Teenagers in Gempol Village start to be familiar with alcohol beverages or even to consume such drinks. They are even drunk in the stalls. The adult can spend their night with drunk and singing karaoke which may produce noisy for the distance of 100 meters. It is perplexing moment for immediate communities.

Being one industrial area in Pasuruan Regency, Gempol Village is attractive for migrants to activate themselves at informal sector. Main road nearby the factories, the river bank of Porong River-Gempol, and the settlement, are occupied by informal sector activities. Various activities of informal sector are found in Gempol Village, such as food and beverage sellers, peddlers, cigarette and beverage kiosk, clean water seller, parking lot provider, and others. Pursuant to the data of Gempol Village workforces based on work status, it is indicated that only 22.7 % workforces are absorbed into informal sector and 77.2 % are working at formal sector (LPPD, 2014). Data of migrants absorbed into informal sector are not available in official statistic documents, but the estimation of these migrants is twice greater than Gempol Village workforces who work at informal sector. However, not all Gempol Village workforces are activating themselves in the village, but in nearby villages in Gempol District or even far away in Sidoarjo Regency and Mojokerto Regency.

Informal sector is a kind of batch for migrants to undergo their economic activities and also their business for their survival. The actors of informal sector can be called as creative workforce who understands situation and utilizes economic opportunity in Gempol Village. Due to limited human capital and lacking of connection for employment, informal sector is a rational option because economic activities in this sector are very flexible to absorb workers. Whole migrants are too often mobilizing to activate themselves at informal sector, and never intending to work at formal sector (industry).

Informal sector is the savior of low educated and less skilled migrants because they are given second chance to do subsistence fulfillment. Although informal sector lacks of business legality, it is the extension of formal sector because commercial commodities produced by formal sector are sold by informal sector. The governance of informal sector is stated in Local Regulation of Pasuruan Regency which emphasizes more on the interests of beauty, cleanliness and orderliness of the urban area rather than the interest of protection for the actors of informal sector. An article of Local Regulation has stated that informal sector is an illegal activity which defies the law such that the actor must be subjected to sanction.

The existence of informal sector that is considered as illegal by bureaucrats is only permitting repressive treatment conducted by Satpol PP during control operation. The operation may run beyond periodic schedule, especially when prominent central officers must pass through Gempol Village or when the local leader needs image building but by sacrificing informal sector. Satpol PP may burn tent stalls and carry away tents to the base at Raci, Pasuruan, thus causing the actors of informal sector to suffer great loss. Based on the latent function in Merton's Structural Functionalism Theory, informal sector plays latent function (hidden) for grass root communities for life subsistence fulfillment such that these communities are not hungry and also, criminal level and social problems can be reduced.

The diversity of informal sector in Gempol Village is quite great, but the actors given great priority include home industry and small enterprise. Stall merchants and food sellers are not yet touched. Informal sector is mostly crowded with economic activities for subsistence fulfillment. However, such informal sector activities may be transformed into formal sector. The development of informal sector in Gempol Village cannot escape from the weakness of demographic administration system because the incoming or exiting migrants are not recorded in the Village Office. The "open door" system that is recently applied even exacerbates the governance of migrants who activate themselves at informal sector.

Informal sector governance in Pasuruan Regency during the recent two decades involves only two regulations, mainly Local Regulation No.19/1992 and its refinement through Local Regulation No.11/2005. Both regulations only shrink the activity space for the actors of informal sector, and bureaucrats are not attempting to open room for dialog. Worse, there is no association to accommodate the actors of informal sector and even non-government organizations that may help to express their aspiration to bureaucrats. This condition only produces a deadlock which then complicates the resolution of informal sector problems. Informal sector needs for law certainty and business security.

Number of workers absorbed into informal sector in Pasuruan Regency is not reducing at all and accounted for 70 % of the employed workforces. During second term of economic crisis in 1997/1998, many formal sector workers are terminated. Experts and ILO staffs have predicted that open unemployment level in Indonesia will be increased dramatically, but the reality is not such a way because the terminated workers immediately shift into informal sector (Hugo, 2000; Effendi, 2003). Reflecting to this reality, bureaucrats fail to increase community welfare because formal sector that receives so many facilities can only absorb very few workers than informal sector that is neglected. Informal sector is dominated by workers from the poor population (Gilbert & Gugler, 1996; Sumarto, 2009), but they are successfully survived during economic crisis. Evers & Korff (2002) say that under sociology perspective, informal sector is the base of life feasibility and survival of grass root communities by utilizing all possible economic opportunities.

The governance of informal sector in Gempol Village is not successful because of some reasons: (1) Accurate data of informal sector activities are not available, and these data are needed for social planning and empowerment; (2) In academic term, knowledge and experience among bureaucrats and Village Representative Agency (BPD) are very low such that it is

difficult to organize the planning for informal sector; (3) There is no specific institution to govern informal sector but the governance is submitted to the main task and function (TUPOKSI) of The Official of Cooperative and Small-Medium Enterprise of Pasuruan Regency, whereas restructuring and control are assigned into the main task and function of Satpol PP. The ambiguity of which institution must govern informal sector has led the attention and fostering given more to the development of small and medium enterprises (UKM); (4) There is no association for the actors of informal sector whereas this association is important bridge between the actors of informal sector and the related institutions. The absence of such interaction will result in less proactive policy and create low legitimacy for the actors of informal sector; (5) narrow understanding of bureaucrats about Local Autonomy Act by reasoning that the funding is not allocated for the actors of informal sector who are not the people of Pasuruan Regency. Local Autonomy Act has provided the space for cooperation across regencies/towns in the case of distorted implementation; (6) Lacking of coordination and avoiding the responsibility are often found among the institutions; and (7) bureaucrats are not seriously implementing their job because their term remains uncertain, and structural post is not filled based on performance. Social jealousy and work disharmony are quite obvious.

The following is the case of informal sector governance:

"In the context of governing the actors of informal sector, those who activate themselves in tent stalls on river bank are considered as disturbing beauty, cleanliness and orderliness. The managing bureaucrats include Satpol PP, Head of Gempol District, and related institution including the Government of Pasuruan Regency, Resort Police and District Military Command. The session is conducted twice. During the session, bureaucrats discuss the topic with community leaders, Head of Village, and Chief of Neighborhood Association. The agreement has stated that in two weeks before Ramadhan (July 2012), the river bank must be cleaned from tent stalls and only be allocated for 30 stall owners whose ID is the occupant of Gempol Village. The removed stall owners are compensated with transport fee for Rp. 250,000. However, those tent stalls still occupy river bank and the officers who receive the mandate from the Government of Pasuruan Regency have not been in the position anymore".

Therefore, the failure to remove informal sector from the river bank in Gempol Village is indicating the fact that there is lacking of more established planning and coordination across institutions. The failure of instant planning cannot be separated far from political interest. Local Election (PILKADA) is only few months ahead or it has reached first half in 2013. If the removal is conducted, it may destroy the image of incumbent who runs for reelection at PILKADA of Pasuruan City and also for the election of PILKADA of East Java in second half in 2013. It seems that the actors of informal sector are only used as political commodity (object) and not positioned as the subject of development with a space for empowerment based on the paradigm of peoples-centered development.

4. Conclusion

By taking account the focus of research, it is concluded that:

1. Migrants mobilize to Gempol Village because economic difficulties in the origin, especially related to the limited job opportunity and business opportunity. Other reason of mobility is the changing family structure where wives take over the function of husband as family backbone. All these causes are not far from economic motive. The increasing number of migrants in urban is emanating from chain mobility. Previous migrants help new comers through their solidarity for those who come from similar origin. The advance of transportation and communication also facilitates the decision of migrants toward mobility and to activate themselves at informal sector. Limited human resource and low quality are only giving migrants a limited choice. Informal sector is the economic activity that they can easily afford.
2. Informal sector in Gempol Village is not seriously governed. Repressive treatment from Satpol PP during control operation is too much obvious. Although informal sector only helps migrants and Gempol Village communities for subsistence fulfillment, the government considers it as parasite which disturbs the implementation of local regulation despite job opportunity given by informal sector. The development of informal sector in urban cannot be separated from the policy making that disregards the development of rural and agriculture sector. Problems around informal sector will not end until bureaucrats attempt to understand employment condition in downstream (urban) and its interdependence in upstream (rural).

It can be concluded that although informal sector is functionally accommodating low educated and less skilled workforces, and may provide goods and services for subsistence fulfillment among grass root communities, the actors of informal sector cannot undergo vertical mobilization because their maneuver room is restrained and thus they find difficulty to accumulate capital for business development. Migrants often do horizontal mobility, and although their activity and place are shifted to another spot, but it still remains within informal sector corridor.

5. Recommendation

1. Phenomena of population mobility and urban informal sector are complex problems and must be reviewed deeply from upstream (rural) to downstream (urban) to obtain comprehensive understanding about theoretical reconstruction.

2. Population mobility is closely related with development gap between rural and urban. Interdisciplinary approach may eliminate the partition of scientific disciplines. In this matter, focus of research is given upon unique and specific local sociality issues implied by population mobility. Problems must be understood from which less biased policy implementation can be recommended.
3. Problems of population mobility and urban informal sector cannot be resolved if development bias between rural and urban is still open or when job opportunity in rural is very limited. Development bias between rural and urban can be reduced by creating non-agriculture job opportunity in form of micro, small and medium enterprises based on local resource potentials. This effort may reduce the limitation of rural job opportunity which in turn, employment and poverty levels are declining.
4. The development of agriculture sector must be seriously attended because it supports people-based economic and it is always important to protect smallholders and landless farmers. This development also restrains the limitation of job opportunity in agriculture sector and prevents the excessive conversion of productive land. Subsidy can be given to agriculture production structure which is made available for farmers.
5. The solution to problems of population mobility and informal sector must consider the problems found in upstream (rural) and downstream (urban) such as economic, human resource and cultural psychology. Urban informal sector needs a change from repressive approach to fostering and empowerment approaches. In pursuance of this matter, the concept of McGee & Yeung (1977) is used which suggests that (1) informal sector must be put in strategic location which may not disturb public space; (2) informal sector is considered as the asset to empower the actors through fostering, counseling and helping the access toward partnership with formal sector; (3) education policy is made to support and guide the actors of informal sector to undergo their work mobility toward formalization.
6. Migrants who activate themselves at urban informal sector must not be condemned as the intruder of cleanliness and the cause of confusion. Migrants can be governed by adopting Chinese concept where the government and the rural training agency are preparing workforces to work into formal sector, especially in state-owned enterprises and others. Therefore, job-seekers from rural can reduce employment issues in urban (Guang, 2005).
7. The boldness of permanent migrants to sell alcohol beverages is caused by weak law enforcement, mainly the local regulation of alcohol beverages in Pasuruan Regency. The deterioration of human resource can be anticipated by strict law enforcement to achieve a consistent implementation of local regulation of alcohol beverages.

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