The role of poor rural families economic situation in the decision-making process concerning migration

A field study conducted in Kebumen Regency, Java, Indonesia
Abstract

The main objective of this bachelor thesis is to analyse the dynamic and complex decision-making process that households with temporary overseas migrating family members do before migrating. The aim of this thesis is to understand why this phenomenon occurs in less developed areas, though the background of the thesis is trying to address the need of positive relationship between migration and development. Based on the theoretical benchmark of neoclassical microeconomic theory and new economics of labour migration theory certain factors were identified that could influence the decision to migrate. By using a mixed method with qualitative semi-structured face-to-face interviews combined with a survey of nine question relating to specific factors this study was able to create an understanding of the reality of migrant households, though a micro field study was conducted in Kebumen regency in Indonesia. The findings clearly shows that temporary overseas migration from less developed areas is a household decision that is influenced by local gender aspects and addressed by new well-functioning established markets for overseas work. Our findings also suggests that temporary migration is a way for the family to spread their risks, related to income and farming activities, and to achieve further development, where other markets and institutions do not meet their needs. Policies regarding these gender aspects and the need of institutions that could improve the situation are recommended though remittances in that case might have a more long-term sustainable impact on the households.

Keywords: Indonesia, external migration, domestic worker, low-skilled, new labour of migration theory, decision-making process
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Abbreviations

BRI  Bank Rakyat Indonesia
ILO  International Labour Organisation
INDIPT  Institute for Social Strengthening Studies
IOM  International Organisation for Migration
JMDI  Joint Migration and Development Initiative
MFS  Minor Field Study
NEIM  New Economics of Labour Migration
NGO  Non-governmental Organisation
SIDA  Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UN  United Nation
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1. Introduction

1. Research problem

The global movement of people has grown rapidly the last few decades. From 1999 to 2013 the international migration increased by 50 per cent, which accounts for 77 million people. In 2013 the number of international migrants worldwide reached 232 million. The latest trends are that the flow from developing countries is increasing the migrant population both in developed countries, and in developing countries (UN Migrant Report, 2013). This phenomenon is a challenge for the international development agenda to succeed with human development. Based on the work by Amartya Sen (1999) human development is considered being an enlargement of people’s capabilities where individuals shape their own lives (JMDI, 2011: 22). From that point of departure individuals might be able to improve their lives through international migration. However, migration from less developed areas is a complex phenomenon where global and national circumstances affect the local development contexts that reinforce individual’s opportunities and aspirations to migrate (JMDI, 2011: 21-22). The understanding of the connection between human development and migration is a multidimensional challenge. However, a point of departure would be the understanding of the local economic context. The understanding of local circumstances is also one of the major objectives for the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) to succeed with their work of maximising the positive relationship between development and migration (IOM Migration & Development).

Figure 1: International Migration Flow

It shows the flow of international migrant workers since 1990 to 2013, on the horizontal axis, and by how much it has increased in millions on the vertical axis. South to South and South to North, that also could be described as from developing to developing countries or developing to developed countries, is the dominant trend.
According to the United Nations there is mounting evidence that with the right policies migration can significantly contribute to development both in origin and destination countries (UN General Assembly). Migrating individuals are not only considered to bring financial capital as remittances but also social capital in the form of knowledge, skills, networks, ideas and values (JMDI, 2011: 23; Lewitt 1998). The understanding of migration that originate from areas where further human development might be needed is therefore an important task to be able to make good judgment for international and national policies and the major interest of this study.

The relevance of this study, when addressing the local context of the migrants, are further confirmed by Clemens, Santo Tomas and Summers who in their report, *Migration Count – few steps towards better migration data* (2009) refers to studies and book publications on the topic international migration given by John McHale (2005), Devesh Kapur (2006), Lant Pritchett and Michael Clemens (Clemens, Santo Tomas and Summers, 2009), who all are highlighting that the movement of people from less developed areas should be studied from a development perspective. Further, the same report is highlighting the problem of lacking data (Clemens, Santo Tomas & Summers, 2009: 1).

There also seems to be a research gap though other studies done from an economic perspective on international migration from countries of origin have mainly focused on the so-called "brain-drain” and remittances (Schiff and Özden, 2006: 1). These types of analysis tend to be too polarised when the people mostly affected by economic policies, the individuals in need of human development, are neglected. There have been some studies conducted at field in the country of origin; one study in Burkina Faso that was focusing on national and intercontinental migration pattern based on diversification of income (Taylor and Wouterse, 2006: 3). Another study conducted in Western Kenya was focusing on the determinants for migration, the impact of internal migration and the factors for that decision-making (Giesbert, 2007: 6). In Sri Lanka, a study conducted indicates that relatively poor households do not gain from international migration due to lack of finance to migrate (Sharma, 2011: 218). This is also confirmed by a study in Pakistan where migrants from rural families tend to come back and where the flow of remittances might not be sufficient for further development (Oda, 2007). Remittances have also proven to have significant impact on household’s welfare when based on subjective wellbeing in Ethiopia (Andersson, 2013: 1). However, studies concerning the understanding of the reasons for migration seem to be limited.
1.2 Theoretical benchmark

Though the interest of the study is to understand the economic contexts that might lead to the decision to migrate, more specifically addressed as why individuals migrate, relevant theories has been regarded to understand the subject of migration. Some of the most prevailing economic scholars are neoclassical macroeconomics, neoclassical microeconomics, dual labour markets theories, world system theories and the new economics of labour migration theory (NELM). Though all of them might be able to explain the phenomenon of migration some of them might not be a relevant point of departure for this study since they neglect the local context from where individuals migrate. The neoclassical macroeconomics mainly aims to address the differences in labour supply and demand between different labour markets (Brettell and Hollifield, 2008: 55). Since the features of interest for this study are taking place at a micro level, the theory is not relevant. Further, both dual labour markets theories and world system theories are mainly focusing on the so-called pull factors where features that are attracting low-skilled labour in less developed economies are the interesting aspects. Where the former concern employers and institutions in developed societies that benefit by recruiting low-skilled labour and the later highlights the role of multinational firms in capitalist societies attracting labour in non-capitalistic societies (Brettell and Hollifield, 2008: 55). Both of the theories are not regarding the local context from where individuals migrate and might risk neglecting the push factors for migration. For this study they are therefore not relevant.

The theories that might be able to contribute to a theoretical benchmark for an understanding of the research problem are the neoclassical microeconomics and the new labour of migration theory. The former is based on the assumption that people seek to maximise their wellbeing where positive net calculations of higher returns done by the individual results in migration (Massey et al., 1993: 433-434). It might therefore contribute to an understanding regarding the decision the individuals make when migrating. Further, NELM considers not only the labour market but also additionally the interaction of other markets in the country of origin such as the financial market, features market and insurance market. The relative new theory view migration, when temporary, as a way for the household to spread potential risks, related to market failures, among family members. It changes focus away from inferences of pay differential as the main factor for migration (Massey et al., 1993: 436).
It implies that when addressing migration based on NELM, where the wage differences per se might not be the only explanation, further understanding can be done in the country of origin to obtain a better understanding of why individuals migrate. Accordingly NELM theory has been used in two other studies addressing the local context. One study, in China concerned what effect the remittances have on migrating family members on the enterprises of on- and off farming activities. Further it was used to understand if migration could be a way to achieve long-term investment (Taylor and Rozelle, 2003: 76). Even though interesting subjects, these aspects related more to effects of migration not affects leading to migration. Another study based on NELM theory is one conducted in Burkina Faso that concluded that migration is more of a survival strategy, where the situation of the respondents livestock do affect the decision to migrate (Konseig, 2005). However that study have used a quantitative method where the understanding of the realities of the migrants might not be addressed.

For this study, the theoretical benchmark chosen has therefore been an integration of some features of neoclassical microeconomics with the NELM theory, which are further explained in chapter two.

1.3 Research objective and research questions

The main objective of the study is to analyse the dynamic and complex decision-making process that potential temporary migrants face, though the research interest is to understand why individuals migrate from less developed areas. This requires a clarification of the subject that needs to be understood. The group of interest is people in less developed areas that temporary migrate. They might be considered to be low-skilled labours. The definition of low-skill can be based both on the characteristic of the job, where lower education is required or on the characteristic of the worker, whom might have conduced few years of education (Chaloff, 2008: 125). This study regards low-skilled people where both characteristics of work or personal education are regarded.

Based on the research problem, the chosen theoretical benchmark and the group of interest the research questions are:
What are the economic conditions that give incentives for family members to migrate? What are the economic conditions that low-skilled family units in their decision-making process concerning migration identify as the most important ones?

To be able to answer the research questions a minor field study was conducted in Kebumen regency in Indonesia. The method chosen was a mixed method where interviews were conducted with members of households that had or have a migrant working family member abroad. This methodological approach was due to the character of the research questions where questions concerning why might require a rather abstract way of collecting data. Therefore the interviews consisted of open-ended questions and a survey, where the main focus was to collect qualitative data to be able to understand the reality of the respondents. The reason for this methodological approach was to be able to fill in the gaps where more knowledge about the reasons for migration needs to be understood. It is useful for the subject being studied and it provides a new way to use the economic theories. Further, the reason why Indonesia was chosen was due to the interesting characteristics of the phenomenon of temporary migration, which is explained in appendices 1. The local features are also highlighted in chapter four and in the appendices.

1.4 Disposition

The thesis begins with an introduction that presents the research problem, theoretical benchmark and research questions. Chapter two presents the theoretical framework. Chapter three explains the methodological approach, the focus group, and the implementation of data collection and the limitations of the research. Chapter four presents information regarding the research area and the villages where the field study was conducted. Chapter five presents the major findings, followed by chapter six that is analysing the findings and answering the research questions. Finally the thesis is concluded in chapter seven where recommendations are made for further research. Quantitative data and information regarding the method and interviews are listed in the appendices.
2. Theoretical framework

This part explains the theories chosen, the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory and the neoclassical microeconomics theory, in more detail. Further it also presents the factors, which might influence the decision to migrate, to be able to answer the research questions.

2.1 Neoclassical economics – micro theory

At the micro theoretical level individuals are assumed to be rational actors that make cost-benefit analysis leading them to expect positive net return when migrating (Massey et al., 1993: 433-434). The probability to move for the individual is therefore dependent on the economic condition both in the present situation, possible future situation in the host country and of the cost of migrating (Borjas 2010).

According to the theory, people choose to migrate where they can be most productive, where they, according to their skills can attain higher wages. The consideration the individual needs to take into account is the cost associated with the travel, the lack of income while travelling and searching for a job. As well as the time it will take to adapt to the new language and culture, the experience of adapting to a new labour market, which sometimes could be challenging and the psychological costs of leaving their family and home (Massey et al., 1993: 434). All these factors are taken into account where the choice of migrating will be done if the net returns are positive and if the individual is rational (Massey et al., 1993: 435).

The understanding of the decision to migrate based on this theory is therefore resulting in some specific factors that individuals take into account when making their decision. The factors of interests are the differences when it comes to income, though income might be a more relevant approach in a development context though absolute data concerning wage differences might not be possible to collect. The risk of travelling and other obstacles concerning international temporary migration is the second factor, though these according to the theory clearly seem to affect the decision of migration. These might consist of information regarding the obstacle of being abused or risk of injury when travelling. In this thesis they are mentioned as travel obstacles. The third factor of interest is the travel cost though it is an absolute value that the individual has to concern when migrating. The fourth factor is the
local labour market. This factor is chosen due to the specific interest of this study to regard the local context and the ability for the individual to acquire sufficient income before migrating.

2.2 The new economics of labour migration

The new theory suggests another point of departure than individualistic considerations. Hence the decision to migrate is complex, where a lot of factors are at play that includes other family members (Isoifides, 2011: 20). This implies that the decision to migrate is not an individual choice, rather a choice made by larger units such as family households (Massey et al., 1993: 436). The family household in this case does not only include the nuclear family, it could also consist of other relatives such as grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. The decision is therefore a collective one where the whole household unit seeks to maximise the expected income, minimise the risks and to compensate for other markets constraints except the labour market. They do so by diversifying the allocation of labour in the household on uncorrelated labour markets, where the remittances that are sent will be the economic security when the local markets fails to deliver (Massey et al., 1993: 436). It suggests in some cases that the whole unit of the family is better off with a migrating family member, due to shared earnings (Stark, 1991: 26).

According to Massey et al. (1993), the theory present some wider explanation than the, as the authors put it, best-known and oldest theory of migration, the neoclassical economics (Massey et al., 1993: 433). Stark (1991) also explains that the theory shifts from individual independence towards mutual interdependence (Stark, 1991: 26). Further assumptions regarding the theory are presented in appendices 2.

For this study the decision-making process concerning migration is addressed based on the assumption of collectiveness though it is a relevant approach in a less developed economic area though household members are more dependent on each other’s productive activities. However it must be added that this assumption might not necessarily be the case, and as such the matter had to be carefully understood when discussing with the respondents.
2.2.1 Crop insurance market

The households that are conducting farming have the aspirations that the present work and economic investments at their farm will pay off in crops. The crops are expected to compensate for their own consumption and in most cases for surplus production. The ability to use the crops for selling depends mainly on the size of the farm. Further it depends on the ability to invest in special equipment, the ability to plant specific seeds and the workload the farming takes (Massey et al., 1993: 436). However farming is also associated with some risks caused by humans or nature. Such risks might be conflicts, floods or droughts. In a more developed area there may be some sort of insurance to compensate for these failures. It could be a governmental agent or a company where the farmers pay a certain fee to compensate the economic losses if the risk occurs (Massey et al., 1993: 437). A well-established crop insurance market might be fundamental to increase the security and profit of the farm (Hirschman, Kasinitz, & Dewind; Massey 1999: 36). Households that are dependent on the harvest of their farm, due to lack of other income sources, might therefore choose temporary migration of one or more family members as a way to reduce the risk of income losses in the absence of no sufficient market for insurance against crop failure (Massey et al., 1993: 437).

The existence of crop insurance market was therefore important to investigate, however the fifth factor chosen that could influence the decision to migrate was the condition of the harvest, mainly situation of poor harvest, though this might explain the reason for migration more in the case no insurance exist.

2.2.2 Futures market

When the crops are harvested and sold the household are striving for a sufficient value to cover the cost of production and expenditures of basic consumption. However the accessible market for the crops might not be stable and the price could drop to very low levels. The price might be too low to leave the family with a sufficient income. The possibilities of selling the crops at different local markets or internationally could also be limited (Massey et al., 1993: 437). The price fluctuation is, however, addressed in more developed areas where the farmers might be able to sell some, or all of their crops for future delivery at a guaranteed price. The investors stand to gain when the value is above the guaranteed price and make a loss when it
is below (Massey et al., 1993: 437). As such, the futures market is a form of protection and security for farmers though they have a guarantee (Hirschman, Kasinitz, & Dewind; Massey 1999: 36). Migration, and the remittances it brings, is therefore a way for the family to have an income security if prices on their main crops might be to low or not sufficient for their daily consumption (Massey et al., 1993: 437).

First the existence of the market was an important aspect to investigate. However in the case of its non-existent the chosen sixth factor that could influence the decision to migrate was the price level of household’s major crops, though this clearly effect their households income, when dependent on farming activities.

2.2.3 Unemployment insurance

If the local labour market is not efficient, if employment levels fall, due to the business cycle or structural economic changes, or if someone in the family gets injured the household might suffer from loss of income. In more developed economic areas there might be some management for the individual’s situation of unemployment through governmental agencies, or companies to offer some kind of insurance. The insurance could be retirement programs to protect individuals of the risk of old-age poverty that might be managed by the government with the help of taxation that spreads the individual’s income over time (Massey et al., 1993: 437). By allocating the family members in different labour markets the risk of unemployment among the family members might be reduced. As long as the labour markets allocated in the destination country of migration is negatively related towards the local labour market, migration will be a way to geographically diversify risks. It might be the case that the household is dependent on income from productive activities that might not be able to regularly deliver a sufficient income; the remittances are in that case an economic security for the family (Hirschman, Kasinitz, & Dewind; Massey 1999: 36).

The existence of unemployment insurance was important to investigate, however, as mentioned earlier, in the case of its non-existence the risk of household members being unemployed was chosen to be the seventh factor.
2.2.4 Capital markets

To be able to improve the household livelihood the family might seek investments in equipment for their farm that could increase productivity, or in their business that could lead to larger economic gains. It could also be in their private sector where means of transport vehicles or a new house could be desired (Massey et al., 1993: 438).

In more developed areas the capital needed is accumulated through a sufficient banking system where loans or secured savings are available. In less developed areas the systems for savings might not be sufficient or reliable so households might not trust them. There could also be some difficulties when it comes to the access of borrowing though the family might not qualify for a loan (Massey et al., 1993: 437). These difficulties might result in broader migration among groups of people that do not have the same access to capital markets as other groups. It might not only be the access itself, it could also be constrained of higher interest rates or other quarterlies for this specific group. The group is explained by Lucas (1981) as a social group that might belong to a lower social class or less privileged group in a social or economic structure (Lucas, 1981, in Kritz, Keely and Tomasi: 100). The circumstances give incentives for the household to have a migrating family member to be able to accumulate capital. Although remittances are used for primary consumption some might go towards productive investments (Hirschman, Kasinitz, & Dewind; Massey 1999: 36).

For this study, further two factors were chosen concerning the capital markets. The eighth factor would be the access the household have to accumulate capital, in the form of access to loans. Though this might affect their decision to migrate based on NELM theory. Further, the ninth factor was those specific loans interest rate though these might influence if the household regards the existing loans as accessible.

To sum up, this study departs from the assumption regarding the household collective decision making process. The study combines the aspects of the labour market, income differences and the cost of migration with the features of the other local market conditions mentioned by NELM theory. All presented by nine factors that might be able to explain the decision-making process concerning migration done by the household. This aimed to result in a more complex understanding with several dimensions of the household’s reality.
It is important to note that it is not possible to gather information that explains these specific local markets and the possible risk or costs unverified, though it might be complex and it would require a lot of time and resources to collect that kind of information. The data concerning the nine factors is therefore based on the understanding of the respondents and their understanding of their household situation. Further, there could be other factors or topics of interest regarding the study that could be interesting to include, however these were chosen due to the character of the research question, the local context of poor developed markets and the ability to collect data based on an abstract understanding. The research questions aims to address the research group’s reality and as such the research answers might be more characterised by de jure then de facto. It is however consistent with the purpose of this study to collect data about the local markets and the other features based on how the household perceive them.
3. Methodology

3.1 Mixed method

The decision of migration could be recognised as a social or human problem in an economic context. The choice of method should therefore be able to provide the study with some understanding of these social groups (Creswell, 2009: 4). According to Boswell (2008) “discussions concerning maximising groups wellbeing requires incorporation of features related both to the groups subjective understanding, their intersubjective meaning and the related shared norms and values” (Iosifides, 2011: 33; Boswell 2008: 552). Further, he explains that the features are better investigated by qualitative methods (Iosifides, 2011: 33). Qualitative is also a relevant method to understand the structural context of contemporary migration and it is a powerful mean to address causality in the social world (Iosifides, 2011: 40 and 90). It is a useful methodology approach to investigate a certain social context (Iosifides, 2011: 76). Further, the factors identified based on the chosen theories, are factors that might require an understanding of the local context; as such primary data collection is preferable. The research questions are asked concerning what and how, as a result the method to answer them is one of understanding where a quantitative method could miss underlying causalities that this research was searching for. Therefore, the primary data was collected in the local setting qualitatively. However the study is not a complete abductive study though the research questions depart from a theoretical lens, where the answers of the questions are in that particular context. According to Creswell those circumstances would be better explained as mixed method (Creswell, 2009: 66).

Mixed method opens up for several forms to collect data, not only from key target households, but also from secondary groups that could provide important data about the features of the local economic markets. Multiple collecting also includes observations and documents that have been useful for this study (Creswell, 2009: 175). The majority weight of data has however been on qualitative data though it aims to address the overall research questions where the quantitative data has been used to be able to get a deeper understanding of some of the factors that might influence the decision for migration. This methodological approach could therefore be a new way to understand migration based on the economic theories from a new perspective, though this requires contact and interaction with the subject of interest, the
migrant themselves. As such, it can explain the relevance of the theories and contribute to findings that might be neglected by quantitative studies.

### 3.2 Semi structured interviews

The primary data was collected by interviews and a survey. The advantage with collection of primary data for the research is that it is able to provide some unique information, specially designed to answer the research questions. In-depth interviews has been used for that purpose though they function more like a communicative interaction between the researcher and the interviewed that results in an understanding of the individuals world and work (Iosifides 2011: 178; Rubin and Rubin 2005). The aim was to create semi-structured interviews with family members that could be considered to belong to the same household though the objective was to understand their collective decision-making process. However though interviews in their home could provide deeper understanding of the household’s reality, the interview set-up had to be flexible according to the members in the household’s availability to participate. Therefore the majority of the interviews were done face-to-face with one individual from the household. It must however be said that even though only one family member wanted or could participate, the local environment of the interviews resulted in incorporated answers by non formally participating family members. The interviews started with some basic questions concerning the respondent’s work, income, capital assets and situation of migration. The formula is presented in appendices 3. It was followed by the survey questions that resulted in further discussions concerning their access to the different economic markets. Then the questions were open ended and based on the analytical framework model and therefore they varied between the interviews where no standard formula was used.

#### 3.2.2 Survey questions

The open-ended questions were able to provide some understanding of the respondent’s economic reality, where main focus was the productive activities that were conducted and the information the respondents had concerning migration. However to get a better understanding of the households subjective access to the different local economic markets and to understand how the perceive their access to them, a survey was designed. The purpose with the survey was to quantify the data to make it more valid and to make it easier for the respondents to
explain their access to the markets. The survey consisted of nine questions with an ordinal scale of five categories; *definitely agree, mostly agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree and do not know*. The number of five categories was used to make it convenient for the respondents though they might not have full information or knowledge about the economic features included in the survey. The statements in the survey were designed to suit the local circumstances of the household for the respondents to be able to easily answer and understand the questions. The statements was also built to get a wider understanding of the factors concerning income differences, local labour markets, price level of crops, risk of unemployment, access to loans and those interest rates. Even though these factors where addressed during the face-to-face interviews, further understanding of their contribution to the decision to migrate in quantitative terms, can then be highlighted. It developed into nine questions, where the statements and the design of the survey are presented in appendices 4.

The survey was used during the face-to-face interviews to be able to open up for new branch questions. It was also answered orally due to the characteristics of the respondents and the culture setting that made this approach more convenient for them. In total 46 individual respondents did answer according to what they considered the situation to be before migrating for their households.

Some major concerns were regarded during the use of the survey. The *first concern* was the reliability of the answers of the survey, which was tested by the answers given by the respondents. The reliability was proven when respondents in the same economic and social situation answered similarly (Floyd, 2002: 77). The *second concern* was the use of correct wording (Floyd, 2002: 80). Though a translator was used during the self-administrated interviews the meaning of the statements was clearly discussed with the translator though some of the economic terms might not be understood or even familiar for the respondents. It became obvious during the interviews that some of the economic terms, such as unemployment insurance, had a different meaning in the local context of the respondents. To avoid biasness and to make the answers respond with the purpose of the survey, the survey questions were followed by further branch questions regarding their answers for clarification. The *third concern* was to make sure the terms used were not poorly defined to guarantee consistent meaning to all respondents (Floyd, 2002: 81). The survey questions were regarding the situation before the family member migrated and therefore, the survey questions had to adopt according to when the family member migrated. In some cases it had to be specified
before the survey questions were asked regarding exactly what time period it concerned. Some of the respondents had migrating family members or been migrating and returned many times themselves, which has to be taken into account. A fourth concern is that the majority of the respondents participating in the survey would be a person that had worked overseas. This might lead to an understanding of the decision making process of migration, when based on a household perspective, rather asymmetric. In this case the study is built on a selected sample.

3.2.3 Respondents

The target group, the primary stakeholders, were low-skilled households where one, or more, of the family members had been, or are working overseas. Low-skilled households were concerning the families that might not have the social or economic possibilities to enter labour markets that require higher skills or higher education than primary and secondary school. The above-mentioned criteria have resulted in a field study conducted in rural areas. The chosen respondents in the households were mainly the head of the household and other important key individuals for the decision concerning migration. The head of the house could be the husband, or father and in some cases single mothers or elder individuals. The key individuals were mainly the people who had been migrating, in most cases the women as domestic workers. Effort was done to make the respondents as mixed as possible concerning gender, age, ex-migrant and non-migrant, educational level and occupation. It must however be noted that when at field, most respondents resulted in the ex-migrant worker of the family though that person, based on researchers understanding, where more willing to participate. A list of the respondents and their major features are presented in appendices 5.

3.2.4 Implementation

The area of research was chosen with the help of the local non-governmental organisation (NGO) Institute for Social Strengthening Studies (INDIPT) that had started to establish local self-help groups related to migration issues (interview: Irma Suzanti, 2014). The organisation is further explained in appendices 6. The organisation had established a good network in the two villages where the study was conducted. Two villages were chosen to be able to identify possible differences and similarities concerning economic features and due to the time length where a few weeks in each village were doable. After introduction with the Kepala Desa, head of the village, who had to give permission to do the field study, another person from the
village that was considered to be political, religiously and socially neutral could help the researchers to identify the households of interest. The village person was also an important aspect to build a trustful and reliable relationship with the village inhabitants. Due to high significant numbers of migrants in the villages, the identification of relevant respondents was not a problem. Before the interviews, the respondents were carefully informed about the purpose and aim of the study, the ethical consideration when it comes to being anonymous, further the option not to answer questions and to regulate the time of interviewing.

3.3 Secondary data

Secondary data mainly consisted of the secondary stakeholders that were key persons from the local civil society, such as local authority, private banking and private agencies in the migrant business sector. The data could provide some deeper understanding of the local circumstances concerning law and regulation, the obstacles about becoming a migrant worker, quantity figures concerning labour supply, demography in the villages and some of the available banking services. The data was complemented with existing soft- and hard data about the economic features of Indonesia and the historical context of migration.

3.4 Stakeholder analysis

To identify the respondents and their different roles and interest in the civil society a stakeholder analysis was conducted. It is a way to take into account conflict and objectives among different social groups of people. It places the migration issue into a system context where possible interactions and dependence could be discovered (Grimble, 1998). The analysis meant to address social power relations among the different interest groups, though it could be essential for the understanding of the decision-making process. The primary stakeholders were identified as A-respondents and B-respondents. A-respondents concerns people that have been working overseas and then returned to their families. In total, 15 men and 38 women were interviewed. B-respondents concerns the people that have, or use to have, family members working abroad, in total three men and two women were interviewed. The secondary stakeholders, also named C-respondents, were local authority figures working in the village offices, staff from the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration, two persons working for small-scale local banks, staff from the local regional head office of Indonesia’s major Bank, Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI), staff working from one of the major local
agencies for overseas migration, one person working full-time as a recruiter of migrants, locally known as sponsor and the staff of the NGO INDIPT.

Table 1. Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholders:</th>
<th>Village 1</th>
<th>Village 2</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

Age of participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 -</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 -</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Civil status:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>18-26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: Men 18 10 28
         Women 24 19 43
Sum of respondents: 42 29 71

Total Interviews: 53
Total Survey participants: 46
3.5 Limitations

Certain limitation concerning the research problem, the research questions and the method to answer them has been taken into account. The first limitation could be missing of interpretation in translator. A local translator translated the information told and shared by the respondents; it could be that some important aspects were neglected in translation. The second limitation could be differences in local economic features. Even though NELM theory might consider households in less economic developed areas the meaning of the economic terms and the existing markets where the households operate might be separated from the reality of the researchers. Similar to the earlier mentioned concerns regarding the survey questions, a lot of effort was done to understand the economic markets and the reasons for their existence and non-existence. The third limitation regards the lack of reliable and quantitative data. The area of research and the significant numbers of migration was relied on the contact partner INDIPT, the local village officers and the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration. The real figures of migration patterns in the two villages were non-existing though no reliable statistic was found. Another difficulty was to check the validity of the information shared by the respondents. It might be the way the respondents perceive their employment, their work opportunities, their employments rights, the possible interest rate of the loans that was offered and so on, and not de facto. The difference between de jure and de facto was taken into account, as mentioned earlier, when the data was collected. The fourth limitation would be the area of research. All of the questions meant to understand the local circumstances and as a result possible findings would create an understanding at that particular place. It might be that a different study location could lead to different answers to the research questions.

A lot of effort was done during the field study to make the study as valid and reliable as possible.
4. Migration pattern in Kebumen regency

This chapter presents the migration pattern in Kebumen regency, Central Java province, Indonesia, and the relevance of the area where the study was conducted. Further geographical features are explained in appendices 7.

Kebumen regency is one of five regencies in the Central Java province where the migration overseas increases every year. In 2008 the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration registered 900 workers that went overseas that year. In 2009, 1034 workers were registered as overseas migrant workers and in 2010, the amount reached 1142 where 955 of them were women and 187 were men. Every year the migration flow from Kebumen regency to countries overseas increases and the majority are women. The data however that is provided by the regional Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration are not valid according to the organisation Pakubumi (Migrant Workers Family Association) that is a community for ex-migrant workers and their families. According to them the official number of new registered migrant workers should be over 3000 but the official data only registered 764 people in 2011. Figures that they were able to estimate by collecting information in specific districts where migration is more prevailing (Murtajib, Kurniawan, Suzant, 2011: 22-24).

Hence, the latest official figures from 2014, up to the 10th of June, had 819 new people registered that went overseas as migrant workers. The total number form 2013 reached over 3000 new registered migrant workers and the regional Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration estimate that there are more then 6000 workers from Kebumen regency that are present in 64 different countries (interview: Siti Halimah, 2014). Even though the overseas migration is increasing, the figures might not be so significant when comparing them to the population, which is estimated to be 1.17 million (citypopulation, 2014; Badan Pusat Statistisk). The interesting aspect in this case is rather the highly segregated flow of migrants though they respectively migrate from specific villages or areas. Most of the migrant workers come from the districts Klirong, Ayah, Petanahan and Puring (Murtajib, 2011:1) and from specific villages within these districts. The most common destinations countries are Singapore, Taiwan, Malaysia, South Korea and Hong Kong (Murtajib, 2011: 3). Further, the amount of remittances seems to be an important source of income in these villages. Hence, in 2005 and 2006 the amount of remittances received in Kebumen regency was estimated to be 45.8 billion rupiah that was sent by 1504 workers (Murtajib, 2011: 14). That amount of capital was
estimated to be twice the amount of the total income of the local government body in the regency (Murtajib, 2011: 10).

4.1 Area of operation

The fields of study were carefully chosen with the help of the NGO INDIPT. The NGO had been operating in two villages, Krandegen village and Tangulaning village, by creating awareness of migrant workers rights and by collecting data that they provide the local authority of Kebumen regency with, therefore their opinions and thoughts were taken into account when considering the villages.

The population of Krandegen village is 3287, consisting of approximately 1000 households (interview: Muhrojin Ragil Saputra, 2014). Among the population 1195 people are in the productive age range of 15 to 55 years and most of them belong to a household that owns their own farming land and area of living (interview: Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014). It is estimated that around 20 per cent of the households in the village have some kind of relation to migration and at present around 131 working overseas (interview: Irma Suzanti and Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014). The data given by the local authority estimates that there are only 30 people working overseas. The lack of data could be explained by the fact that people that migrate overseas do not register in the regency they are living but they register in the regency they depart from (interview: Irma Suzanti, 2014). Comparing these approximately estimated figures of migration with the total population, Krandegen village was therefore chosen though its local context might be able to explain why the migration is so high in this specific village.

In Tangulangin village there are 1195 people in productive age range, which is calculated to be from 15 years until 55 years. It is not known how many that is conducting schooling, however from the occupation data there are 815 people who are registered to be economically productive (interview: RB. Supardan and Kadus Patus, 2014). It is difficult to estimate the numbers of migrant workers though the local authority of Kebumen regency claim that there is 79 people from Tangulangin village working overseas, however INDIPT estimate that the present number should be over 100 people (interview: Agus, 2014). However when investigating the population data, there are 308 people that are not registered to do any special activity. It could be that they work in bigger factories in other cities or working overseas.
Most of the people also seem to be women (interview: RB. Supardan and Kadus Patus, 2014). The lack of data seems to be a result of registration where the legal workers might register their overseas work in the major capital where they departure form, not in their home village. The major harbour city of Cilacap seems to be one of the places where people departure from, though it is located four to five miles from Tangulangin village (interview: Agus, 2014). When comparing the data of people in the productive age and the estimated people that seem to work overseas at present, and though we can expect people that have been working overseas in the past, the figures are significant. The village was chosen though the local context could provide some interesting aspect concerning why migration is prevailing in the village.

The Krandegen village and Tangulangin village did not only have a significant number of overseas workers at present but they also had a longer history where the migration to countries abroad started more then a decade ago. The villages also have some differences when it comes to population, occupation and geographical area that might provide the study with some deeper understanding of economic situation of the households relative to others. A more detail explanation of socio-economic aspect in these two villages is presented in appendices 8 and appendices 9.
5. Results

The following chapter presents the major findings of the research. The findings are coded according the main factors influencing the decision based on neoclassical microeconomic theory and the different economic markets, highlighted by NELM, where each factor that might contribute to the decision concerning migration are further explained. The findings are based both of the survey questions and the in-depth interviews with the open-ended questions.

Table 2. Result of survey questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Definitely Agree (%)</th>
<th>Mostly Agree (%)</th>
<th>Neither agree or disagree (%)</th>
<th>Disagree (%)</th>
<th>Do not know (%)</th>
<th>Total Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11 (23,9)</td>
<td>19 (41,3)</td>
<td>2 (4,3)</td>
<td>9 (19,5)</td>
<td>5 (10,8)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>26 (56,5)</td>
<td>17 (36,9)</td>
<td>1 (2,17)</td>
<td>2 (4,3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>29 (63,0)</td>
<td>9 (19,5)</td>
<td>1 (2,17)</td>
<td>6 (13,0)</td>
<td>1 (2,17)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>29 (63,0)</td>
<td>17 (36,9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>19 (41,3)</td>
<td>17 (36,9)</td>
<td>1 (2,17)</td>
<td>4 (8,6)</td>
<td>5 (10,8)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>13 (28,2)</td>
<td>16 (34,7)</td>
<td>8 (17,3)</td>
<td>5 (10,8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>26 (56,5)</td>
<td>14 (30,4)</td>
<td>1 (2,17)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (10,8)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>13 (28,2)</td>
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<td>1 (2,17)</td>
<td>6 (13,0)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>25 (54,3)</td>
<td>14 (30,4)</td>
<td>7 (15,2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most interesting result, based on the survey, was how relevant all of the survey questions were for the farmers though the majority of the respondents did definitely agree or mostly agreed with the statements. This also confirms the relevance of the factors concerning income differences, local labour markets, price level of crops, risk of unemployment, access to loans and those interest rates. The strongest results would be found with question two, where the farmers claimed that they where planning to make an investment before migration, that shows 93.4 per cent in total agreement. Further question three has 82.5 per cent agreement, question four 100 per cent agreement and question seven 86.9 per cent agreement. The three of them are related to risk of unemployment and the insurance market. Question nine also shows an 84.7 per cent agreement, where the respondents identify that the opportunities to get work with a sufficient income is poor. Furthermore, question nine and three concerning work possibilities and employment security would have a few respondents that did not agree. However the majority of the issues addressed in the survey questions seem to have a significant role to play when it comes to the household’s decision to migrate. All of them are further presented and analysed.

5.1 Income differences

Few of the respondents had any experience of full-time employment under a contract and neither did their family members (interview: 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 43 and 44). Of 46 respondents 25 claimed that they definitely agreed with the statement that their opportunities for work with a sufficient income was poor before they were considering migration. A further 14 respondents agreed with the statement and 7 disagreed. It seems to be that the feeling of non-sufficient income related to their work opportunities was related to the productive activities they where conducting. Most of the households had their main source of income from farming activities where the income was dependent on weather, season of harvest, land area of farm, capital for farming-investment and the price level at the local market. Aspects that are explained further in section 5.5, 5.7 and 5.8. Accordingly the people who mostly did day-to-day work experienced the same situation of insecurity though irregular demand of work made their income intermittent (interview: 6, 7 and 14).

As a result it was not surprising to find that the respondents had some difficulties to estimate the overall monthly income of their household before migration. Some of the respondents
who had their own businesses could estimate the average daily income, however for those that had been ex-migrants the business income was not sufficient to compensate for their monthly consumption. It also seems to be that all the productive activities conducted, that brought any kind of income was shared among the family members including elder parents and other relatives in need (interview: 3, 4, 7, 11, 21, 32, 34 and 35). It became obvious that the opportunity of having one family member abroad sending home remittances clearly increased the family income. Thus, based on our method the absolute differences when comparing income before and after migration is not possible to tell but it seems to be a large improvement to have a secured income compared to the previous economic condition of irregular incomes.

Another important finding was that even though the respondents had difficulties to estimate their income before migration, they could easily tell the expected income if they were about to migrate (interview: 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 43 and 47). This seems to be a result of the information the respondents got before migrating by the sponsor (interview: Darwis, 2014). Accordingly a local sponsor had recruited most of the migrating family members, where they had not searched for the work opportunity themselves (interview: 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14. 15, 21, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 43 and 47). The sponsor seems to use the information about the future wage earnings as a way to attract possible workers. Therefore it was not surprising to find that the respondents had full information about these expected higher income, making them very attractive when the income before migration even was hard to estimate in quantitative figures. To state an example, one women working in Malaysia as a domestic worker from 2008 to 2013 claimed that her latest earnings was about 7.2 million rupiahs per month (interview: 47), which could be compared to earnings of 1 to 2 million rupiahs that most people claim to be the common monthly salary in the regency (interview: Aryo Septiadi, 2013). It must however be added that these earnings was not received from the start of work, features which is further explained in 5.3.

It must however be said that even though the respondents could estimate the monthly income based on the remittances, from when they, or their family members were working abroad, a wider analysis based on those figures was difficult to make. This was a result of the different time periods of migration, the different locations of migration and the different currencies and fluctuating value of earnings. The respondents had some difficulties to estimate the real values of those earnings in present figure and the local currency, therefore to make a deeper
analysis between the respondent’s wages and the total amount of remittances, when it came to real values, was not possible.

5.2 Travel obstacles

The function of the respondent’s social network was proven to have a significant role to play when considering the travel risks before migration. Some of the respondent’s households already had a relative migrating family member or a friend working abroad (interview: 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 18, 23, 25, 27, 31, 32, 43 and 47). In some cases more than one member of the family worked overseas and some of the families had actually developed a system where the family members took turns of working overseas (interview: 3, 4, 43 and 44). As a result the respondents felt more secured with the decision of migration, though the contact could share their experience and success of being a migrant worker (interview: 3 and 11). It must be said that some of the respondents actually claimed that they never considered any risks or obstacles that might lead to difficulties, they where only focusing on the extra income it might bring to the household (interview: 7, 11, 37 and 47). Accordingly, some respondents said that migration was also considered as being a way for them to develop new skills and to get some working experience (interview: 8, 13, 23, 25 and 41). One person who went illegally said he never thought about the difficulties it might bring; he was only focusing on the possible salary in the country of destination (interview: 28). It seems to be that some of them might not be aware of any risks or obstacles, or might not wanted to consider any. There was only one women that told us about her worries of her children working abroad, mostly she was worried for their ability to get sufficient food and other items as these are expensive to obtain (interview: 44). Another important aspect for not considering travel risks was the role of the sponsor and the improvement of standard of living among the neighbours. The sponsor often seemed to be a person known by the respondents and therefore they trusted his words and if the neighbours had good experience that would further bring optimistic views of overseas work (interview: 9, 10, 12, 22, 31, 36 and 38).

It seems however to be the case that risks or obstacles leading to difficulties do exist. One woman said that her employer at the overseas work did not treat her nicely so she decided to quit (interview: 6) and another three respondents claimed that they got underpaid then what was promised (interview: 8, 15 and 19). Another claimed that he had to travel back to Indonesia because he did not pass the health check due to bad lungs (interview: 19) and some
were working illegally where they are not entitled to any legal rights in the country of destination (interview: 23, 30, 40 and 48). One can also argue that there could be some obstacles of lost remittances though during the field study several stories was told regarding the irresponsible use of remittances. Though there were cases of women that were working abroad, where a few mentioned that the remittances that they had been sent home had been wasted or spent by the husbands on other things than the agreed investments and basic consumption (interview: 11, 28, 42 and 49). A common “waste” would be gambling (interview: 28, 42 and 49). One woman even claimed that the waste of remittances made her migrate once again to be able to cover up for that financial loss (interview: 11).

Further, there could be cases of mistreatment in the country of destination where that information was not shared during the interviews. In this case the respondents might not share all of their information regarding their decision concerning migration, which might effect the studies conclusion. However, though the respondents claim that they did not identify any larger risk about travelling abroad or obstacles the overseas work might bring, the promised salary given by the sponsor is assumed to be highly attractive though no negative aspects are regarded to reduce the attractiveness of the higher income.

5.3 Travel costs

The respondents and/or their family members had been migrating during different time periods, therefore the absolute payment of travel costs varied and the way of paying it. However, during the years the most common way seems to be taking directly from the salary. It means that when the sponsor recruits a person they do not have to pay for anything in advance. The payment is done later when the person starts to work overseas; commonly the wage will be cut for a few months or even up to a year (interview: 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15, 22, 25, 31, 32, 22, 34, 36, 37, 39, 44 and 47). The most common payment of the travel costs, including the expenditure of training and organising the documents, would be a reduction in wage by 80 to 100 per cent during a time period of four to six months (interview: 12, 14, 34, 37 and 39). This was further confirmed when visiting a local agency that explained that the sponsor only recruits the worker, while the agency take care of all the necessary steps to be able to travel overseas. The training seems to be required to be able to get the right documentation to go abroad. Normally the training includes cooking, language classes and other domestic work related skills (interview: 7, 23, 27, 32, 34, 37, 41 and 47).
The agency is also the one organising a work opportunity by cooperating with an agency at the country of interest for the worker (interview: Darwis, 2014). For this study most of the respondents were women that has been working as domestic workers, where this process to become a migrant worker seems to be the common way for all of them. Considering the documents, some of the woman also explained that they needed their husbands permission to be able to work abroad (interview: 7, 24, 30, 34 and 39).

In a few cases the migrant worker paid for the travel costs themselves by saved money (interview: 3, 30, 35 and 41). A few persons said that they sold some of their land, a cow or their motorbike to be able to acquire the money (interview: 21, 28, 32, 40, 42 and 47). In other cases some households had borrowed money from other family members working abroad (interview: 8, 12, 13 and 27) or a family member not working abroad (interview: 11 and 43). Some even claim that they received the money from family members working overseas without any obligation to pay it back (interview: 18, 19 and 29). However these cases seems to be more common for the ones who been migrated more than a decade ago. It could be the case that the business of overseas workers has been growing where obstacles of the travel costs has been addressed by the market to be able to recruit more people. Another finding was also that these circumstances were more common for the male ex-migrant workers. It might be the case that in the industries they are working in, the demand or the business internationally, might not be as developed. As a result the issue of travel cost is not addressed to the same extent.

5.4 Labour market at country of origin

Both of the villages where the study was conducted were lacking any kind of major industry or institution that could provide work opportunities for the respondents. The possibility to enter employment that could provide more then day-to-day work was located in the major cities in other districts that require many hours of travelling. The respondents also claimed that those positions, like construction or shop assistants required an educational level up to senior high school (interview: 18), which most of the respondents had not fulfilled (interview: 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 45, 48 and 50). It became obvious when interviewing the respondents that most family members had not participated in many years of schooling. Many had only participated in junior high school and therefore entered the labour market at the age of 14 or 15 (interview: 6, 7, 14, 21, 30, 45 and 48). In some cases the
respondents have even started to work at the age 12 or even earlier (interview: 12, 14, 18, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 50).

The families with migrating family members were mainly working in day-to-day work and most of them had never experienced a secured work with a contract or many days’ of commitment (interview: 6, 7, 12, 21, 31 and 35). A few respondents also said that they had been able to work in factories in some of the major towns located in another regency, however all of them became unemployed without notice or any social securities. Therefore, according to the respondents, migrations become a possibility to get a sufficient income for their family (interview: 7, 8, 21 and 25). The work opportunities that was mostly attractive for the respondents and their families was civil workers for the government though these positions always pay the monthly salary on time, it provides a sufficient income for the family that covers basic needs, it includes family health insurance and the contracts of employment lasts until the ages of 55 up to 60 (interview: 8, 25 and 26). However, the procedure to get that kind of work, at the village office or as a teacher, requires senior high school education. Further, the procedure can be rather complicated and takes a long period of time according to two respondents (interview: 18 and 25).

Many families only work opportunities were at their own farm and for the ones who did not own their own land, they were working as labourers for the landowners when the owners needed extra help (interview: 30, 35, 36 and 37). Some of the respondents claim that their farm and the harvest was not enough for surplus production so to be able to require a larger amount of capital, migration became the solution (interview: 12, 15 and 18). The most common productive activities conducted were small-scale shop keeping, brick-making, sand collection from the river, palm-sugar production, fishing or doormat making from coconut ropes (interview: 23, 32, 33, 37 and 47). It must however be said that these productive activities was mainly done on household level and the sale was done individually to a broker though no cooperatives or other organisational businesses seemed to exist. Further, some of these work required more strength and was mainly conducted by the men while the women in some cases could do minor shop keeping.

An interesting finding was that even though some of the migrants went back to their previous working activities (interview: 3, 5, 15, 19 and 41), some people were able to get a more secured position. Five respondents claim that their family members or themselves did not work overseas anymore though they were employed as civil workers (interview: 4, 18, 21, 25
and 34). Overall it seems to be that the demand of work was very limited in both of the villages and most of the households were dependant on productive activities, which means that most people where self-employed. However for those that had very limited land or lack of capital, they where mainly depending on the other village members to get any income at all.

This situation could also be the reason why so many of the migrant workers had been migrating several times. Of the total number of 53 conducted ex-migrant workers, 38 were women where 36 have been working as domestic workers (interview: 3, 4, 6, 7, 10-15, 20, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30-34, 36-39, 41, 42, 44 and 47-50). The contract of the domestic workers normally last for two years (interview: Dyah, 2014). A selection that is representative for both villages, though they share the same pattern. Further when including all the ex-migrant workers 14 out of 53 has been working abroad for more then five years and 47 out of 53 has been working overseas for more then two years. As a result, many of the migrants do migrate once more when the first contract is finished. After that, they travel back to their families for a short period of time and then they once again conduct training, while the agency finds a new employer. It might be the case that the employer in the country of destination, want to renew the contract, then no further training is necessary (interview: Darwis, 2014).

These respondents did also in many cases used the remittances for investment, where one respondent claim that further migration was necessary to require a larger amount of capital (interview: 6). Common investments that the respondents said to have been able to acquire were land (interview: 5-7, 13, 18, 20, 24, 25, 27, 31, 34, 48 and 50), a new house (interview: 7, 12, 14, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 39, 41-44 and 47) and education of their children (interview: 3, 34, 35, 36, 37, 44, 47). These attributes might further reinforce in migration though it seems to be that these investment are done step by step where larger capital might be needed during a longer time period. The remittances that are sent might therefore be a good secured source of income to make these investments possible. It is clear that the household have developed some sort of strategy to cover up for the poor developed labour markets, their poor abilities to attain high-skilled occupations and the poor access they have to institutions to address their needs.
5.5 Access to capital market

The major finding was that the respondents and their families where in need of capital to be able to improve their lives in different ways. One of the most desirable investments was education. The families where seeking means to be able to pay for all of the children’s school fees and most of them was striving to fulfil the education up to senior high school. The majority of the respondents said that their family had used some of the remittances to pay for the school fees (interview: 3, 7, 19, 21 25, 34, 35, 37, 44 and 47). Other investment that was desirable was investments in cattle (interview: 6, 32, 39, 41 and 44), in land (interview: 5, 6, 7, 13, 18, 19, 27, 30, 32, 41, 44 and 47), in a new house (interview: 4, 14, 27, 30, 41 and 47) and in a motorbike (interview: 4 and 35). In some cases it was difficult to tell whether the investments was considered or planned before migration, though one respondent said that the idea came after the realisation of the amount of money needed, two others had also invested in a new business that was not a part of the plan before migration (interview: 44 and 47).

From the survey questions 26 respondents of 46 claims that they definitely agreed with the statement concerning planning for an investment at their farm or in their lives before a family member migrated. Further 17 respondents claim that they did agree with the same statement. Only two respondents claim that they did not agree. Some of the respondents had also been hoping for investments before migrating but was unable to fulfil those plans. Some wanted to provide their children higher education but was unable to do so because of the high price level of the school fees (interview: 4 and 33) and another women wanted to invest in her own tailor business but was unable to do so, though the remittances went to a new house (interview: 38).

The abilities to acquire funding for investments seemed to be very limited. One of the major issues was the requirement to be able to take a loan. The respondents had the information that they needed a certificate, like a motorbike certificate or a house certificate as a guarantee for the bank if the family was unable to pay back the loan (interview: 16, 21, 25, 35, 42 and 47). Some of the respondent’s families did not have those things and was unable to take any loan. Of 46 respondents 11 claim that they were definitely agreed with the statement that their family had difficulties to access loans and 19 of them said that they did agreed with the statement. Only 9 respondents disagreed and of them, most respondents said that they had access but was unwilling to take any loans due to high interest rate or unsecured economic situation of the family (interview: 13, 18, 21, 23, 34 and 41). It became obvious that most people did not have complete information about their opportunities or might not trust the
banking system though most of the loaning and saving activities was done within the family (interview 15, 30 and 32). Finally some even claim that they had never taken loans (interview: 12, 13, 34, 35 and 47).

Another difficulty for the households was the information they had regarding the interest rate of the possible loans they could access. 13 respondents claim that they definitely agreed with the statement that the accessible loans had very high interest rate and another 13 claimed that they did agree with the statement. Only 6 respondents claim that they disagreed with the statement. Three of them were siblings that said that the 12 per cent interest rate at BRI was not that much after all (interview: 23), another women said that she has been part of BRI micro-loans for business programs that she thought was really good (interview: 36). Another man also mentioned the micro-loans that had been available at what he considered to be at a low interest rate (interview: 40). 13 of the respondents did not know about the interest rate.

The information the households had concerning the existing interest rate at the accessible loans was proven to be very different from household to household. It was also difficult to estimate if all the respondents really had access to the loans they where considering when answering the question.

Two reasons regarding the information about the interest rate could be the different time periods regarding the overseas migration and different access to different banks. In the early 90’s when some of the households had a member migrating for the first time the private loans was claimed to have an interest rate at 20 per cent (interview: 5 and 6) or 18 per cent at BRI (interview: 21). A few years later it was claimed to be 12 per cent at BRI (interview: 23 and 25). In the early 2000 decade the interest rate was said to be 10 per cent (interview: 7, 10, 29 and 41), while two others claim that the major bank or BRI was offering 50 per cent (interview: 14 and 38). Some mentioned that today, micro-loans are available for an interest rate at 10 per cent, but only for business investments (interview: 35, 37 and 40). It seems to be that information about the real conditions concerning loans both for business and for private investments was very limited at the time before migration. In most cases it was hard to tell where the information came from or which bank it considered, though the respondents could not answer those questions.

However, when consulting the major bank in Indonesia, BRI, that conducts micro-loans and do address these social groups it was not surprising to find these lack of access for abilities to
take loans. The bank actually has a system of Unit Desa where they aim to target different groups than the regular banks, where the services and mode of operation is adapted according to those groups need. In Kebumen there are several Unit Desas, village units, and per unit there are seven terraces that provides services towards the traditional markets and the village communities in rural areas. The terraces are the ones doing micro loans for small-scale business, which means that they have to be less than 100 million rupiah (interview: Dian Islami 2014 and Maurer, 1999: 6). It must however be said that the process seems to be rather complicated though interviews, married couples agreement and certificate of land is needed. Further, the loans are directed to people who do small-scale business and not to for private loans. The household also needs to be able to appreciate its monthly income, where maximum 30 per cent of the income can be used during a time period of 18 months to pay back the loan. The interest rate is, according to the manager of BRI Kebumen, between 7 and 11 per cent. They further explain that the demand of these services has increased the last five years (interview Dian Islami, 2014). It might be the case that it could be the improved income due to remittances that open up these markets. Institutions that aim to address the situation of the households before migration, seems to be very limited.

5.6 Access to unemployment insurance

Considering the findings concerning the work opportunities and the poor access to sustainable income for the families it was not surprising to find that the respondents felt that the situation of unemployment was high. 29 of 46 respondents definitely agreed with the statement that the risk of unemployment among the family members working was high. 9 of the respondents agreed with the statement and only 1 neither agreed nor disagreed. 6 people disagreed. Three of the disagreed statements were siblings that came from a family with a larger land to farm and they all had been working in major factories in some of the major cities located in another regency. The siblings also had two sisters that had been working abroad to accumulate capital for the family (interview: 23). Another man that disagreed had his own farm located at another island, in Sumatra, that was doing well economically therefore he saw no risk of unemployment. It was his wife that actually went overseas without his permission, which is illegal, due to social reasons (interview: 26). Two of the respondents said they disagreed because even though they were farmers working in a high-risk business they had some other productive activities such as carpenting, construction or bricklaying that kept them occupied.
The risk of unemployment was however difficult to define though most of the respondents and their family members did not really have any employment that was under a contract, though they were self-employed (interview: 35, 40, 42, 43, 44 and 47). Though most households rely on their productive activities it seems to be that they felt unsecured whether those activities could be long lasting due to different reasons. One of these works, construction work was on a daily basis and therefore the family members, mostly the men, involved in this work could be unemployed one day and employed the next (interview: 21, 27, 38 and 44). Some people explained it as lack of abilities to engage in activities, which resulted in high unemployment in the village (interview: 18, 20 and 38). Others explained it, as even though there was something to do, it might not provide enough income. It resulted in cases where family members remained unproductive (interview: 20, 23, 27, 38 and 42) and in some cases where they were productive to be able to finance the most basic needs (interview: 21, 27, 28 and 44). One woman even claimed that the bad performance of her husband’s business made her enter the labour market as an overseas worker just to be able to provide the family with some kind of income (interview: 15). Overall, it seems to be that productive activities was possible to conduct, but the low return of finance and the unsecured market for what they produced made their view of the unemployment risk very high.

It must further be added that it might be difficult to estimate the real figures of unemployment in less developed economies though it could be difficult to separate those who are in the labour force with those who are not and the ones who are employed with those who are in a search for a job (Vodopivec, 2013). This seems to be the case in both villages though they seek to be economically active as long as they can produce something. It means that elders, youth, men and women do household activities, farming activities and small-scale business activities at the same time. In that sense individuals are economically active and are not actively searching for another job.

Further, the 29 of the 46 respondents definitely agreed with the statement that the access to unemployment insurance was poor for the families working before the decision of migration. 17 of the respondents agreed with the same statement. It must be said that this statement had to be clarified during the interviews though most of the respondents did not recognize the term unemployment insurance. Further explanation of its meaning was required to make sure the answer would be valid. Based on the interviews, discussions with local people and the
time we spent in the village it seems to be that no unemployment insurance even existed in the villages (interview: 6, 7, 14, 15, 18, 19, 23-25, 27, 31-38, 40, 42, 44, 47 and 50)

This finding also seems to cohort with the information shared by the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration. According to them, the Indonesian law says that companies with more then ten workers and a paid salary over 1 million rupiahs must offer their employees an employment insurance, called Jamsostek. The insurance includes a risk-insurance that covers the employee’s hospital costs or compensation for the family members in the situation of death if an accidents occurs. The employment insurance also function as a small pension system or unemployment security though a small amount of the salary that are paid each month is saved in a fund by the company, it is later paid back when the person get dismissed or retires (interview: Siti Halimah, 2014). The insurance the employee is offered is half paid by themselves from the salary and half by the company, commonly 5.7 per cent of the salary is going to the insurance fund (interview: Siti Halimah, 2014).

The obstacles with this kind of insurance would still be that the household needs an employment at a company that has these numbers of employed people. Based on the discussions with the respondents and time spend in the villages, no such kind of work opportunity seems to exist. Further one can question if they really can be considered to be unemployment insurances though the capital you get in cases of getting dismissed consist of savings based on your previous salary. This lack of local market therefore seems to further reinforce the families’ decision to migrate.

5.7 Access to crop insurance

The obvious finding when conducting the respondents was the clear absence of a crop insurance market (interview: 6, 7, 14, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 35, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45 and 47). However it seems to be that the situation of the harvest highly affected the decision to migrate. The statement; the risk of poor harvest among my families main crops was high during the time before migration, which 13 of 46 respondents definitely agreed with. A further 16 of them agreed with the statement, 8 respondents disagreed and five did not know. One of the respondents who disagreed with the statement and other statements related to the performance of the farm, had his farm located in Sumatra, far away from the local context (interview: 26).
Some of the respondents claimed that the harvest often failed (interview: 6, 10, 19, 21, 34, 35 and 47), where two respondents appreciated their risk to be up to 50 per cent (interview: 19 and 47). The common reasons for failure would be floods (interview: 7, 15, 19 and 20) or other weather conditions (interview: 23, 25, 27, 37 and 44) and insects infesting the crops (interview: 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27 and 47). It must be clarified that when further questions were asked concerning the survey, some people identified the questions to be regarding the risk of poor income if the crops fail, therefore the question had to be explained and asked again in different ways to make the answer more valid. In some cases the respondent’s claim that the risk of poor harvest existed but it did not happen very often regarding the time period before migration of himself/herself or the family member (interview: 29 and 43). Some also felt more secured though the size of their land was larger, so the risk was divided among the different fields for the crops. To lower the risk of crop failure the households felt that they where in need of chemicals or fertilizer that they could not afford to obtain (interview: 21, 25, 27, 33 and 47). Others claim that the risk are lower today due to better technology of farming and irrigation systems that did not exist when they where considering overseas work (interview: 5, 23, 25 and 27).

To summarise, the performance of their farms and the households ability to secure it, invest in it or even the size of it could influence the decision to migrate. Therefore households with more access to financial capital or land area for farming might consider migration in less extent then the ones who are very dependent on their farms. This might be the case though some of the respondents in Tangulangin village had moved there due to their status as refugees from the conflict in the north parts of the island Sumatra, which they had settled in the first place due to transmigration programs. These people had only been given a house to stay, however no certification of ownership of the land. Therefore they had no access to accumulate capital or to do larger farming activities, and as a result seems to have a stronger incentive to have one family member working abroad (interview: 32, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40 and 43). However, though a little more then half of the respondents identify a larger risk of bad harvest, the access to this market matters even though it is not the most significant one.

5.8 Access to features markets

Features market as explained in the theory chapter did not seem to exist at all in the villages when asking about the local possibilities for selling their crops (interview: 5, 12-14, 19, 23, 27,
However the respondents, where the majority were conducting some kind of farming activities, were highly affected by the price fluctuations on the markets for their specific crops. Concerning the statement; the ability to sell the crops for a sufficient price level was poor, 19 definitely agreed. Further 17 agreed, 1 neither disagreed or agreed, 5 disagreed and 4 did not know. From the ones that disagreed one had the farm in Sumatra and another claim the variety in crops, and the high price of palm sugar back then made the price sufficient (interview: 31). Another women said that her parent’s farm was large enough so they could bargain for a better price (interview: 34). The majority of the ones who did not know did not have their own crops. One respondent explained it as though they where mainly working at other peoples farms and sometimes got their salary in crops, they did not know about the market price (interview: 42). Most of the farmers sold their crops directly to a local broker and therefore relied on the price set by that person (interview: 3, 9, 19, 27, 31 and 41). Some of the households only did farming that was able to compensate for their own consumption; therefore some of them were unknowing about the price level (interview: 21, 23, 25, 27 and 44). The common crop for the family was rice and some farmers explained that the rice field is harvested two times per year and each time the competition is very high though everyone is harvesting at the same time (interview: 4, 20 and 38). One respondent clarified the issue by telling that 420 square meters of rice field, which was more than most farmers conducted had, gives an income of 2.2 million rupiahs each time of harvest. That amount might be enough to cover an average size family’s monthly expenditure, but not for six months, which it is in this case (interview: 4 and 27). It also seems to be dependent on what kind of crops they had and when, at present the price of chilli had increased and therefore those farmers having chilli are doing good economically (interview: 21, 27 and 41).

Overall, it seems to be that most of the respondents were doing small-scale farming where they had little bargaining power or access to any institutions as cooperatives to improve the price of their crops. Based on the information shared by the respondents the local markets also seems to fluctuate, where the possibilities to make profit did vary from time to time. Cleary, based on the survey the features of the local markets for their crops seems to effect their income, which might have an influence over their decision to have one family members working abroad. If the households are relying on farming, and if that market is unstable, surely a regular monthly income based on remittances seems to be preferable.
6. Analysis

This is the part of the thesis where the research questions are answered in an analytical way with the help of the previous mentioned findings.

6.1 A household based decision

The overall point of departure of the household as a unit of the decision concerning migration and a unit of production has been proven to be highly relevant. When consulting the respondents that has been working overseas it became obvious it was not an individual consideration, it was a strategy developed by the family to maximise their common well-being. This assumption is not based on what the respondents said, rather the role the household seems to have in the respondents lives. The productive activities conducted by them emanated in shared family income where loans and investment seems to be made collectively. Accordingly the household did the use remittances together. The clear significant role the whole state of the household had to play was further strengthened by the fact that the legal documents for overseas work had to be signed by the legal partner or parents. Therefore migration for the people in Tangulangin village and Krandegen village was always a family business. These aspects further encourage an understanding of migration based on NELM theory though it assumes that the decision to migrate is a collective one, where individual net-calculations, as assumed by the neoclassical microeconomics, can be questioned to be a relevant point of departure when understanding why migration occur.

6.2 Gender aspects

Based on the findings the labour market was highly segregated in both villages. The work conducted by the men required physical strength in most cases, which could be one reason and/or it, could be a result of traditional culture patterns where the males have certain duties and females others. The pure causes of segregation is however difficult to tell but all of the families share the obstacle of poor education level among the family members. The work that the women could acquire was work as civil workers, which were difficult to obtain, shop keeping, which required an amount of capital to start with or some basic handicraft or farm
activities that could provide some income. *These activities however seemed to have a more secondary role to play, though the male work might provide a higher and more regular income* and the women’s main responsibility seems to be the household. It became more obvious though the families had difficulties to estimate their overall monthly income where the figures they could tell were related to the day-to-day work completed by the men, or the price level on the products they were selling. As a result, the migrating family member was mostly the woman though *her absence might not lead to a major loss of family income*. Further it might be a result of lower opportunities for work for the women. These are important aspects though the family had to *wait for a long period of time from when the person leaves the household until the remittances are sent*. Based on the time spent in the villages that seems to be characterised by the male breadwinner model, the absence of income if the men migrated during the same circumstances could clearly lead to difficulties regarding the family income. The time of waiting for remittances is due to regulations concerning training; time it takes to organise for the work aboard but mainly due to the long period of time the wage has to be reduced. Therefore the push factors, as described by the poor work opportunities for females, could reinforce in higher migration among women. It could also be the case that there are certain pull factors, where the international demand of low-skilled female domestic workers is very high. However the role of these pull factors when it comes to the decision for the household to have the women migrating can be hard to tell. The fact that the sponsor did tell them about this work opportunity leads to the conclusion that this pull aspect actually influences their decision of having the women and not the men in the household as migrant workers. These gender aspects are not included in the chosen theories and therefore the understanding of migration based on economics might not really be able to capture the whole picture of why certain people migrate. For further studies these social aspect would be interesting to include, though it might be able to provide some deeper understanding of why people migrate.

6.3 New established markets

The overall opportunity to migrate without having to pay anything in advance could also be a factor of higher overseas migration among the households in these villages though they seem to lack abilities to pay for travel costs. If the family member would seek work in other regencies or provinces, they have to acquire the capital first, due to costs associated with travelling, accommodation and the time seeking work. Comparing that situation, which is also
highly insecure whatever the person will get employed, to the situation of work security when recruited by the sponsor, the later is highly more attractive. In this case one can argue that the international markets for domestic workers could be a result of the high demand of work opportunities for these households to be able to get a sufficient income. They seems to designed in a way that they do not only bring work opportunities and incomes that are highly attractive compare to the present ones, but they also address the lack of poor developed capital markets or institutions that could facilitate the household to acquire new income resources from other labour markets or geographical areas. The households in these two villages are to poor and lack access to any kind of support if they are going to try to get other kinds of employment in other areas then the local village. This market has clearly solved that problem by facilitating payment of travel cost and skill requirement on credit when they start to work overseas.

These aspects of regarding these payments do cohort with the neoclassical microeconomics, though the households also seems to be highly aware of the net value of these costs, though they have information regarding the excepted earnings and the time length to pay back for their travel expenditures and trainings. However one can argue if the decision clearly is a fair one though there is no other institution that facilitates the need of trainings or the ability to take a loan to be able to travel, which clearly give the established international market of domestic workers a strong position.

Another issue concerning the information was the lack of considerations regarding risks and obstacles of being an overseas worker. It might be the case that they are not fully aware of what those risks could be, however based on the cooperation with the NGO INDIPT there seems to exist certain risks. That assumption was also strengthened by some of the respondents that did have experience of abuse, lack of income and unfulfilled agreements.

This would imply that the decision concerning migration might not be optimal where some families might not send family members if they where aware of the circumstances it might bring. This might be a result of the source of information where the only institution discussing with the households regarding the obstacles are the sponsor who clearly has a biased role in this case. Further the successfulness of other households in their neighbourhood has a clear impact on their decision to migrate though this is one of the poor sources they have concerning migration work. If other households in there social network, that do mainly consist of other village members due to their poor ability to communicate with other
households, have been able to improve their livelihoods the will follow their choices. This might explain why migration is more prevailing in some villages than others. The household are to poor to take any risk; therefore a proof of the higher income it might bring is essential for their decision.

6.4 Lack of security

Concerning the impact of the different markets conditions it became obvious that with the feeling of lack of any security, though no insurance market concerning unemployment, crops or even health existed for most people, migration could be the substitution. This seems to be the case though the migrant worker knew the salary and the higher rate of return it might give before migrating, a finding that seems to cohort with the NELM theory. For the people conducting farming, the aspect of non-existing crop insurance market and features market did impact the decision to migrate, though it was their major source of income and if that income might be to low or even non-existent they would be in a very poor economic state. The risk of that reality was prevailing for most of the farmers. Most of them where conducting small scale farming without modern technology or access to capital for future investments, therefore they might be more vulnerable than farmers in more developed areas. On top of that reality, the respondents who did not own land sometimes had to rely on the first mentioned groups success though a successful harvest would bring work opportunities. One can therefore argue that in areas where no institutions or markets seem to exist migration might be more prevailing. This assumption can be made when concluding that the household do not seems to identify any larger risk or obstacles about migrating, though they are in a state where they cannot afford to suffer from any risks. These aspects are not included in the NELM theory, though it explains migration as a way to reduce risk by accumulating higher earnings due to remittances, but is not highlighting the role of migrating without having to concern other risk related to that. An aspect included in the neoclassical microeconomics.

6.5 Aspirations for development

It could be said that the common way for development and improvement of that situation would be to start cooperatives for better bargaining power, to invest in better equipment for farming or other technologies that would improve the performance of the farm. However with
the poor opportunities for other employment or access to capital that could not happen. The findings clearly shows that capital was not only wanted and desired but also it was acquired and used for investments when the remittances where sent to the families.

These results might not be so surprising, considering the poor abilities the households had regarding the opportunity to take loans that would be reasonable and doable for them. The interest rate as the respondents knew did clearly stop them for being involved in such institutions. It might however be added that even though this might be the subjective reality of the respondents, it might not necessarily be so that the markets or their access to them would be in such a poor state. It could be a clear issue of lack of information. The fact that the respondents do not even know about other work opportunities, available loans or insurances could actually make the migration more prevailing then necessary when basing our analysis on the findings developed by the chosen method.

Overall, the families whom chose to migrate are lacking access and opportunities to improve aspects that could result in more developed and well functioning markets. Migration is therefore a way accumulate capital. A factor that is essential for the household if they want to receive further improvements in their livelihoods. The amount of money they earned when migrating is also large enough to make large improvements that actually further seems to reinforce in migration for more capital accumulation. It must however be said that even though capital for investments seemed to be a major factor for migration, the overall performance of the families that had one family member working abroad was clearly different from household to household. The way the remittances had been used did highly affect their overall improvement, where lack of knowledge, information or maybe incentives in where to invest could reinforce in further migration though the first time of travelling had mainly resulted in abilities for higher levels of consumption. The aspect is an important one though migration in this case leads to further migration even though it might not be necessary to be able to make large improvements in their well-being. This aspect of long-term thinking concerning the decision to migrate is in some aspects regarded by the NELM theory when addressing the issue of poor developed capital markets.

To sum up, When relating to the chosen theories one can argue that the households are rational and do migrate due to the significant income differences they identify it to be, therefore the neoclassical microeconomics theory makes sense. However when an
understanding of migration is done based on the principles of NELM, further explanations can be found. The local context and the poor development of these markets do affect the present economic situation of the household that emanates to an understanding of why they are in the situation they are. The theory however can be criticised for being too western orientated though these institutions do not exist and the households and people involved in migration do not really know what they are. It might therefore lack abilities to explain a problem when simply claiming that certain aspects are lacking, when they might not be relevant in that context. An understanding of migration based on a household perspective would therefore require a theoretical benchmark departure from the local context, and not on features prevailing in developed countries or markets. It actually seems to be the case that international migration from less developed areas are prevailing where other institutions fail to address the need of the households and where other markets then can establish in such a way to take advantage of their situation. These aspects are not included in the chosen theories and might be interesting to investigate.

To find the exact trigger factor for migration was in most cases hard to identify. It might be poor harvest that year; it might be that a family member getting unemployed or it might be that the price fluctuation on the crops goes down so the income that year is reduced. However based on the findings it rather seems to be a dimension of the local economic context where the correlation between the local markets result in a poor state of the household. This poor state is a situation the family is willing to work hard for to escape. When the sponsor comes and visits the families and telling about an increase in income that might be three times more then the whole family is making together in one month, it is seen as a possibility to improve their economic situation.

It is therefore not really possible to mention one factor over the other though the households all have their unique context or situation. However all of them shared a reality with underdeveloped markets, poor access to capital for possibilities to improve their lives, low skills and an unsecured employment and income situation.
7. Conclusions

To sum up, the findings of the study did well cohort with the chosen theories and the overall concerns and limitations was in some cases fulfilled. The research questions were answered even though the narrative and methodological approach did answer the questions, in a rather open ended fashion and not in absolute terms. However that was never the aim of the research either. The aim of the research was to understand the local context through the glasses of the chosen method and with the significant numbers of migration at the research site, it did. The understanding that each household has their own unique situation, however, all share commonalities of the same development issues has been able to provide some new light of the poor state the migrants and their families are in. It was not only an issue of lack of economic development but also a surprising reality of rather asymmetric situation of information that made the migrants and their families highly vulnerable. Their decision concerning migration or other important possibilities to improve their economic well-being are highly dependent on the information they can obtain or the information they get. The markets concerning overseas work seemed to take advantage of this aspect by systematic informing the households about that opportunity where information of other kind of work never reached the respondents. To further understand the reasons for migration more studies concerning how the households themselves identify the situation are recommended. It might be interesting to analyse the difference between the households who do not migrate and the once who do and to analyse the factors that results in families returning to do several contracts of migration. These are all interesting subjects though it seems to be that when a certain amount of capital is required or if one or more family members are able to get employed as civil workers, migration does not occur. This is interesting though, the income differences as a migrant worker is still considerable higher, however based on the findings of this research economic security over a life time, a sustainable situation for the family, might be more desired. One can argue that these possible findings would then question some assumptions the neoclassical microeconomics theory presents, though the cost-benefit analysis includes features about security over a life-time for the whole family.

Another aspect regarding the study is the choice of method. It might be that a more quantitative approach regarding the impact of the different markets could easier discover significant aspects regarding price levels, earning-differences, and performance of small-scale businesses or relations that has to do with failure in crops. That choice of method would
however require another time framing and work considering collecting the data. The qualitative approach had the opportunity to discuss these aspects over different time periods where quantitative figures might not be the most important aspect. This study has therefore been able to add understanding of the dynamic relationship of the economic markets and their impacts on the households’ decision to migrate though this study was conducted in the context from where the phenomenon occurs. It further shows the strong and the weak aspects of the neoclassical microeconomics theory and the NELM theory, where the integration of both of them sometimes might be able to present the best explanation.

Overall the study has been able to share the stories, worries and aspirations of families related to overseas work. It has explained their local situation with lack of economic development where a combination of different factors made them enter labour markets in foreign countries to be able to improve the common livelihood of their household. The study would therefore be concluded with some suggestions regarding future policies that can contribute to a positive relationship between development and migration. The most prevailing issue has been the lack of information regarding the choice to migrate, but mostly regarding the household’s local opportunities to self-empower. As a result policy’s regarding the economic institutions such as bank and aspects affecting the interest rate should be able to address the households, including the poor ones. The ability to design micro-loans even though they do not have any capital or property might be one way to increase their access to self-empowerment. Further aspects regarding the ability for the households to develop sufficient markets should be addressed. It could be the implementation of a more sustainable farming techniques that would require less expenses or the implementation of cooperatives to increase their bargain power and stability of their income. These policy suggestions might reduce the incentives for migration when based on the findings presented by this study, however that might not necessarily be the case though migration might occur due to the higher income it might bring. The positive aspects of developed economic markets will help the households to use the remittances in a more sustainable and long-term way. In this case the positive relationship between migration and development can be strengthen, though well function local markets always is beneficial for the households. In this way the remittances and the work do not only solve economic issues at the present, but they can improve their situation in the long run. Therefore the issue of knowledge and information regarding how to use the extra income or to make investments might be needed. A final important aspect is the need of policy’s regarding migration based on a gender sensitive approach though the pattern of migration among
women and men are different; as a result they might require different solutions. If these aspects can be addressed the policies might reduce some of the migration that occur in these specific villages, however the outcome of the migration that occur might be more successful and long-term beneficial for all.
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**Journals:**


Studies:


**World Wide Web page:**


**Interviews:**

Agust (10th of June, 2014, 10.00-11.00) Staff at Institute for Social Strengthen Studies (INDIPT). At office of INDIPT, Kebumen Town.

Asteri, Darwis (21th of May 2014, 10.55-12.00) Manager and owner of the Agency for overseas Migrant work; PT. GRAHA AYUKARZA. Krandegen Village, Puring, Kebumen Regency.
Aryo Septiadi (20th of May, 19.30-21.00) Working at the local bank Dana Mitra Sejahera (DMS). At a café in Kebumen Town.

Dian, Islami (11th of July 2014, 10.00-11.00) Head officer for the regional bank of BRI, Kebumen. At the regional office, Kebumen Town.

Dyah (10th of June 2014, 15.00-17.00) Staff for the Singapore Market unit at the Agency Darimadu Jayanusa, At office of Agency, Kebumen Town.

Irma Suzanti (10th of June 2014, 10.00-11.00) Manager for Institute for Social Strengthen Studies (INDIPT). At office of INDIPT. Kebumen Town.

Muhrojin Ragil Saputra (20th of May, 2014, 10.00-11.00) Head Officers, Kepala Desa, for Krandegen Village. At office of Village Office, Krandegen, Puring, Kebumen.

Appendices 1. Overseas migration in Indonesia

The choice of field study has fallen on Indonesia for several reasons. Between 2007 and 2011, Indonesia’s labour force grew by an annual average rate of two per cent (ILO Indonesia: 5). It is remarkable though it is the fourth largest country in the world, in population figures, and was already estimated to be one of the world’s largest labour surplus nations during the 1997s financial crisis (Hugo 2002: 16; Hugo 2000). The Government of Indonesia estimates, as a result, that hundreds of thousands of Indonesians leave their country to work abroad. As such, it is considered to be the country with the largest number of international migrant workers. In 2011 people seeking better work opportunities overseas reached 580 000. Between 2006 and 2012 the number of migrant workers was estimated to be four million people. The actual migrant force, including the great numbers of non-documentation, is however estimated to be two to four times as many (ILO; National Agency: 3). The remittance returned annually in 2012 was estimated to be seven billion USD, which was the second largest contributor to foreign exchange earnings (ILO; National Agency: 4)

The gender aspects are another evident factor, though 69 per cent of the migrant forces were women in 2007 where the majority of them are in the informal sector as domestic workers (IOM Indonesia 2010: 8; ILO 2008). A common feature of the international migration in Indonesia is that it consists of single migrating people. Where the majority are married, who leave their dependent family at home (Hugo, 2002: 14). These features are all interesting from a socio-economic development perspective though the family, as a unit of production and a social constitution is changing as a result of the migrating woman (Hugo 2002: 16). Hugo (2002) states that the migrant workers are not randomly selected; they are selectively drawn from particular groups and areas in Indonesia. He also summarises other studies done on migration in Indonesia that states that is not only characterized by certain regions, but also villages from those certain regions (Hugo 2002: 20). For this field study, such strong division of migration from village to village optimises the possible understanding of local economic contexts. The international migration phenomenon in Indonesia is therefore significant for this study from a development perspective though it includes genders aspects, low skilled migrants and interesting economic features.
Appendices 2. Basic assumption of the new economics of labour migration

- The source of income matters. Families are therefore prepared to invest even though they have scarce resources to get access to new kinds of incomes. It is not the total income per se that is important.

- The household want to increase their “relative” income. They compare their income and get their utility relative to other households. As such the effect income has on utility are not constant or absolute.

- It might not be the income differences per se that is the reason for migration but rather the diversification of risks for the households.

- The local activities and the international migration might be strengthening due to each other and not exclusive. The migrating family member might be able to provide the household with further capital to increase local activities that might even increase further incentives for migration to obtain more capital.

- The same expected gain for one household compared to another household does not have the same effect on the probability for migration.

Source: (Massey et al., 1993: 438.)
Appendices 3. Standard opening questions when interviewing

Individual
Name:
Age:
Gender:
Role in family:
Educational level:
Present work activities:

General
Number of family members in the household:
Size of household:
Family Income:
Employed or self-employed (what people work with):
Assets:
Other income (such as help from other family members):
Area of living (how the home is located in relation to different markets, access to different market or other important institutions):

Migrating family member
Period of migration:
Role in the family:
Work:
Information about work:
Travel cost:
Remittances:
## Appendices 4. Survey questions

*How individuals perceive the local market conditions in a migrating context.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you agree or disagree with the following statements?</th>
<th>Definitely agree</th>
<th>mostly agree</th>
<th>neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>don’t know</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. My family’s ability to take loans were poor.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. My family was planning to make an investment at our farm in the nearest future</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. The risk of unemployment for the members of my family working was high</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. My family’s access to unemployment insurance was poor.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. My family’s ability to sell our crops for a sufficient price level was poor</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The risk of poor harvest on my family’s main crops the latest year before migrating, was high</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. My family’s access to insurance against crop failure was poor.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. The accessible loans that my family could loan had high interest rates</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. My opportunities for a work with a sufficient income was poor</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendices 5. List of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Stakeholder</th>
<th>Civilstatus</th>
<th>County of migration</th>
<th>Year of working abroad</th>
<th>Occupation before</th>
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<td>Married</td>
<td>Saudi</td>
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<td>Saudi</td>
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<td>30</td>
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Summary of participants in Tangulangin village
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>38, 40</th>
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<th>Lack of work</th>
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<td>Female</td>
<td>53 and 30</td>
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<td>Married</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
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<td>Malaysia</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Head over overseas worker, Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices 6. INDIPT

The non-political, non-religious and non-government organisation started as a community by students from Yogyakarta in Central Java province that was worried about the political situation in Indonesia in the beginning of the 2000-decade. The political situation then had resulted in public conflicts. The problems among the local people, as the students identified it to be, was the lack of respect for human rights, especially for women, structurally, culturally and socially. There was also a claim of lack of involvement in policy making from village to district level. In 2003 the organisation was founded as Institute for Social Strengthening Studies. The main vision is a critical, equal and gender-fair based society. The mission is to encourage critical awareness, gender sensitivity, and sustainable environmental awareness in the community, encourage the empowerment of communities to preserve, explore, and utilize local resources and to establish government policies that encourage the establishment of fair and gender sensitive policies (Indipt, About).

The organisation is working with creating awareness about the difficulties migrant workers in Kebumen face, as a part of the written strategy of 2009-2014. The difficulties, or the risks, might concern lack of salary, violence and sexual abuse. The organisation tries to create awareness about what happens when these risks are realised when the workers have no rights and might have false identity documents where the age, address or even name might be incorrect (Murtajib, 2011: 18). In the beginning of 2014 the organisation started to establish group communities in three villages in Kebumen regency. They will function as a platform for workshops, training and information regarding working overseas. With these platforms, the villagers themselves can raise their voice towards the local authority to strive for their rights (interview: Irma Suzant, 2014).
Appendices 6. Geography Kebumen regency

Indonesia is divided into 34 major provinces where each province consists of a certain number of regencies (Portal National Republik Indonesia, 2010). Kebumen regency is one of 29 regencies located in the province of Central Java at the centre of the Java Island (Jatengpro, Central Java, 2014). The regency was declared in 1935 where council and representatives of the Dutch East Indies approved the status (Kebumen, History, 2012).

Figure 2: Indonesia

Source: Portal National Republic Indonesia

The figure shows geographically where Indonesia is located in the world.

Kebumen regency is located between the boundaries of the major harbour city of Cilacap, in the west, the major city of Yogyakarta, in the east, and with the Indian Ocean in the south. Kebumen regency consists of 26 districts with a total land area of 1281.115 km². The majority of the land is lowland and some parts consist of mountainous areas and coastal areas. In 2010 31.04 per cent was accounted as wetland and 68.96 per cent as dry land. More then 50 per cent of the wetland is today irrigated in a modern technical way as rice fields that can be harvested twice a year (Kebumen, Geography, 2012).
Appendices 8. Krandegen village

Krandegen village is located in the district of Puring, Kebumen regency (Kebumen, District of Puring, 2014), which is one of the districts with most overseas migrant workers in Kebumen.

Population
According to the staff of the local village office, the population in the village is increasing due to increasing numbers of childbirths, approximately between six to nine children being born every month, and due to the increased ages of living among the elders (interview: Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014).

Education
Krandegen village has two elementary schools and four secondary schools. If the children are continuing their schooling they have to travel to Puring State Junior high school which is located about 3 km away, it has to be accessed by the students own means of transport, like bicycle (interview: Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014). At present the staff at the village office estimates, without any specific data, that 60 per cent of the village school children graduate from junior high school and then 40 per cent of them continue and graduate form senior high school. The years of schooling among the children in the village is estimated to increase (interview: Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014).

Figure 4. Education system in Indonesia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the level</th>
<th>Years of schooling</th>
<th>Age of the student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7 to 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13 to 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lower Secondary school)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16 to 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Secondary School)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: interview: Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014 and Indonesian Embassy London
Labour Market

The major occupation of the inhabitants is farming that is conducted by 759 people and labour workers, which includes 968 people (interview: Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014). The most common crop is rice but also peanuts, corn, bananas, vegetables and cassava are grown. A part of it is used for the household’s own consumption and some of it might be surplus production than can be sold at the local traditional market to other village buyers. The people who are considered to be labour are people who are employed in industries located further away and people seeking day-to-day work in the village. During harvest time the owners of the farms employ some of the day-to-day workers. Other productive activities that exist are construction, mobile vendors that mostly trade on their bikes, and minor shop keeping. The largest major industry in the area, which attracts some labour, is a cigarette factory in Gombong that is located about 20km away (interview: Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014).

Social Aspects

There is no public transport that connects Krandegen village with its surroundings, which means that everyone in the village has to depend on their own motorbike or other transport means. In Krandegen village there are about 254 households that are in a poor state according to the local authorities definition and therefore they are covered by the governmental health insurance and they get food subsidies in the form of rice. Of them 25 per cent of the households are considered to be in a very poor state. The closest health care institution is reached in 30 minutes by motorcycle that is located 20 km away from Krandegen village (interview: Muhrojin, Ragil Saputra, 2014).
Table 3. Population data of Krandegen village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1597</td>
<td>3287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>under 5</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
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<td>11 to 15</td>
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<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 54</td>
<td></td>
<td>910</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>1784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 to 70</td>
<td></td>
<td>238</td>
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<td>459</td>
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<tr>
<td>70 +</td>
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<td>148</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<tr>
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<td>452</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>labour</td>
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<td>568</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civilworkers</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small industry</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>131</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>cattle farm</td>
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<td>39</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solider</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>police</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retired government workers</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low and middle enterprise</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employe of government company</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employe of private company</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices 9. Tangulangin village

Tangulangin village is located in the district of K librong, Kebumen regency (Kebumen, District of Klirong), which is one of the districts with the highest number of overseas workers in Kebumen. The district is located south of the major town Kebumen and the village of Tangulangin is located in the south part of the district, 1 km from the ocean (interview: Agus, 2014).

Population

Similar to Krandegen village, Tangulangin village is also increasing in population for the same reasons. According to the village officer’s, immigration of people is rare. It is more common with people migrating from the village for better work opportunities, however most of them remained based in the village or might return when the contracts are finished. Of the people migrating from Tangulangin only 10 per cent is estimated to be cases where the whole family is moving together (interview: RB. Supardan and Kadus Patus, 2014).

Some of the inhabitants have a history as refugees though they have been given houses in Tangulangin village when they escaped the conflict in the province of Aceh on the island of Sumatra (interview: Agus, 2014). Most of those people originally come from Kebumen regency, but have moved to other islands and provinces with the help of the transmigration program that was provided by the government (interview: Siti Halimah, 2014).

From the conflict in Aceh it displaced 400 families to Tangulangin village. According to the staff of the village office, the reason they where settled in Tangulangin village was that the refugees of the conflicts where promised housing at the regency they originally came from. They were also settled where the density of the population in the regency was less and where the government of Indonesia owned the land. The refugees were given a house to have a place to live and food for one year. The land remained the property of the local authority of Kebumen regency but has now been given to the local authority of the village. The ultimatum was that the village is not allowed to sell the land. Of the 400 families only 160 families remains in Tangulangin village. The families that have been leaving are assumed to have resettled in Sumatra island or Borneo island (interview: RB. Supardan and Kadus Patus, 2014).
Education
The village officers estimate that probably 70 per cent of the children in the village graduate from junior high school and about 30 per cent from senior high school. In the village there are two elementary schools and 2 kindergartens for smaller children. There are also two Muslim schools that the children go to in the afternoon. If the students want to receive higher education they have to travel 5 km to next village, where they can study at junior high school. Some students who cannot enter senior high school, due to social or economic reasons, can conduct Islamic boarding school instead. The village staffs claims that the level of education has increased that results in a change of supply of workers. Two generations ago the children started to work around the age 10 to 15 and married very early. With higher education up to senior high school the youth are seeking work opportunities in some of the major cities of Java island, mainly in factories, to be able to increase their family income (interview: RB. Supardan and Kadus Patus, 2014).

Labour Market
The major occupations are farming, that 508 people are registered to work with (interview: RB. Supardan and Kadus Patus, 2014). The farmers are mostly growing rice, coconut, peanuts, vegetables, corn and palm water (interview: Agus, 2014). Other common occupations are mud collecting, construction and fishing, which occupy 171 people. Men mainly dominate these occupations and some people might be registered in more than one field. This is due to the circumstance where they chose their daily activity depending on the condition of the river and the condition of the ocean where they do the fishing. It could also be the case that people who have small-scale restaurants or small stores are also considered to be farmers because they commonly use some of their own crops. Another aspect is that the women who are breast-feeding or taking care of their children are still considered to be in the labour force; therefore not many are registered as housewives. The women are still able to do productive activities related to their farm or minor shop keeping that keeps them statistically in the labour force (interview: RB. Supardan and Kadus Patus, 2014).

Social aspects
There is a smaller health clinic where people can get medicine and some basic treatments, which is located around 1 km away. The major hospital is located in Kebumen town. The clinic also provides a section for giving birth (interview: RB. Supardan and Kadus Patus, 2014).
Table 4. Population data of Tangulangin village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>children</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>under 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 to 10</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 to 15</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>productive</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>1195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non productive</td>
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<td>315</td>
<td>646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>elders</td>
<td>58</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>508</td>
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<td>81</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>poletry farm</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fisher/sand</td>
<td>171</td>
<td></td>
<td>171</td>
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<tr>
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<td>380</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
List of figures

Figure 1: International Migration Flow.

Figure 2: Indonesia.

Figure 3. The islands of Indonesia,
Source: The world factbook, CIA (n.d.) East & Southeast Asia: Indonesia.

Figure 4. Educational system in Indonesia

Table 1: Respondents.
Source: Jonathan Björkman and Sophie Gripenberg Design

Table 2. Result of survey questions
Source: Jonathan Björkman and Sophie Gripenberg Design

Table 3. Population data of Krandegen village
Source: Jonathan Björkman and Sophie Gripenberg Design
Table 4. Population data of Tangulangin village
Source: Jonathan Björkman and Sophie Gripenberg Design

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>2020</td>
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<td>2021</td>
<td>1235</td>
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<tr>
<td>2022</td>
<td>1236</td>
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