



**Structural Conditions and Agency in
Migrant Decision-Making:
A Case of Domestic and
Construction Workers from Java,
Indonesia**

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Abstract

This working paper examines the migration drivers into the two low-paid and insecure occupations of domestic work and construction work from rural areas in Indonesia. While the ideas of migration exist in Indonesia's social imagination, the decision making process on whether to migrate and who should migrate in the household is complicated by the gendered migration regimes, gender roles and responsibilities within the household as well as intergenerational family obligations. Traditional gender ideals see men as the more appropriate labour migrant (both internally and overseas). However, women have greater access to labour migration, especially to international markets, due to the availability of credit offered to facilitate their movement. In this paper, we investigate how migrants and their households exercise their agency in the context of structural gendered constraints. We found that some households reshuffle household roles and responsibilities to maximise economic gains through women's migration, while men stay behind to take care of the household. Other households are immobilised by the gendered migration regimes where no one in the household migrates because men are unable to afford migration financially, while women are constrained by their household responsibilities. Other households make conscious decisions to work only within Indonesia (both men and women) or reject migration in favour of spending more time with their family members.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....	6
1. Introduction	7
1.1 Justifications for the Research	7
1.2 History of Migration and Development in Indonesia.....	7
1.3 Gendered Migration and Insecurities	9
1.4 Structural Conditions and Agency: Enabling or Constraining Mobility?	10
2. Methods.....	11
2.1 Standard Definition of Migrants.....	11
2.2 Study Site Selection	12
2.3 Sample Frame.....	13
2.3.1 Ponorogo	13
2.3.2 Surabaya	14
2.4 Interview Technique Process	14
2.5 Data Analysis	15
3. Drivers of Migration	16
3.1 Culture of Migration.....	16
3.2 Migration Regimes and Mobility Restriction	18
3.2.1 Differential access to migration destinations.....	18
3.2.2 Gendered access to international migration	20
3.3 Intra-Household Dynamics in Face of Structural Conditions	23
3.3.1 Existing gendered household division of labour	23
3.3.2 Prioritising family intimacy and children’s character development	24
Conclusion.....	26
References	28
Media Sources.....	31

List of Tables

Table 1: In-depth Interviews from Respective Research Projects.....	16
Table 2: Contact Person at Destination by Migrant Destination.....	18
Table 3: Contact Person at Destination by Migrant Gender and Destination.....	21

Note

The approximate conversion rate in September 2014 for Rp 1 million was £51 and US\$86.

Executive Summary

Through this working paper, we seek to understand what drives people from rural areas in Indonesia to migrate. In doing so, we examine the two low-paid and insecure occupations of domestic work and construction work. The occupations were chosen because they are well represented across the study sites selected by the Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium partners and also in Southeast Asia. It is mainly low-skilled migrants who are employed in domestic work and construction work.

As we explain in the paper, ideas of migration exist in Indonesia's social imagination. The Indonesian term *merantau*, meaning to leave one's homeland voluntarily and temporarily to seek knowledge, experience and/or wealth (Elmhirst 2006), was frequently used by respondents in both migrant and non-migrant households. The term was an expression of their desires to move away from home for short periods of time in order to experience the world beyond their familiar surroundings and/or to earn more money than they could from the seasonal nature of work in the villages. Traditional gender ideals depict men as the more appropriate migrant (both internally and overseas), if the economic imperative to do so arises for the household. However, existing gendered migration regimes complicate this gendered arrangement within the household. These regimes see access to labour migration, especially to international markets, as highly gendered in favour of women. Unlike men who typically have to accumulate a large sum of money as upfront payment to facilitate their migration, women are able to access debt-financed migration where they pay back the migration fees in instalments only after they start work. As a result, the decision making process on whether to migrate and who should migrate is complicated.

Migration decisions are also contingent on gender roles and responsibilities, primarily in relation to day-to-day household maintenance and inter-generational family obligations. The extent migrants and their households are able to exercise their agency in the context of structural gendered constraints varies. Some families reshuffle household roles and responsibilities in order to maximise economic gains through women's migration, while men stay behind to take care of the household. Other households are immobilised by the gendered migration regimes insofar that no one in the household is able to migrate, as men are unable to afford migration financially, while women are constrained by their household responsibilities. There are other households who make conscious decisions to work only within Indonesia or reject migration in favour of spending more time with their family members, especially if they would like to play an active parenting role for their young children.

1. Introduction

1.1 Justifications for the Research

This working paper aims to improve our understanding of what motivates people to enter the two low-paid and insecure occupations of domestic work and construction work. Our sample focuses on individuals who originate from Java, Indonesia. It is mainly low-skilled migrants who are employed in domestic work and construction work, accounting for approximately 53 million and 110 million workers worldwide respectively (ILO 2013a, 2013b). The occupations were chosen because they are well represented across the study sites selected by the Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium partners ('Consortium') and also in Southeast Asia. It is estimated that nearly 10 million Indonesians work in domestic work and construction work within the country, while internationally over 5 million work in domestic work.¹ It is interesting and revealing that there is data available on domestic work but not on construction work; international migration for domestic work seems very regulated and institutionalised while migration for construction work seems to be the opposite.

By studying the life worlds of migrants and migrant households in the two occupations, it is possible to develop an understanding of their subjective and material experiences throughout the migration process, from decision-making, work conditions and relationships with family members to livelihood strategies following their return. This will allow us to gain a deeper understanding of the data collected in the quantitative phase (see Khoo *et al.* 2014). In this paper, we focus primarily on the pre-migration process, seeking to understand the drivers of migration behind both domestic and construction work.

1.2 History of Migration and Development in Indonesia

The Indonesian government has been promoting labour migration as a development strategy in response to issues of poverty and domestic unemployment (IOM 2010: 10). Uneven economic growth across provinces and countries in the Southeast Asian region over the past three decades has sharpened the rural-urban divide (Saraswati 2008: 18). Consequently, large numbers of economically disadvantaged people, in rural areas where employment opportunities are severely limited, move within Indonesia and overseas as a household investment strategy (Knerr 2012: 94-110). In doing so, they usually seek to reduce poverty and seek opportunities for upward social mobility (Anggraeni 2006; Ford 2001). Based on a household survey conducted

¹ It is unclear how many Indonesians have migrated overseas for construction work.

with 1,203 households in the Sampung sub-district in the Ponorogo Regency in East Java, Indonesia (Khoo *et al.*, 2014), 70 per cent of internal migrants worked in another part of Java while the rest migrated out of Java.² Consistent with national internal migration patterns, the top destinations were East Java (34 per cent), Jakarta/Banten (28 per cent)³ and Sumatera Island (11 per cent), due to their relative economic prosperity and job opportunities. Within Indonesia, approximately 2.6 million people are employed as domestic workers, three-quarters of whom are female (ILO 2006; *The Jakarta Post*, March 18 2014), and an estimated 6.3 million people are working in the construction industry (BPS 2014).⁴

In terms of overseas migration, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia are the top destination countries for Indonesian migrant workers, each accounting for about 23 per cent of all Indonesian migrant workers in 2011 (BNP2TKI 2013: 12). An estimated 6.5 million Indonesians work overseas, where seven to eight out of ten work as domestic workers (Anggraeni 2006; *The Jakarta Post*, March 18 2014). It is unclear how many Indonesians migrated overseas to work in the construction work industry as the official figures do not include 'illegal' (undocumented) migration. As one of the top two destination countries for (documented) migrants from Indonesia (BNP2TKI 2013) due to its geographical proximity, relative wealth and abundant job opportunities, Malaysia is reported to host between 1.4 and 2 million labourers (both legal and illegal) from Indonesia (ILO 2013c; *The Jakarta Post*, cited in *International Business Times* January, 31 2014). While it is unclear how many Indonesians work in the construction sector in Malaysia (both legal and illegal), 20 per cent of legal migrants from Indonesia are employed in the construction sector worldwide (Asian Development Bank Institute 2012; ILO 2013c). In this context, it is worth highlighting that Malaysia faces a chronic problem of illegal migration, with sources estimating that two-thirds of its total foreign workforce (approximately 3.1 million foreign workers) are undocumented migrants (*New Straits Times*, cited in *International Business Times*, January 31 2014). It is also likely that international migrants in the domestic work industry could be 'illegal' or become 'illegal' throughout the course of their stay in the destination countries (Hernandez-Coss *et al.* 2008: 21).

² There were a total of 551 internal migrants in the household survey which sampled over 1,203 households.

³ Banten province is geographically next to Jakarta and its ports support the economic activities of Jakarta and Java island as a whole.

⁴ There are no statistics on the gender breakdown of people working in the construction work industry in Indonesia. From the household survey (Khoo *et al.*, 2014), all internal migrants for construction work were male, although there were three women who migrated to Malaysia for construction work.

1.3 Gendered Migration and Insecurities

Vulnerability and exploitation are significant experiences in both the domestic and construction work industries. Migrants employed as domestic workers are susceptible to exploitation due to their unequal relationships with brokers and employers as well as the private nature of work. Brokers, in particular, proliferate at all levels, from the village to the destination and across all stages of the migration process. This proliferation is a result of the increasing regulation of overseas labour migration in Indonesia (Lindquist 2010, 2012), and brokers are known for charging high fees associated with assisting migrants to secure jobs. As Platt *et al.* (2013) highlighted in their study on Indonesian domestic workers in Singapore, brokerage fees were equivalent to about eight months of the migrant's salary. For domestic work migrants working within Indonesia, the media and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) like Jakarta-based Migrant Care have frequently chastised the categorisation of domestic workers as part of the informal sector. It is highlighted that the lack of legal protection to mediate the (potential) mistreatment of domestic workers in private middle-class homes in Indonesia increases domestic workers' vulnerabilities and exploitation (*The Jakarta Globe*, Feb 25 2014; *The Straits Times*, March 10 2014). Similarly, the private nature of the household as a workplace also raises potential issues for domestic work migrants working overseas.

The brokerage system in Indonesia operates differently for men and women and thus constitutes what we refer to as 'gendered migration regimes' (Lindquist, Xiang and Yeoh 2012: 9). This means that women are typically able to access international migration opportunities via debt-financed migration and repay agent fees through salary deductions after they have started working overseas. Men, on the other hand, are required to provide upfront payment fees prior to departure for overseas migration and continue to face a substantial period of salary deductions while at destination (Lindquist 2010). This increases the vulnerability of international construction work migrants, as they are saddled with debts before starting work. Based on the fear of being repatriated before they are able to clear their debts and earn money, they may be more reluctant to raise work issues (e.g. unpaid/underpaid salaries, work conditions). Those who seek construction work within Indonesia are also vulnerable as they are typically hired on a casual wage labour system (i.e. daily income). This increases the precarity of migrant construction workers, who often have to seek alternative sources of income when there is no work available (e.g. due to delays, weather conditions etc).

The high financial barriers to international labour markets for men vis-à-vis women are a result of market conditions, perceived domesticity and policy decisions. As Lindquist (2010) points out, female domestic workers are in very high demand in Asia and the Middle East as there are few locals in the destination countries willing to do the work. This global competition for female domestic workers results in employers being more willing to finance the upfront

costs of the worker's migration before recouping the money through salary deductions. On the other hand, there is much less demand for male construction workers in destination countries like Malaysia, where they compete with the local population for jobs in the construction industry. In addition to market conditions, there is a perceived domesticity of migrant women where 'women have generally been viewed as more docile and less likely than men to disrupt the labour process' (Lindquist 2010: 130). The homebound environment of migrant women who take up domestic work also ensures that 'they are easier to control than male migrants' who work in construction sites and have greater physical mobility. In terms of policy decisions, there has been a greater concern with the protection (*perlindungan*) and regulation of female migrants in Indonesia (see Lindquist 2010). We contend that these policies are both influenced by, and in turn influence, local perceptions that families of women who migrate abroad need assurance that they will be well taken care of. One form of 'guarantee' is to offer incentive payments to women and their families to encourage women's physical mobility.

The national trend that international construction work migration constitutes less than half of international domestic work migration is linked to the relative accessibility of domestic work as an international migration pathway. Data from the household survey in Ponorogo (Khoo *et al.* 2014) supports this observation: in absolute terms, there were four times as many international migrants for domestic work as for construction work; in terms of percentages, 51 per cent of construction work migrants worked overseas compared to 73 per cent for domestic work migrants. This is a result of the above-mentioned regulated and institutionalised nature of international migration for domestic work compared to that for construction work.

1.4 Structural Conditions and Agency: Enabling or Constraining Mobility?

Migration, as a household livelihood strategy in Indonesia, is often seen as 'an investment which helps to secure the family's livelihood' (Knerr 2012: 94). In the context of unequal access to labour migration due to existing migration regimes, there is a 'differentiated mobility' of people (Massey 1994), where some people have relatively more access to labour migration than others. This echoes Massey's concept of power geometry, which is used to 'capture both the fact that space is imbued with power and the fact that power in its turn always has a spatiality' (Massey 2009: 19). Gendered migration regimes promote asymmetrical mobility that favours women's movement, particularly to international destinations. Decisions on migration at the intra-household level are necessarily mediated by the interacting effects between prevailing structural conditions and human agency, where the latter is enabled or constrained depending on the location of 'power in relations to the flows and the movement' (Massey 1994). Agency at its most basic is defined as the 'capacity to act', but it necessarily occurs within existing macro conditions (Charrad 2010; Ortner 2006). In other words, power geometry both facilitates and constrains human agency, influencing migration selectivity, specifically who

gets to migrate (and who stays) as well as the differential strategies and experiences of households (Zeitlyn *et al.* 2014).

Given these conditions underpinning the migration process in Java, this working paper thus seeks to provide insights into the following research questions:

1. What are the main drivers of migration into the occupations of domestic work and construction work in Java, Indonesia?
2. How do household gender roles and responsibilities interact with migration patterns in Java, Indonesia?

2. Methods

In this section, we outline the methods used in the qualitative project conducted in Ponorogo regency in East Java, Indonesia.

2.1 Standard Definition of Migrants

This study followed the various definitions of migrants put forward by the Consortium, which were also used during the household survey (Khoo *et al.* 2014):

- The overarching definition of *migrant* is anyone who used to live in the household and left to go away from the village/town/city in the past 10 years, for a period of absence, or intended absence, of at least 3 months (definition adapted from Bilsborrow *et al.* 1984: 146).
- An *internal migrant* is anyone who used to live in the household and left to go away in the past 10 years to another location within the country, for a period of absence, or intended absence, of at least 3 months (definition adapted from Bilsborrow *et al.* 1984:1 46).
- An *international migrant* is anyone who used to live in the household and left to go away in the past 10 years, to another country, for a period of absence, or intended absence, of at least 3 months.
- A *seasonal migrant* is a sub-set of either an internal migrant or international migrant who stays away for a few months but less than a year.
- A *returned migrant* is an individual who had been away for at least 3 months over the past 10 years, and who has lived in his/her native household for the last 12 consecutive months. The use of 12 months would automatically exclude from the definition all seasonal migrants who tend to migrate every year for a limited number of months (adapted from Carletto and de Brauw 2008).
- A *non-migrant* is an individual from a household without any members (either male or female) who have left for or returned from another village/town/city/country in the past 10 years, for a period of absence of at least 3 months.

In addition, we followed the Consortium's definitions of domestic work⁵ and construction work:

- A *domestic worker* is 'any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship'. Domestic work is 'work performed in or for a household, or households' (Domestic Workers Convention, 2011, No. 189; ILO 2014a).
- A *construction worker* is an individual who works on construction sites. The construction sites can be big or small, private or public, but do not include mining sites (definition adapted from International Standard Classification of Occupations list or ISCO 08; ILO 2014b).

This research complements our previous quantitative research on labour migration covering gendered migration patterns, processes and outcomes (see Khoo *et al.* 2014). Sampling from our household survey respondent pool, in-depth interviews were conducted with migrant households (N=40) and non-migrant households (N=5) in Ponorogo, and with current migrants working in Surabaya (N=10). The overall sample allows us to better understand the aspirational circumstances that surround the decisions to migrate (or not) and the impacts of migration (or non-migration).

2.2 Study Site Selection

The Sampung sub-district in Ponorogo situated in East Java, Indonesia was chosen as the study site as it was a follow-up study of our previous household survey conducted in this same location. This rural district in East Java is known to have high levels of transnational outmigration. High outmigration is a result of the irregular nature of work afforded by the agrarian economic structure of Ponorogo, which supports the seasonal employment of two-thirds of the population (Khoo *et al.* 2014). Most people in our previous survey owned some agricultural land, either as a result of purchase or inheritance. They generally produce crops like paddy rice, corn and tapioca. The bulk of the harvest is channelled to meet subsistence needs of the households, especially for households who own very small plots of agricultural land. Some farmers also sell part of the harvest (especially their corn produce which is usually later processed as chicken feed) to middlemen, where the latter would profit from selling their purchases to large commercial entities and city merchants. People who do not own agricultural land at all generally work as farm labourers on a seasonal basis, where they depend on meagre incomes to support the subsistence needs of their households.

⁵ Indonesian domestic workers within Indonesia and the top destination countries typically have a live-in employment arrangement and perform household chores as well as care-giving tasks (e.g. elder- and child-care).

Income from agricultural outputs is usually meagre because of the seasonal nature and relatively low outputs of farming due to the fragmented nature of land ownership in Ponorogo.⁶ This raises difficulties for the landless⁷ and poorer people in the village to put sufficient food on the table or to support their children's and younger siblings' education throughout the year. As a stopgap measure, some supplement their incomes with other odd jobs like construction work, driving and selling homemade food and products at the markets. The lack of stable job opportunities needed to provide regular income streams spurred a desire amongst the villagers to search for longer-term job opportunities outside of Ponorogo. Based on the earlier quantitative project findings, 438 female migrants (74 per cent of all female migrants) and 169 male migrants (29 per cent of all male migrants) in our study had ever migrated (either internationally or internally) to become domestic workers or construction workers respectively.⁸ Surabaya, a major city in East Java, was the other study site following Ponorogo, as it acts as a key destination area for internal migrants from Ponorogo.

2.3 Sample Frame

2.3.1 Ponorogo

Out of the 1,203 households that participated in the earlier quantitative study,⁹ 903 were migrant households. Out of the 903 eligible households, we identified 584 households who reported having household member(s) working in construction work or domestic work. The sample frame was further refined by selecting households that were representative of the general social structure of Ponorogo, taking into account these additional factors: (1) education level of household head; (2) dependency ratio in household; and (3) household wealth based on overall household income. From the shortlisted households, we then identified those who had previously indicated their willingness to participate in further research and contacted them by phone before seeking an interview appointment with them.

The interviews completed in this field site consisted of the following: (1) twenty migrant households who had at least one current or returned migrant who

⁶ Land is generally acquired through inheritance from parents, a common practice among Javanese families (Rao 2011: 7). The high land ownership (92 per cent) observed in our survey data, where households owned at least the land that the house was built on (*tanah*), was not surprising. Land ownership, in this sense, was not a differential between non-migrant and migrant households.

⁷ In this context, the landless refers to people who do not have land for farming purposes (*sawah* or *lading*).

⁸ There were three female construction workers and five male domestic workers in the survey data, which were not included in the figures.

⁹ From the quantitative survey data, all but six households were Javanese, suggesting a fairly homogenous ethnic sample.

worked in construction work; (2) twenty migrant households who had at least one current or returned migrant who worked in domestic work; and (3) five non-migrant households. We identified and selected the five non-migrant households in order to provide a counterfactual narrative. The interviews were conducted with the head of the household (if the migrant was currently away), or with the returned migrant (if he/she has returned to Ponorogo prior to the interview).

2.3.2 Surabaya

From the quantitative survey, there were a total of 63 people (4 people working in construction and 44 in domestic work) from Ponorogo who had temporarily relocated to Surabaya for work at the time of data collection. While conducting fieldwork in Ponorogo, we approached the local Ponorogo-based households from which the Surabaya-based current migrants originated. We contacted the households of these current migrants in the instance that they had indicated that they were willing to be re-contacted for future research. We then confirmed with the Ponorogo-based household members if the current migrants were still in Surabaya. Following that, we sought their help in contacting the current migrants in Surabaya to determine whether they were willing to participate in the research. In this process, we successfully interviewed four out of five potential respondents.¹⁰ We completed six more interviews with three current construction and three domestic migrant workers through snowballing and tapping into local networks.

2.4 Interview Technique Process

Before the interview commenced, the field team introduced our project aims and sought informed consent to record the interview and take written notes. In addition, observation notes on the living conditions and assets of the household were made to augment the interviews. In some cases, we were invited to stay for a meal and to look around the house, allowing us to take photos and obtaining further contextual knowledge about the household and general living conditions in the village.

One major challenge we faced during the interviews had to do with privacy and confidentiality. It was not always possible to conduct the interview in a private setting as interviews were normally conducted in the living room where relatives, neighbours and friends of the respondents regularly dropped by. We managed to ensure privacy for the interview in some cases by explaining the purpose of our visit and the need for privacy from onlookers. In cases where privacy was not possible, we asked non-sensitive questions in the course of the interview when visitors are present. To further maintain the integrity of our

¹⁰ One of the five potential respondents was in the midst of moving to another city because of another upcoming construction project and hence was not available for the interview.

data, we recorded the times that onlookers appeared and left in field notes, and took that into account during data processing.

2.5 Data Analysis

All interviews conducted in Ponorogo and Surabaya were recorded in audio form and transcribed in Bahasa Indonesia (and Javanese, where applicable) before being translated into English. Transcripts were then coded and analysed using the NVivo software. All quotes in Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese in this paper were transcribed verbatim while translations have been corrected for grammar insofar that they do not change the tone and meaning of the quotes.

We aim to have a most complete representation of the migration experience at different phases and of the impact on poverty alleviation and development through the eyes of different types of migrants (international/internal, returned/working) as well as left behind family members. Therefore, this paper draws on data from the 55 in-depth interviews conducted in Ponorogo and Surabaya as well as on existing research conducted by members of the research team. Existing research includes data gathered from two sources.¹¹ The first source includes another Consortium project (see Platt *et al.* 2013), which conducted 201 surveys and 38 in-depth follow-up interviews with Indonesian domestic workers in Singapore (destination country). The second source is from the CHAMPSEA study (Graham and Yeoh 2013),¹² which includes in-depth interviews with family members of Indonesian domestic workers (N=20) and construction workers (N=5) in East Java (sending area), with a special focus on transnational migration in South-East Asia and the health of children left behind by migrant parents.

	Qualitative Project with Indonesian domestic workers in Singapore (Platt <i>et al.</i> 2013)	Qualitative Project in Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia	CHAMPSEA project in East Java, Indonesia (Graham and Yeoh 2013)
Migrant households	0	40	25
Non-migrant households	0	5	0
Current	38	10	0

¹¹ The methods used in the qualitative project with Indonesian domestic workers in Singapore and the CHAMPSEA study are described in their respective publications (Platt *et al.* 2013; Graham and Yeoh 2013).

¹² CHAMPSEA is a cross-country study on transnational migration in South-East Asia and the health of children left behind by migrant papers. For this paper, we have drawn only on the relevant in-depth interviews from East Java, Indonesia. The CHAMPSEA project was funded by the Wellcome Trust [GR079946/B/06/Z], [GR079946/Z/06/Z].

migrants			
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Table 1: In-depth Interviews from Respective Research Projects

3. Drivers of Migration

3.1 Culture of Migration

Appreciating that migration is firmly etched into the social imagination of people in Ponorogo is an important starting point from which to contemplate migration and social mobility in this part of East Java. When probed on the reasons behind one's migration, respondents commonly remarked that they wanted to *merantau*. *Merantau*, which means to leave one's homeland voluntarily and temporarily to seek knowledge, experience and/or wealth (Elmhirst 2006), is a culturally institutionalised concept behind traditional patterns of migration in Indonesia. While the term *merantau* was traditionally used to refer to men's migration (Nas 2002; Silvey 2000), its meaning and associated practices have changed over time. The increase in women's migration has meant that the use of the term is no longer restricted only to men. Women are no longer seen as 'just drifting' (Silvey 2000: 508) when they move away. In fact, out of 17 respondents who used the term *merantau*, 9 of them were referring to a female migrant, whether this person was the respondent herself, mother, sister or daughter.

Economic migration, where people move to mitigate the lack of stable job opportunities in the rural area, largely characterises the short-term, circular nature of people's mobility from Ponorogo. As Farah, a 23-year-old respondent working in Surabaya as a domestic worker lamented:

If [I stay] in Ponorogo, I have no job...except to work in the field [on a seasonal basis]. If I have a job there [in Ponorogo] then I would not want to go to Surabaya. [Actually] It is better for me to work in my house so I can get to be with my parents.

The agrarian-based economy of Ponorogo, where seasonal employment is the most common source of (irregular) income, entails that the majority of respondents needed to look for more regular streams of income to support their basic needs and other aspirations.

In addition to economic migration, some respondents choose to *merantau* as they were solely intrigued by the idea of seeking experience elsewhere. There is a sense of agency inherent in these migrants' non-economic decision to migrate for a sense of adventure and to see the world. Fahmi first moved away to work in Surabaya as a security guard at the age of 19 in 1998. During this first migration episode, Fahmi 'just wanted to know how life would be like there' (*pengen nyoba hidup disana gitu aja*), but gradually came to see migration as a means of livelihood. Another respondent currently living in Ponorogo, 31-year-old Zulia, remarked that she longed to return to Jakarta where she previously

worked for a period of three years before she got married. While she is unable to leave now as she has to take care of her eight-year-old daughter in her husband's absence, she hopes that she can 'take turns' (*gantian*) with her husband, if the latter is willing to substitute her role in childcare (*kalau ayahnya mau ditinggal*) after his return. However Zulia's interest in migration did not arise from a desire to accumulate wealth from working in Jakarta. Rather, she just wants to work (*pengen saja*) as she relishes the experience of working elsewhere. She has been confined to the home after getting married and giving birth (*nggak pernah sik keluar*), to the extent that she has not even taken part in agricultural work, the main economic activity in the village that would afford some social interaction. As such, her wish to work in Jakarta might stem from her desire to gain freedom from domesticity, even if for a short while.

The pervasiveness of the culturally institutionalised concept of *merantau* in the rural community, including in the minds of women, is made clear in 37-year-old Rina's case. Rina comes from a wealthy non-migrant household. While Rina had never migrated before, she once entertained thoughts of migrating to Saudi Arabia to work as a domestic worker. When probed on the reasons behind her desire to migrate despite her stable financial background, Rina recounted 'that was just a wish' because of her 'surroundings' where she witnessed her neighbours leaving the village to work overseas, which made her want to follow suit (*tapi cuma angan-angan tok, pengen, gitu. Tetangga-tetangga itu kan ke luar negeri. Aku juga pengen*). Rina, who had married almost immediately after her high school graduation, 'just want[ed] to work' and gain experience of working elsewhere before she had children. She did not migrate eventually because of her husband's objections.

The case studies highlight that, for some people, earning money is not a priority when it comes to migration. Rather, migration becomes a means to explore the world beyond one's familiar surroundings.

This frequent and non-stigmatising reference to *merantau* by respondents and their household members in both migrant and non-migrant households is a sign that the rural community embraces the culture of migration. People are generally open to the idea of moving outside of Ponorogo. Despite the idea of mobility being firmly etched in the social imagination, prevailing gender norms suggest that men are seen as more ideally suited to labour migration than women. The ideals/perceptions of domesticity and family life mean that men are ideologically seen as the breadwinner of the family while women stay at home to perform domestic and caregiving duties (*suami yang bekerja terus yang mengatur, yang mengatur keuangan biasanya perempuan*) (Brenner 1998). This gendered household arrangement, however, has been disrupted by the gendered migration regimes, which pose structural restrictions on men's mobility while facilitating women's access to migration.

3.2 Migration Regimes and Mobility Restriction

Access to migration is not equal and migrant selectivity is a function of migration drivers and power relations occurring simultaneously in different spaces (Massey 1994). The capability to migrate for work is an extension of the person's particular social position embedded within the household as well as the existing gendered migration regimes, where the latter mediates the demand and supply of labour migrants at both source and destination. In particular, our research shows that people in Java have unequal access to labour migration as a result of the differential recruitment and financing methods.

3.2.1 Differential access to migration destinations

There are interesting differences in the ways that internal and international migration recruitment functions in Indonesia. We found that while social networks are important in providing information and employment opportunities at destination for most migrants, it is the informal family and neighbourhood networks that drive internal migration while international migration is principally managed by professional agents (see Table 2). The domination of professional agents in the international migration route is a result of Indonesia's international migration policies, as we will elaborate upon later.

Contact person at destination	Migrant Destination	
	Internal	International
Family member	47%	3%
Friend	41%	7%
Agent at Origin	6%	78%
Others	6%	12%

Table 2: Contact Person at Destination by Migrant Destination

Our interviews supported the household survey findings in Ponorogo (Khoo *et al.* 2014) that social/familial networks are important in enabling people to migrate internally, often to join family or friends at their migration destinations. Younger people, in particular, were much more likely to migrate internally than internationally, supporting our earlier regression analyses (Khoo *et al.* 2014).

Ari, who is 21 years old, had a construction job fixed up prior to leaving Ponorogo. His 40-year-old mother, Lastri, who has been working as a domestic worker in Surabaya for three years, had secured the job opportunity for her son. Having paved the migration pathway for her son, Lastri is able to meet Ari more regularly and they can keep a lookout for each other while both of them work in Surabaya. Likewise, 20-year-old Agung had worked in a garment factory

in Malang before arriving to work in the construction industry in Surabaya. Both migration destinations were pre-determined by his elder siblings who were working in the respective destinations. After senior high school, Agung had remained unemployed in Ponorogo for two months, as he had 'no work experience'. His sister, who was working in Malang, specially arranged for him to do light work in the factory to allay his concerns that he would not be able to adapt to difficult/hard work (*takutnya nanti kalau kerja langsung, kerja yang agak kasar-kasar takutnya nggak betah*). However, Agung admitted that he was mixing with the wrong company in Malang, where his friends were extravagant in their spending (*suka berfoya-foya uangnya*) and enjoyed drinking and having fun. As a result, another elder sister wanted to keep a watchful eye on him and directed him to move to Surabaya to work for her husband's construction company instead. Indeed, many young people who have never migrated before, tend to follow their family and friends to work in destinations within Indonesia. These social networks are 'a significant factor to facilitate migration' as they constitute 'a form of social capital...[which] leads to economic access such as employment' (Syafitri 2012).

Older respondents shared similar migration trajectories of having embarked on their first migration journeys by tapping on their contacts at destination. Elok, who is 41 years old, followed her elder sister to Surabaya 20 years ago. Upon arrival, Elok was provided with a job at her sister's workplace where both of them were employed as domestic workers. She later chose to work in Singapore as a domestic worker to earn a bigger salary in order to repay debts incurred from an accident. She has since returned to Surabaya where she continues in the line of domestic work. However, Elok has opted out of the live-in full-time employment arrangements and instead provides cleaning services to four homes weekly. Apart from earning slightly more money from this freelance arrangement, Elok is also able to take care of her two children after work.

Likewise, 44-year-old Johan, who has been a circular internal migrant for over 25 years, had initially followed his aunt to work in Palembang, South Sumatra (his type of employment was unclear). Thereafter, he followed his friend to work in a garage in Surabaya. However, he moved on to the construction industry after three years as he was 'bored' working in the garage. In Johan's case, the power geometry (Massey 1994) shifted in his favour due to his strong social networks, as his foreman at the construction company encouraged him to relocate to Jakarta, which would give him better career prospects. Johan worked his way up the ranks and is now a foreman at the Jakarta-based construction company, where he has been working for the past decade. He recently also made arrangements for his 19-year-old son to work alongside him in Jakarta, as his son who had recently graduated from the polytechnic was not interested in continuing his studies. Johan's migration trajectory especially echoes Massey's concept of power geometry (1994), where social networks have been integral in relocating his position in the power hierarchy in such a way that enabled him not only to exercise agency to advance his own career, but also that of his son.

Comparing the situations of Elok and Johan, it appears that men have more opportunities for upward occupational mobility within the construction industry, compared to women in the domestic work industry in Southeast Asia. The latter has little skills differentiation and job hierarchy to aid any form of 'career' advancement. For example, in the Singapore context, domestic workers are usually expected to juggle domestic chores, childcare and/or eldercare as part of their responsibilities. In Platt *et al.*'s (2013) study of Indonesian domestic workers in Singapore, salary increments are as much dependent on one's experiences as on strategic planning. In terms of strategic planning, this could involve changing employers or negotiating with the existing employer if one's salary has been stagnant, as there are no salary guidelines for domestic workers in Singapore.

Although prospective international migrants do tap into social networks for information and knowledge in order to 'reduce the costs and risks of migration' (Syafitri 2012), access to international destinations is largely mediated by professional agents (see Table 3). Since the 1990s, the Indonesian Manpower Department has licensed formal migrant recruitment agencies to assist in the overseas placement and regulation of migrant workers (Silvey 2007). Since then, informal agents have proliferated to operate even at the village level in order to recruit prospective migrants (Lindquist 2010, 2012). The informal-formal migration industry has created much higher financial barriers, in the form of recruitment fees, to entry into the international labour market vis-à-vis the informal nature of facilitating internal labour migration. One of our respondents, Udin lamented that while he 'wanted to go to Korea' to work because of the attractive remuneration, he 'cannot afford the school fee, waiting time [because they are expected to study the language for one year] and the plane ticket'. This amounts to about Rp 30 million (£1530 or US\$2580) that he had to pay prior to getting the job. Similarly, recruitment fees for international domestic work amount to about Rp 36 million (£1836 or US\$3096) for those heading to Singapore (Platt *et al.* 2013), although prospective domestic work migrants usually do not have to raise capital prior to accessing international migration.

Referring back to Massey's power geometry concept (1994), the different ways that internal and international migrants are recruited highlight the structural influence upon migration selectivity and patterns in terms of migration destination. It appears that social networks were beneficial in facilitating one's migration to an internal destination for work, which makes migration more accessible for those who are well connected. For international destinations, there is a key difference between the migration regime and traditional gender norms around migration, upon which we elaborate below.

3.2.2 Gendered access to international migration

While international migration is strongly mediated by agents, men and women face unequal access to overseas labour markets because of the distinctly gendered financing methods. Women are able to access debt-financed

migration readily, enabling them to migrate for work and repay agent fees through a period of salary deductions at destination (Hugo 2002; Lindquist 2010). In contrast, men are expected by migration brokers to pay fees upfront before they are provided with jobs at the migration destination. The interviews suggest that international construction work migrants come from households that are able to mobilise the initial money required (e.g. through sale of assets, loans). The effects of the gendered barriers to international migration can be seen from the household survey (Khoo *et al.*, 2014), which shows that only 48 per cent of male migrants migrated for work overseas compared to 60 per cent of female migrants (see Table 3). While the household survey was not nationally representative, it appears to confirm the national trend of significantly higher international female migration (for domestic work) than male migration (for any work), where more than three-quarters of international migrants are female.

Contact person at destination	Male Migrant		Female Migrant	
	Internal	International	Internal	International
Family member	47%	7%	47%	1%
Friend	45%	13%	36%	2%
Agent at Origin	1%	69%	12%	85%
Others	8%	11%	5%	12%
Sub-Total	N = 279	N = 258	N = 220	N = 344
Total	N = 537		N = 564	

Table 3: Contact Person at Destination by Migrant Gender and Destination

Gender can be said to be a factor in the overall decision regarding migration destination. The high costs involved in international migration for men may deter and/or make it financially non-viable for males to access international labour markets. We see the effects of structural conditions, in the form of gendered migration regimes, in Rita and Yuliani's households. Forty-four-year-old Rita 'decided together' with her husband that it made more economic sense for her to migrate to Taiwan as they 'did not have enough money' to finance her husband's access to the overseas labour market, which would have cost 'up to tens of millions (in rupiah)' (equivalent to more than £500 or US\$850; *kalah laki-laki...itu biayanya besar, sampai puluhan juta [rupiah], jadi kan [uang kami] kurang*). In stark contrast, she 'only needed around one million rupiah' in order for brokers to facilitate her migration (£51 or US\$86; *kalah aku kan paling satu juta sudah bisa berangkat gitu. Waktu itu memang satu juta itu sudah bisa berangkat*).

The decision-making process of 28-year-old Yuliani and her husband had been similar to that of Rita's family. The decision for Yuliani to undertake labour

migration to Taiwan was based on the consideration that 'if the man [wants to go] overseas, it would have been difficult' for the household to amass the required finances, as they would need to pay about Rp 15 to Rp 25 million (£765 to £1275 or US\$1290 to US\$2150) for her husband to access the labour markets in Malaysia and Taiwan. Such financial constraints in accessing migration are absent if it is the woman who migrates.

Apart from not having to pay fees upfront, Yuliani obtained some 'pocket money' from the agent before her departure. Typically, women and their families are offered a relatively small cash incentive to sign up with the agent. This incentive payment and agency fees are recovered through deductions in women's salaries, where they repay the agent in instalments after they have started working at destination. Out of 201 Indonesian respondents working in Singapore, 93 shared experiences similar to Yuliani's, where they received some money from a training centre, agent or middleman prior to departure for Singapore (Platt *et. al* 2013). The average amount of 'pocket money' received, as reported by this group of respondents, was Rp 1 million (£51 or US\$86), ranging from as low as Rp 200 to as high as Rp 4 million (£204 or US\$344). While we are not clear about the importance of the 'pocket money' to households or what this money was used for, we can only imagine that in the context of Ponorogo, the sum of money would be useful for credit-constrained households for debt repayment, capital accumulation and other household needs. This is a gap in knowledge that needs to be addressed in future studies on intra-household dynamics.

Apart from the gendered work opportunities and differential financing avenues to access international migration destinations, decision-making on migration within the household is often influenced by existing gender roles and responsibilities in terms of household division of labour. Livelihood strategies, mainly to do with farming activities, tend to be highly gendered in the rural areas. As Riana explained, if her husband 'was the one who left, then it would have been difficult for [her]' because she 'cannot manage or cultivate the land' like her husband as she lacks sufficient physical strength. If her husband had migrated for work, she would have been unable to contribute to household income as she 'can only do [unpaid] household chores' in the village (*Soalnya kalau bapaknya...yang pergi, sayanya yang repot, ngga bisa ngurus sawah cuma kerja di rumah toh. Mau bagaimana?*). In order to expand and diversify their sources of household incomes, Riana and her husband agreed that it was economically prudent for her to migrate overseas to Saudi Arabia (and later on, to Manado in North Sulawesi, Indonesia) while her husband stayed behind to continue farming and take care of their two adolescent children for a total of five years. In such cases, women's migration is seen as economically rational as there is an additional income source for the household.

3.3 Intra-Household Dynamics in Face of Structural Conditions

3.3.1 Existing gendered household division of labour

While discussing about differential access to mobility, we have to be mindful that immobility exists as well because not all households are able to cope with a member leaving for work elsewhere. As highlighted in Khoo *et al.* (2014), household size and dependency ratios mediate the household's decision-making process. From the survey, non-migrant households tended to have a higher dependency ratio compared to migrant households. This idea that the lack of alternative caregivers may be a deterrent for some to decide against migrating for work elsewhere is supported by 42-year-old Teguh. While he had migrated to work in Jakarta during his single years, he decided to remain in Ponorogo after marriage so that it would not be physically 'far to care for the child'. He expressed fear that he and his wife may 'have problems bringing up [their daughter] if [she] does not get...enough attention'. Despite having a 'lower than average standard of living', he expressed satisfaction as 'it is nicer if we have work here' in the vicinity so that it is easy to 'meet our family...our children, take care of our children [and]...control the direction in which [they] grow' (*saya rasa walaupun di sini cuma pas-pasan, enakan kalau...kerja di sini. Bisa ketemu keluarga terus, bisa ketemu anak, merawat anak, terus bisa ngontrol anak itu arahnya mainnya kemana*).

In addition, gendered care roles can prevent migration where there is no spare (typically female)¹³ capacity to conduct domestic/ caregiving responsibilities. While existing migration regimes make it easier for women to access international migration destinations, women who are the sole providers of unpaid domestic and caregiving work in their households cannot leave. As a result, no one in the household is able to migrate – on one hand, men's mobility is impeded by the high costs of migration which the household can ill afford, whilst on the other hand, women are constrained by existing household division of labour (Khoo *et al.* 2014; Lindquist 2010).

Zuhra, who is in her forties, has contemplated working overseas previously. However her husband did not grant her permission, as he was worried that no one could replace her to look after the household on a daily basis. Zuhra herself agreed, noting that, with four men in the household, it was difficult for her to leave them as no one had the know-how to cook or take care of themselves (*kalau saya tinggal tidak ada yang bisa masak...[karena] orangnya laki-laki semua*). While it is not always the case that there is a grown-up girl or woman in the left-behind household who can cook and look after the household, prevailing gender norms suggest that this is the ideal situation.

¹³ There were some men who took on entire household responsibilities when their mothers or wives were working outside of Ponorogo.

We note from the household survey (Khoo *et al.* 2014) that female family members (mother, sister, mother-in-law or daughter) often replace the migrant women in household maintenance. Zuhra felt that it is better for women to work overseas due to the fact that the process is cheaper and easier than for men. It seems that if she had had daughter, rather than only sons, it might had been easier for her to migrate, as she noted that the daughter could then help the father with managing the household in her absence. She also felt that women who do migrate, need to find a person other than their husband to send money to, as men are usually wasteful (*laki-laki biasanya sangat boros*) when it comes to money. According to the household survey (Khoo *et al.* 2014), there is a general preference for women to be in charge of managing remittances. In fact, regardless of the migrant gender, left-behind female family members, in particular spouses (for male migrants) and mothers (for migrants of both genders), tend to decide how remittances are spent.

3.3.2 Prioritising family intimacy and children's character development

Personal expectations, beliefs and aspirations with regard to family life and children's upbringing are also crucial to the decision-making process. Despite prevailing structural conditions that make it financially more favourable for women to gain access to and reap economic returns from international labour migration, household members actively exercise their agency and make deliberate choices to either migrate to a destination within Indonesia or reject migration as a means of livelihood.

For the former choice of internal migration, decisions are premised on the migrants' desire to enjoy flexibility to return more frequently and when needed (e.g. in case of emergencies). There is a premium placed on migrants' ability to return to their households to visit their left-behind parents and children every couple of months, which would be difficult to achieve had they chosen to work overseas. For internal construction work migrants, they are usually able to make a trip back in between construction projects and during festive periods. Fahmi, who is 35 years old, had previously worked in Surabaya's construction work industry for five years. He shared his thoughts about migrating to an internal vis-à-vis international destination for work:

If we were working in Surabaya or Jakarta, it's easier to return home every time we're homesick. Working abroad, we give more thoughts [before returning home], at least two years [before doing so]. And...people don't send money in one or two months, some send the money home after three or five months. Working only in Indonesia, we may return home easily. Go home after a couple of months.

Similarly, both 43-year-old Aslam and his wife, Rahayu, expressed great reluctance to be away from their two young children, as they prioritise parental guidance and supervision of the children's education and daily needs over increasing the overall household income. When prompted on her thoughts on

labour migration, Rahayu revealed that she has thought of working somewhere else in Indonesia, 'the desire is there but...I think of the children [who will be left behind] at home' (*keinginan sih ada tapi kan kadang-kadang pikir anak-anak [yang] ditinggal di rumah jadi apa gituh sekolahnya itu*).

Despite women enjoying more favourable migration conditions, they decided to stick to the traditional household division of labour where men (migrate for) work outside the household/Ponorogo while women continue to perform domestic and caregiving duties, in particular nurturing their children's character development. This arrangement has led Aslam to engage in circular migration for 25 years where he works in the construction industry in Jakarta. Rahayu supplements the household income by working as a farm labourer in the village. With their combined incomes, they have been able to build a house of their own and support their children's schooling expenses on top of fulfilling daily basic needs. Every year, his family can expect him to return once every two to three months for a period of one week to ten days, including returning home in time to celebrate Eid-al-Fitr (end of the Muslim fasting month).

According to Aslam's wife, he is not interested to work overseas because 'if it is far, [he] cannot come home frequently', adding that 'if he works overseas, it takes at least two to three years before [he can return home]'. Halfway through the interview, Aslam happened to return from Jakarta for his regular short visit. He affirmed his wife's justifications for his decision to work within Indonesia and added that he 'never wanted at all' to work overseas. As Aslam put it, 'I still have young children, [they] still need guidance from parents. [Parents] have to always be near until they have minimally entered junior high school' (*Tapi, saya kan punya anak kecil itu kan masih perlu bimbingan dari orang tua. Harus selalu dekat gitu sampai minimal masuk SMP*). Aslam prefers to work as close to home as possible and the longest time he was away was four months. He vividly recalled that his daughters would be visibly upset if he was away in Jakarta for a 'long time' (although it was not clear how long this meant) and would not want to speak to him when he was finally back. This certainly pained him and it seems to have further cemented his intentions to work nearby and return as frequently as possible. In fact, he shared that he is very keen to work in Surabaya (much nearer to Ponorogo than Jakarta)¹⁴, although such opportunities have yet to arise.

Despite the relative ease of access to international labour markets, some female respondents also related to the more flexible working arrangements in their choice of an internal destination for work. For example, 40-year-old Latri, married with two children, has been working in Surabaya as a domestic worker in one household for the past three years. She said that she never had plans to work overseas as she 'cannot bear to leave [her] husband'. An unfortunate accident three years ago caused her husband to have nerve problems such that

¹⁴ Surabaya and Jakarta are about 5 and 22 hours away from Ponorogo respectively by bus/train.

he became physically unfit to continue with farming. As a result, both Lastri and her son decided to work in Surabaya in order to contribute to the household income so that there will be enough food to eat as well as savings to finance the youngest daughter's education. Although she believed that the man/husband should ideally be the breadwinner and migrate if there is a financial need to, her circumstances meant that she had no choice but to migrate while 'in return [her husband] is like a housewife' (*Ya saya tinggal begini ya, [Bapak] seperti ibu rumah tangga, [perab] gantinya*). Lastri was permitted by her husband and children to migrate on the condition that she 'comes home every three months'. This condition meant that she could not choose an international destination even if she had wanted to, as international migrants usually only return home every two to three years. However, as much as she would have liked to return home frequently, she highlighted that she has been returning home every five to six months lately 'because if [she] travel[s] all the time, [she will] use up all [her] savings on the road' and the sacrifice of familial separation for financial gains would have been in vain.

There are others who have rejected economic migration as an alternative means of livelihood. Widowed with a 11-year-old son, Verawati affirmed: 'it seems impossible to work overseas' because she strongly believes that her 'son's personal development is more important than any wealth' (*kerja luar negeri kayaknya nggak mungkin, kenapa? Perkembangan anak saya lebih utama dari harta*). Her resolve in staying put has been strengthened over the years when she realised the negative impacts of parental absence on children's development. She has been helping her two younger siblings take care of their children (one each) while they work overseas in domestic and construction work respectively. She lamented that her niece is 'naughty because she is not staying with her parents'. She also feels that her nephew is 'a bit slow [in learning compared to his peers]'. Verawati speculates that this is 'because both his parents did not really take care of him', nor was he well nurtured during the period that his grandparents were taking care of him as the boy's mother was also working overseas. Precisely because she is widowed, she feels that she 'cannot leave [her son] alone' out of fear that he could end up as a 'failed product of the society' if he mixes with the wrong company in her absence (*kan banyak sini...lingkungan minum atau apa, saya nggak suka...sebagai ibu, ayah nggak ada, saya jaga benar-benar itu tanggung jawab sama Tuhan...Anaknya sendiri rusak, malu juga*).

Conclusion

The cultural concept of *merantau* suggests an openness to migration and this facilitates people's agency to move beyond Ponorogo's borders to other parts of Indonesia or overseas. While the idea of *merantau* is present in the broader social imagination, men are more likely to migrate due to dominant gender norms where they are ideally expected to work while women face domestic restrictions of taking charge of day-to-day household maintenance as well as inter-generational family obligations (e.g. caregiving). However, the macro-

economic climate is characterised by global gendered demands and migration regimes that differentiate the type of work and work destinations based on one's social networks and gender. As a result of the gendered differences in access to migration, men and women's agency and hence propensity to migrate vary.

Men are more likely to migrate internally. Dominant gender norms and prevailing social networks facilitate men's physical and social mobility, but this occurs largely within Indonesian borders. Men's access to international labour markets is hampered by substantial upfront fees. On the other hand, women are more likely to be international migrants. The decision for the female household member to embark on labour migration is primarily due to the financial incentives it provides families, when weighing up 'costs' of migration for men and women. However, such costs are not limited to financial considerations (e.g. men's inability to afford upfront migration fees, women receiving 'pocket money'). In face of the structural pressure for women to migrate in order to improve the overall household's economic wellbeing, households usually renegotiate the division of labour in order to maintain the functionality of the home. In fact, a corresponding reshuffle of household roles and responsibilities is often observed, with other female family members often replacing migrant women. A gender inversion of household responsibilities is also observed, with husbands taking over wives' domestic roles while they are away. However, we understood from both returned migrants and household members that women tend to resume their caregiving roles upon return, even if for a short period of time during their vacation leave in between their work contracts. Hence, the impact of migration on changing gender roles and responsibilities does not seem to be permanent, especially if other women in the family are helping to maintain gender roles. More in-depth research is needed to understand how migration influences and reconfigures gender roles in the long run.

In addition to the highly gendered nature of migration, immobility of households and their members is also influenced by gendered configurations of the household. Households' high dependency ratio and their inability to find suitable alternative homemakers/caregivers can be a major impediment to mobility. Nonetheless, there are some households that actively exercise their agency to migrate to internal destinations only, or in some cases, reject labour migration as a household economic strategy completely. These households favour greater parental supervision and family intimacy over potential economic gains from migration.

Overall, gender and a highly gendered migration regime are important determinants in deciding who in the household migrates and where to. The role of gender as a mediator of migration manifests itself in various forms, particularly in terms of household division of labour and migration regimes. However, we have noted that people are also able to mobilise themselves and their households to use and resist the gendered migration regimes to suit their own needs and interests.

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About the Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium

Migrating out of Poverty is a research programme consortium (RPC) funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). It focuses on the relationship between migration and poverty – especially migration within countries and regions - and is located in five regions across Asia and Africa. The main goal of *Migrating out of Poverty* is to provide robust evidence on the drivers and impacts of migration in order to contribute to improving policies affecting the lives and well-being of impoverished migrants, their communities and countries, through a programme of innovative research, capacity building and policy engagement. The RPC will also conduct analysis in order to understand the migration policy process in developing regions and will supplement the world renowned migration databases at the University of Sussex with data on internal migration.

The *Migrating out of Poverty* consortium is coordinated by the University of Sussex, and led by CEO Professor L. Alan Winters with Dr Priya Deshingkar as the Research Director. Core partners are: the Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) in Bangladesh; the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) at the University of Ghana; the Asia Research Institute (ARI) at the National University of Singapore; the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS) at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa; and the African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC) in Kenya.

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