Migrating out of Poverty
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Gendered Migration Patterns, Processes and Outcomes:
Results from a Household Survey in Ponorogo, Indonesia

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Abstract

This working paper is based on a survey of 1,203 households located in the Sampung sub-district of Ponorogo, a region in Indonesia's East Java province. We surveyed both migrant (n=903) and non-migrant households (n=300) to gain a perspective on the challenges and benefits migration presents to households in the community. We found that of the migrant households, 96 per cent of all migrants had migrated for work. This highlights the reliance upon migration as a livelihood strategy.

This working paper also notes a strong gender dimension in the patterns and processes surrounding migration. The gendered division of responsibilities within households affects men and women's propensity to migrate in different ways. We found that households with a high dependency ratio lower women's likelihood to migrate. Gender also influences migration destinations. Women are more likely to migrate overseas, rather than internally, and are more likely to migrate to a greater range of destinations compared to their male counterparts. This difference is due to a well-established gendered migration regime, which sees women's international migration aided by a system of debt-finance migration that requires little, if any, upfront payment before migrating.

In terms of outcomes, migrant households are more likely to report a greater improvement of quality of life, which includes the overall economic, health and educational status of their household members, compared to five years earlier. International migrants send back larger remittances and a higher proportion of households with international migrants said that their overall quality of life was 'easier' than five years ago. These findings suggest that migration, especially international migration (to which women have easier access), has the potential to positively influence perceptions of quality of life for households involved in this study, although more in-depth analysis is needed to verify this premise. It is important to note that internal migration may also result in positive change for migrants and their families, although it may be at a slower rate and smaller in scale due to differences in income when compared to international migration.

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List of Abbreviations

BNP2TKI	Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (National Board for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration

List of Tables and Figures

1. Summary of Findings

This working paper is based on a survey of 1203 households located in the Sampung sub-district of Ponorogo, a regency in Indonesia's East Java province. The survey included both non-migrant (n=300) and migrant (n=903) households. It covered households that included internal and international migrants, and in some cases households that consisted of a mixture of both. It also captured the perspectives of households that had current migrants as well as those that had migrants who had already returned to Ponorogo. Ninety six per cent of all migrants in the study were labour migrants, suggesting strongly that migration is a livelihood strategy for individuals and households. The findings of this working paper represent a glimpse into a broad-spectrum of labour migrant configurations as they exist in households in Ponorogo.

The gendered division of responsibilities within households affects men and women's propensity to migrate in different ways. We found that households with a high dependency ratio lower women's likelihood to migrate. Migration destinations also differ by gender. Men and women's patterns of movement differ markedly depending on whether they are internal migrants who remain in Indonesia or international migrants undertaking a migration episode overseas. Women are significantly less likely to migrate internally, and when they do, they tend to relocate to areas closer to home, with over half opting to stay in the province of East Java or the neighbouring island of Madura. Men's movement within Indonesia, on the other hand, was much more disparate, with industrial and resource-based hubs acting as key destinations. However, this pattern was completely inverted for international migration. This study found that women are more likely to migrate overseas than their male counterparts and are more likely to migrate to a greater range of destinations, while men continued to primarily migrate to Malaysia, a long-time destination for Indonesian migrants due to its linguistic, cultural and religious familiarity, as well as its relative proximity. As this working paper demonstrates, this difference is due to a well-established gendered migration regime, which involves the direct recruitment of women by migration agents and sees women's international migration aided by a system of debt-financed migration that requires, little, if any, upfront payment before migrating.

This working paper also reveals a range of differences between migrant and non-migrant households, showing that non-migrant households are typically smaller and with a higher dependency ratio, which may preclude them from migrating in the first place. When it comes to self-perceived quality of life, migrant households are more likely to report a greater improvement in quality of life, which includes the overall economic, health and educational status of their household members, compared to five years ago. International migrants send back larger remittances, and a higher proportion of households with international migrants said that their overall quality of life was 'easier' than five years ago. Curiously, when it comes to relative physical living conditions at origin, there does not seem to be any great discrepancy between migrant and non-migrant households when they compare their current situations to that of five years ago.

These findings suggest that migration, especially international migration, has the potential to positively influence perceptions of quality of life for households involved in this study, although more in-depth analysis is needed to verify this premise. It is important to note that internal migration may also result in positive change for migrants and their families, although it may be at a slower rate and smaller in scale due to differences in income when compared to international migration.

2. Introduction

The research focus of the Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium is on understanding the relationship between migration and poverty alleviation and the factors that mediate it. This working paper details the findings of a household questionnaire conducted with 1,203 households[1] in the Sampung sub-district in the Ponorogo Regency, East Java, Indonesia. In particular, it focuses on the patterns and processes of migration as they occur for both internal (within Indonesia) and international migrants.

This working paper aims to illuminate the general migration patterns of an area in East Java known for its high level of outwards migration, both internally to other parts of Indonesia, and internationally to other areas of Asia and beyond. It seeks to understand who migrates, where to and at what age (and how this might differ for internal and international migrants), as well as the factors behind their return to Ponorogo.

Indonesia has experienced a long history of migration, including transmigration to other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. Transmigration, specifically from Java (the world's most populated island), began under Dutch colonial rule and continued into the independence era. Post-independence, transmigration constituted a significant development strategy that aimed to redistribute people from densely-populated Java to the other outlying areas in Indonesia (Dang 2003: 34; Hardjono 1988). Persistent rural poverty, which is characterised by unstable incomes from seasonal unemployment and insufficient long-term job opportunities, acts as a primary driver for labour migration (Knerr 2012: 97; Syafitri 2012: 31). Despite the scaling down of the transmigration programme in the wake of the Asian economic crisis in 1997-98, Indonesians have become more mobile, both within Indonesia and internationally, as a growing share of the population embraces temporary labour migration as a potential livelihood strategy (Hoang 2011). This resonates with Deshingkar's (2006) observation of a steady increase in circular labour migration in the Asian region, where people leave their home communities to work elsewhere for periods lasting from one week to two years.

With regards to large-scale labour migration, Indonesia has been experiencing an increasing diversity of labour mobility in terms of space and duration (i.e. inter-provincial migration,

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[1] While 1,205 household questionnaires were conducted, 2 were incomplete. As a result, analysis was based on 1,203 households.

seasonal migration, circular migration and regional/international migration). In relation to overseas labour migration, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration of Indonesia reported that approximately 2.7 million Indonesians were officially working abroad in 2006, which constituted about 2.8 per cent of the Indonesian workforce (Hugo 2007). According to the International Labour Organisation (2004: 4), there has also been a tremendous increase in inter-provincial migration over the past three decades. Specifically between 2001 and 2003, census data revealed a 68 per cent increase and a 98 per cent increase in the proportion of Indonesian males and females respectively who had ever lived in a province other than their own. This sharp increase in inter-provincial migration is likely to be an after-effect of the late 1990s Asian Financial Crisis, where unemployment rates rocketed at an annual average growth rate of 5.8 per cent from the late 1990s to the mid-2000s (Saraswati 2008: 5). Declining growth in the agricultural and construction sectors after the financial crisis (Firdausy 2005: 5), coupled with the concentration of economic development opportunities in the urban centres (*LKBN Antara*, September 7 2004) and outer islands of Indonesia where large-scale extraction and processing of natural resources are located (ILO 2004: 4), has prompted job-seekers to move out of their villages and provinces in search of job opportunities.

Migration in Indonesia has also recently become more distinctly gendered in nature. Indonesia has emerged as a leading exporter of migrant women.[2] Indonesian women currently form the bulk of international migrants working in countries in Southeast Asia, East Asia and the Middle East including Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia (IOM 2010a).

Table 1: Placement of Indonesian Overseas Migrant Workers by Gender

Gender	1996		2000		2004		2007	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Men	228,337	44	137,949	32	84,075	22	152,887	22
Women	288,832	56	297,273	68	296,615	78	543,859	78
Total	517,169	100	435,222	100	380,690	100	696,746	100

As seen from Table 1 (BNP2TKI 2006 cited in IOM 2010b), there has been a steady increase in both the absolute numbers and the overall proportion of women migrating out of Indonesia. Between 1996 and 2007, the number of Indonesian women migrating overseas almost doubled while the same time period saw a one-third decrease in the number of male migrants. As a result, women accounted for approximately three-quarters of all Indonesian international migrants in 2007, a 22 per cent increase from 1996. This 'feminisation of migration' is in response to the countries' growing (and highly gendered) demand for paid domestic work and

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[2] It is unclear how the ILO has defined the age of 'women' in their reports.

other low-wage care services (Huang, Yeoh and Rahman 2005; Yeoh and Chang 2001; Young 2006).

Table 2: Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Top 5 Destination Countries in 2011

Destination Country	Total
Saudi Arabia	137,835
Malaysia	134,120
Taiwan Province of China	78,865
Singapore	47,786
Hong Kong SAR	50,301

As seen from Table 2, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia are the top destination countries for Indonesian migrant workers, each accounting for about 23 per cent of all Indonesian migrant workers in 2011 respectively (BNP2TKI 2013:12). Almost all of the Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia, Singapore and Hong Kong are women who work in the household sector (Hugo 2002; IOM 2010b; Williams 2008). On the other hand, about three-quarters of the Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia are men who largely work in the agricultural and construction sector (Firdausy 2005).

The Indonesian government has increasingly promoted labour migration as a development strategy to address the national developmental issues of poverty, domestic unemployment and underemployment, as well as to encourage overseas capital inflow through remittances (IOM 2010b: 10). Large-scale migration across provinces and to other countries reflects labour migration as an important livelihood strategy for poverty alleviation and upward social mobility (Anggraeni 2006; Ford 2001). In the Indonesian context, labour migration has been shown to be a household investment strategy (Knerr 2012: 94-110) where decisions about human resource allocation for migration are aimed at obtaining more economic gains for the household through remittances. Remittances can assist households in investing in a variety of productive uses from developing human capital (e.g. investing in children's education) to purchasing physical assets (e.g. land, household durables, motorcycles). Furthermore, even the use of remittances as emergency funds for families is seen as a benefit of migration, as it allows families to have a social safety net where there otherwise would not be one (Hugo 1995).

Our survey was designed to capture information on internal migrants, international migrants, returned migrants and non-migrants, as well as their respective households. Importantly, the survey sample included people who migrated to larger urban centres elsewhere in Indonesia, as poor people typically migrate shorter distances (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). This provides insights on rural-urban migration, examining and questioning dominant perspectives about its impacts on poverty, an area of investigation where there is currently a scarcity of systematic

evidence (Dang 2003; Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). For returned migrant households, we surveyed the individual returned migrants themselves, providing them with a platform to share their personal migration experiences and working conditions at destination. Non-migrant households were also sampled to provide a counter-narrative to the migrant households. The research also examines the gendered dimension of migration and its impacts.

3. Background to Migration in Indonesia

It is imperative to understand the circumstances under which people migrate: these could be factors such as dependency ratio in the household (Ahsan Ullah 2010), occupation before migration, as well as factors (and people involved in) influencing the decision to migrate and the ability to draw on social networks to gain access to the migration route and secure employment at destination (Ananta and Arifin 2004). In particular, the wider community and the family have often been observed to influence decisions about migration as well as to facilitate the subsequent process of moving and settling into the destination (Ananta and Arifin 2004; Haug 2008; MacDonald and MacDonald 1964). Other factors influencing decision-making include the pre-existing levels of education, as this has been found to have a positive influence on incidence of migration (Syafitiri 2012).

Apart from primary social networks, in the Indonesian context, brokers mediate the migration process and the consequent transnational movement of international migrants (Lindquist, Xiang and Yeoh 2012: 9). Indonesia hosts huge networks of informal and formal migration brokers, ranging from village-level recruiters to multinational agencies located in major destination areas (Lindquist 2010, 2012). The related practice of debt-financed migration allows the poor to gain access to the international migration route where workers repay the money incurred for migration after they start working. However, as Lindquist (2010) notes, the gendered migration regime is such that women readily access international migration opportunities via debt-financed migration with no upfront payment required. In comparison, men who wish to migrate to another country for work are often required to pay a significant fee prior to departure, and faced with a significant period of salary deductions while in the destination country (Hugo 2002; Lindquist 2010).

In terms of impact of migration on households, labour markets in destination countries of male and female international migrants may have implications upon their respective households' ability to migrate out of poverty. As mentioned earlier, women tend to migrate to more developed nations such as Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. The gendered demand for labour migrants for elderly- and childcare experienced in these countries is a direct result of increased female labour participation rate, such that poorer migrant women (from countries which are less developed, like Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar and Vietnam) are needed to *replace* women from middle-class households to fill up the reproductive labour gap (Huang, Yeoh and Rahman 2005; Kaur 2007; Young 2006). In comparison, traditional destination countries for men, such as Malaysia, tend to offer lower salaries and often require the payment of fees upfront prior to departure. Data obtained from this quantitative survey will be useful in

informing future qualitative studies in understanding gendered patterns of recruitment and the impacts on remittances and gendered power relations in households.

The developmental potential of remittances is tremendous for Indonesia, where the country's total inflow of international remittances in 2008 was approximately USD 6.6 billion, equivalent to two-thirds of its net foreign direct investment inflows (World Bank 2011). Congruent with the trend towards the 'feminisation of migration', women have become the main contributors of international remittances to Indonesia (IOM 2010b). At the local level, the Asian Development Bank (2012) highlighted that remittances make up about one-third of household incomes for migrant households and are typically invested in health care and durables. The gendered nature of migration has also been found to influence the frequency and amount of remittances and the ways in which the remittances have been utilised within households. In particular, Rahman and Lian (2009) assert that female migrants tend to direct their resources towards human capital while men are more likely to devote their remittances to physical forms of capital such as vehicles.

Based on the background literature pertaining to migration in Indonesia, it is clear that a gendered aspect exists to influence migration. In this working paper we seek to illuminate the processes and subsequent migration patterns that work to shape migration in the area of Ponorogo, Indonesia. In doing so, we pay particular attention to the gendered aspects of migration and how this might affect the trajectory of migrant men and women, who both migrate internationally and elsewhere in Indonesia. This, in turn, has substantial implications when considering how migration affects poverty alleviation in origin communities such as Ponorogo.

4. Methodology

4.1 Study Site: Ponorogo

Ponorogo Regency was selected as the field site after consulting local collaborators and the latest censuses. According to the National Board for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers (BNP2TKI 2012), Ponorogo is well-known in Indonesia for its high levels of transnational labour outmigration, ranking 12th out of all regencies or cities[3] in Indonesia (in terms of raw numbers of overseas migrants). In 2011 and 2012, more than 16,000 people from Ponorogo, or 2.7 per cent of the working-age population, went overseas for work[4] (Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten Ponorogo 2013a).

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[3] There are over 490 regencies and cities (the urban administrative equivalent) in Indonesia, with the number frequently increasing due to the re-zoning of administrative districts.
[4] The figures provided by BNP2TKI for overseas labour placement in 2012 refers to figures obtained in June 2012.

Ponorogo is located on the border between Central and East Java provinces (see Figure 1). The regency consists of 21 sub-districts (see Figure 2), with a total population size of 857,623 in 2012 (BPS Kabupaten Ponorogo 2013b).

Figure 1: Relative Position of Ponorogo in Java Island

Figure 2: Population of Sub-districts in Ponorogo Regency in 2012
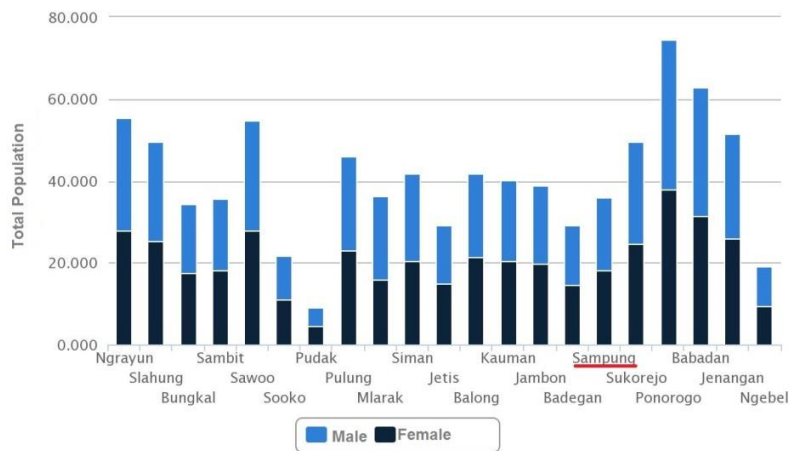
Our research focused on the Sampung sub-district in Ponorogo Regency due to its similarity with most of the other sub-districts in terms of population structure, population growth and economic structure (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Kabupaten Ponorogo 2014). Like most of the other sub-districts, the Sampung sub-district in the Ponorogo Regency has a balanced gender ratio in the population (ibid: 22).

Figure 3: GDP by Sector in Ponorogo Regency in 2012
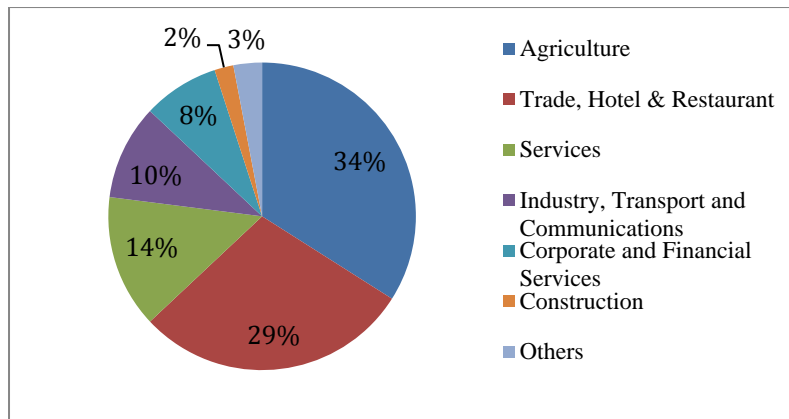
Agriculture is a major sector contributing to the economy in Ponorogo (34 per cent, see Figure 3). It is important to note that the agricultural sector represents a greater proportion of the GDP in the less-urbanised sub-districts, such as the Sampung sub-district (area of study), since some of the commercial sectors (e.g. trade, hotel and restaurant, corporate and financial services) do not have much presence in a village setting. While there is no data on GDP at the sub-district level, the significance of the agricultural sector in the Sampung sub-district can be seen from the fact that 64 per cent of the population work in this sector (ibid: 31). In Ponorogo regency, the GDP in 2012 was Rp. 9,490,000 million (US$817 million or £498 million),[5] which works out to about Rp. 11.07 million (US$951 or £580) annual income per capita. The poverty rate in Ponorogo was 12.3 in 2011 and 11.7 per cent in 2012, slightly below that of the national average of 12.5 as reported in 2011 (Iriana *et al.* 2012; BPS Kabupaten Ponorogo 2013b). The lack of diversity in industry and non-seasonal job opportunities in Ponorogo partly explains the high outmigration rate in Ponorogo (BNP2TKI 2012), where migration to another part of Indonesia or abroad increases one's access to longer-term job opportunities and ability to generate (higher) incomes becomes an attractive choice.

4.2 Sample Size and Inclusion Criteria

The survey covered 1,203 households in Sampung .[6] The sample size of 1200 was chosen because it would provide an adequate number of households on which to test our hypotheses, while also ensuring that field sampling and field data-collection procedures are kept sufficiently simple, robust, and cost efficient.

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[5] Conversion rates used in this paper is as follow: US$1 = Rp. 11,640; £1 = Rp. 19,074.

[6] During the course of the research an additional five household were recruited, although two households were not included in the final sample as the survey responses were not valid. Therefore, the final sample consisted of 1,203 households, which include 300 non-migrant households and 903 migrant households.

In terms of inclusion criteria, this study followed the various definitions of migrants put forward by the Migrating out of Poverty RPC. Based on this, the overarching definition of a **migrant** includes anyone who used to live in the household and left to go away from the village/town/city in the past 10 years, with a duration of absence, or intended absence, of at least 3 months (definition adapted from Bilsborrow *et al.* 1984: 146). In addition, the range of sub-definitions noted below helped us further refine our sample:

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

The overall sample size of 1,203 households included both non-migrant and migrant households. All but six of these households that participated in the study were Javanese, suggesting a fairly homogenous ethnic sample. The survey was conducted with the heads of household (or a household representative if the head of household was a current migrant),[7] regardless of gender, aged 18 years and above, who have household members who are either:

- Current migrants (internal, international and regional migrants)
- Returned migrants
- Non-migrants

A quota sampling strategy was chosen due to the lack of detailed data on the distribution of the migrant population with respect to the type of migration. The sampling sub-quota (n=150) ensured that there were sufficient responses in each sub-quota for statistical analysis:

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[7] Most heads of household were present for the survey. Less than 10 household representatives were asked to replace the absent head of household.

1. Gender of residents (male or female)
2. Migration status of residents (current migrant, returned migrant or non-migrant)
3. Migration type (internal migrant or international migrant)

Table 3: Sampling Frame Sub-Quotas by Sampling Groups and Gender

Sampling Groups	Gender		Total
	Female	**Male**	
Current internal migrant	12.5% n=150	12.5% n=150	25% n=300
Current international migrant	12.5% n=150	12.5% n=150	25% n=300
Returned migrant	12.5% n=150	12.5% n=150	25% n=300
Non-migrant	12.5% n=150	12.5% n=150	25% n=300

In the course of the research, we recognised that it was possible that a household contained both current and returned migrants of both genders. In the event that multiple characteristics of the migrants were present in one household, it was classified into the group with the lesser migration type first in order to meet the quota. For example, if there was a shortage of returned male migrants, the household with both current internal female and returned male migrants was classified as returned male migrants in the quota first with a note that both types of migrants existed within the particular household.

5. Findings: Patterns and Processes of Migration in Ponorogo

5.1 Who Migrates in Ponorogo?

Our survey included both migrant and non-migrant households, in order to gain a perspective on how households that do not have migrant members tend to differ from those that do. The general livelihood situation in Ponorogo is such that people tend to rely heavily upon causal agricultural labour, or work on their own small land holdings. These were the two main sources of employment for men before they undertook any form of migration. Women relied on these types of jobs, in addition to the overall management of the household in their roles as housewives. The lack of any major industry in Ponorogo, asides from agriculture, means that it is often difficult for people to generate large amounts of capital. In most cases, land is acquired through inheritance, with Javanese families typically passing their land down to their children (Rao 2011: 7). Consequently, land ownership is generally at a high level (well above 80 per cent for most household types) and therefore does not greatly differ amongst non-migrant and

migrant households (see Figure 4), a finding which is supported by our regression analysis reported in the appendix.

Figure 4: Percentage of Households by Land Ownership
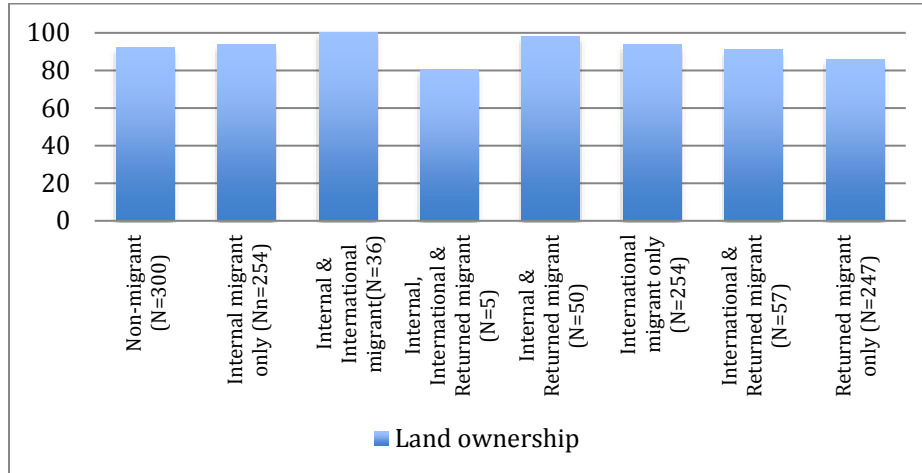
5.1.1 Household size and association with migration

Our survey found that compared to migrant households, non-migrant households tended to have fewer members (see Figure 5). As migrant households tend to be larger, this is likely to mean that there are a greater number of people to care for dependent household members, should one or more people from the household migrate elsewhere. On the other hand, the inverse is true for non-migrant households in Ponorogo, whereby having fewer household members may make it difficult for an adult member to leave, as there are fewer members left to assume their responsibilities and care for any children or elderly that may live in the same household.

Figure 5: Average Number of Household Member by Type of Households
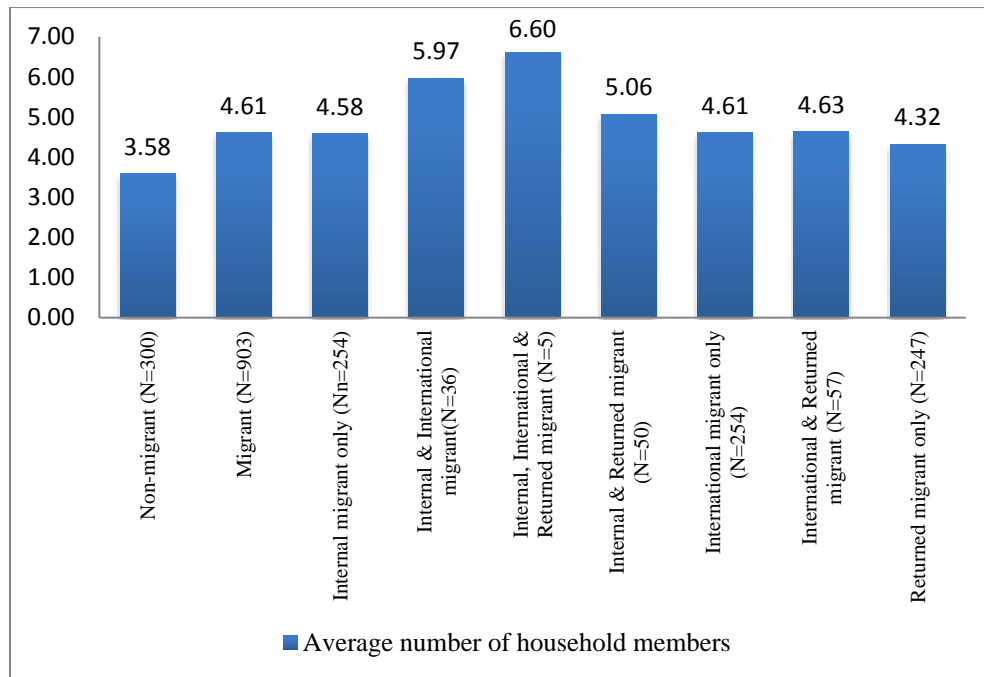
The availability of caregivers has a direct link with the dependency ratio of the household unit. The dependency ratio, commonly used in economics and demography is a way of working out the proportion of dependents (i.e. those aged 0-14 and 65 and above) compared to the productive members of the household (i.e. those aged 15-64). Our study found that, indeed, non-migrant households tended to experience a higher dependency ratio than migrant households (See Figure 6). This is consistent with previous studies that have found that household size and dependency ratios can act to influence migration decisions within households (Ahsan Ullah 2010), as households grapple with the practical consequences of the absence of one or more of its members. The only other household type that experienced a dependency ratio nearly as high as non-migrant households were those labelled as return migrant households (that is a household with a previous migrant who has been back for at least 12 months). It is not clear what causes this higher dependency ratio for this household type, although it could be due to the fact that returned migrants feel that they have completed the necessary migration episode(s) in order to improve their economic situation, and are possibly inclined to have more children due to greater feelings of economic security.

Figure 6: Dependency Ratio by Type of Households
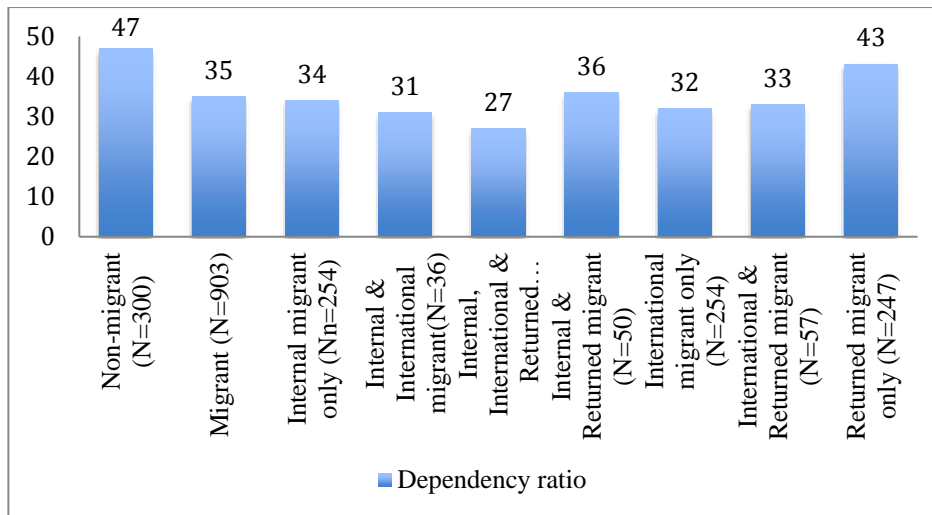
The findings from the survey regarding the dependency ratio and its influence on migration are supported by simple logistical regressions conducted on the data. These regressions point to the fact that households that have a higher dependency ratio are less likely to migrate (see Appendix 1), although this effect is only statistically significant for female migrants. We could plausibly interpret the negative sign on the coefficient of the dependency ratio as indicating a deterrence effect of care responsibilities (both their monetary and emotional costs) on migration. The results suggests a more complex decision making process for women with care responsibilities than for men. There are also some nuances when considering destination. While the dependency ratio deters both internal and international female migrants, this deterrence effect is weaker for female international migrants than for female internal migrants. This suggests that the higher earnings possible for international women migrants, principally in domestic work, counter or offset more strongly the responsibilities they have at home to dependent children or adults, than the earnings that they might achieve if they migrate internally. While these regressions cannot necessarily prove a causal effect, it highlights an avenue for future research with regards to migration patterns in Ponorogo.

On an individual level, there seem to be some distinct gendered migration patterns in Ponorogo. The tendency for women to migrate internationally has been growing in recent decades, and since the mid-1980s women have significantly outweighed men in terms of overall numbers of international migrants (Hugo 1995). As Table 4 below demonstrates, women are migrating overseas in greater numbers and percentages than men; women involved in international migration stands at 57 per cent compared to 49 per cent of men. The relatively high proportion of female international migrants in Ponorogo is fitting with broader national patterns of migration seen across Indonesia.

Table 4: Migration Status of Migrants by Gender

Sex	Migration Status				Total
	Internal	International	Internal Returned	International Returned	
Male	223	177	72	102	574
Female	192	205	59	132	588
Total	415	382	131	234	1162

Our data also highlights that there is a slight gendered variation with regards to the ages of migrants. People aged between 21 and 40 years old make up the bulk of both male and female migrants (70 percent and 73 per cent respectively, see Table 5 and Figure 7 below). This makes sense, as these years are presumably those in which adults are most able to undertake work such as domestic or construction work that may be physically demanding in nature. The age breakdown of migrants by gender seen in the table below also underscores the ages in which migration takes place for men and women. While it is similar in the younger age groups, in the 31-40 age group female migrants outrank male migrants by five per cent. This table, when read in conjunction with Figure 7, points to the notion that there are more international migrants in this age group. Thus it seems that women's migration in the international labour market persists until around 40 years of age, and after this point, men are more likely to constitute international migrants. This propensity for women to reduce their migration following 40 year of age fits with findings from a previous study (Platt *et al*. 2013) conducted as part of the consortium, which found that domestic workers in Singapore sometimes used age markers as goals by which to plan their return home.

Table 5: Age of Migrant by Gender

Age of Migrant	Migrant Gender	
	Male	Female
0-15	1%	<1%
16-20	8%	10%
21-30	42%	40%
31-40	28%	33%
41-56	21%	16%
≥57	1%	1%

Figure 7: Migration Status of Migrants by Age Group
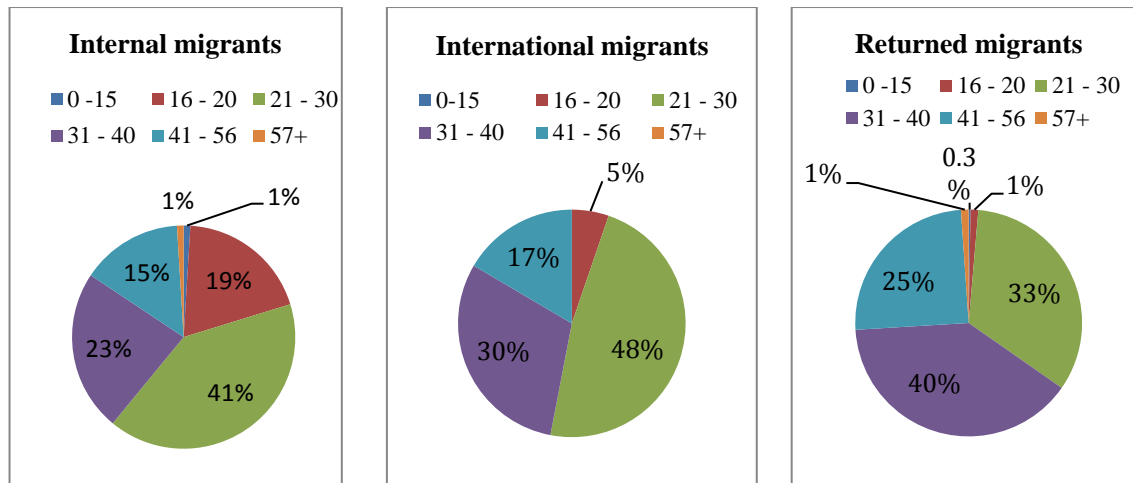
Figure 7 also highlights that those aged 16 to 20 years are far more likely to engage in internal migration (19 per cent) than international migration (5 per cent). This difference may highlight the propensity of young people to first undertake a migration closer to home before embarking on an international migration, thus pointing to a possible form of step-migration for young people in Ponorogo. We also observe that youths, people aged 16-24, are more likely to migrate than people in other age groups, at least when considering internal migrants. This effect is stronger among young men than among young women. It also supports the hypothesis that young people undertake internal migration before embarking on international migration.

5.2 Destinations of Migrants in Ponorogo

In terms of internal migration, people primarily moved to another part of Java (70 per cent), including the large centre of Jakarta, Tangerang/Banten (28 per cent). However, over two-thirds or 34 per cent (see Figure 8) of internal migrants moved elsewhere in East Java for work, which includes the major industrial city of Surabaya, or to the nearby island of Madura. This may reflect the preference for relatively close proximity to their families back in Ponorogo, or it could also be a result of their inability to access more remunerative international migration. As Table 6 shows, this particularly appears to be the case for women, with over half of female internal migrants opting to migrate to areas close to home. It is unclear to what extent this is a premeditated decision, or how much social networks (e.g. recruitment through friends and families) facilitated this movement. The trip between Ponorogo and Surabaya takes approximately 5-6 hours by vehicle, whereas the vast distance to Jakarta requires at least a full day of travel. The third most favoured destination is Sumatera (11 per cent), Indonesia's second largest island following Java, which is known for its vast array of natural and agricultural resources, including rubber, coffee, tea and vast mineral deposits. Therefore, it is likely that migrants to this area work in an array of production based industries.

Table 6: Internal Migration Destinations by Sex

Destination	Male	Female
Bali	7%	2%
Central Java	3%	7%
DI Yogyakarta	1%	2%
East Java & Madura	24%	52%
Jakarta, Tangerang/Banten	7%	10%
Kalimantan Island	27%	7%
Others (Bangka-Belitung)	1%	0%
Others (Maluku)	1%	1%
Others (Papau)	3%	2%
Sulawesi Island	1%	3%
Sumatera Island	19%	7%
West Java	7%	8%

Figure 8: Top Six Internal Migration Destinations by Gender
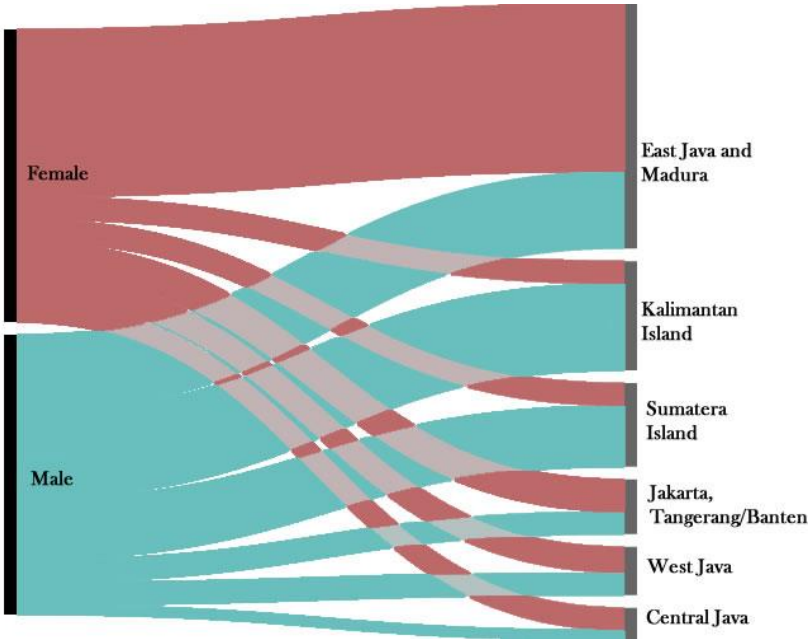
A gendered theme persists in our data, with clear differentials existing between men and women also with regards to their international migration destinations, as highlighted by Figure

9 below. It is quite obvious that migration flows for men are much less varied than they are for women. Men tend to predominantly migrate to Malaysia (75 per cent), with only a small proportion going to other destinations like South Korea (10 per cent) and Taiwan (6 per cent). The jobs men undertake in these destinations reflect typically masculine occupations, such as agriculture/farming, construction, and production/factory work. Hugo (1995) has noted that the route between East Java and Peninsular Malaysia is a long established migration route, used by both official and illegal migrants. It is a traditional destination for men who are seeking work overseas, although more women have entered Malaysia as labour migrants in recent years (Hugo 2002). Our study did not seek to establish whether migrants were considered legal or illegal migrants, but rather focused on the effects and outcomes of migration on families and households.

Figure 9: International Migration Flows by Gender
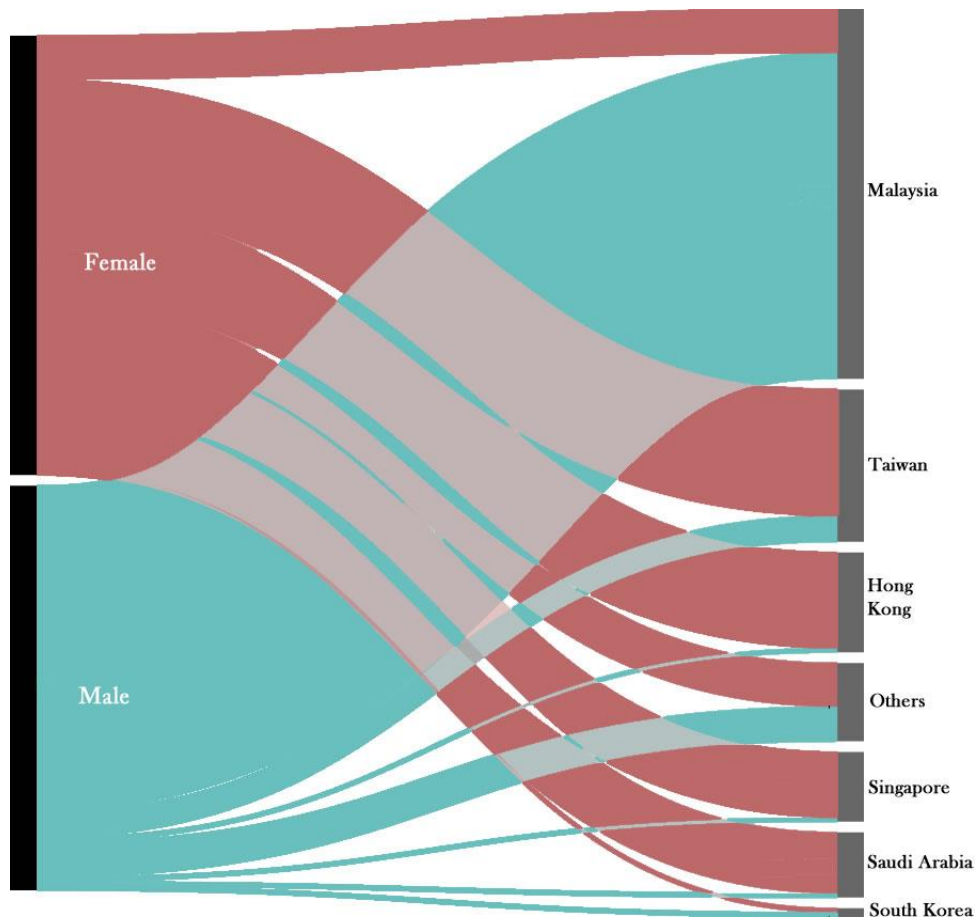
Women, on the other hand, tended to migrate to five key destination countries: Taiwan (29 percent); Hong Kong (22 per cent); Singapore (15 per cent); Saudi Arabia (14 per cent); and Malaysia (10 per cent). This is consistent with the top five destination for migrant workers nationally (See Table 2), highlighting that migrant women from Ponorogo are keeping with

Indonesian-wide trends. Recruitment agents and subsequently training centres have an influence on the destinations of Indonesian migrants. It is through these networks that women's destinations are determined, as opposed to men who largely choose their own destinations with the assistance of social networks. The overwhelming majority (93 per cent) of female international migrants were employed as domestic workers, thus demonstrating the predominance of domestic work in parts of South-east and East Asia creating a significant demand for female migrants (Huang, Yeoh and Rahman 2005; Lindquist 2010; Yeoh and Chang 2001; Young 2006).

5.2.1 Networks facilitating migration

From an internal migration perspective, it seems that both males and females rely heavily upon family members, as contact persons at destination, followed closely by friends (see Table 7). Hugo (1995: 289), though talking specifically about international migration, has pointed out the strong effects of family upon Indonesian migrants' networks:

> Networks not only link individual family members with friends and other family members at a range of destinations, but also with potential employers and facilitators of movement. Frequently a patron-client, mutual dependence relationship develops between an employer and a family or a group of families from a particular origin.

The results of the survey suggest the integral nature of family networks, particularly to internal migration. This finding was also supported by anecdotal evidence among some community members, who reported that their family members had left the village in order to work with other community members who had relocated to another area of Indonesia, thus suggesting the importance of the patron-client relationships in facilitating movement. Our regression analysis also supports the idea that having family networks outside of the home village facilitates migration, and that this effect is particularly strong for women.

Table 7: Contact Person at Destination by Gender of Migrant and Destination

Contact person at destination	Male Migrant		Female Migrant	
	Internal	International	Internal	International
Family member	47%	7%	47%	1%
Friend	45%	13%	36%	2%
Agent at Origin	1%	69%	12%	85%
Others	8%	11%	5%	12%

With such stark differences between men and women's migration international destinations, it is not surprising that the means by which their respective migrations are facilitated also differ. Amongst international female migrants, both the contact person and the person who helped the migrant secure the job (see Table 7 and Table 8) were overwhelmingly reported to be the agent at origin. This highlights the nature by which the female migration industry has evolved

to rely heavily upon agents both at point of origin and destination, and the overall gendered nature of the Indonesian migration industry (Lindquist 2010).

The role of agent at origin and the gendered migration process in particular, may also help to explain the predominance of women from Ponorogo as international labour migrants. As Lindquist (2010) points out, unlike male international migrants, the recruitment process for women is such that they are not required to pay any upfront fees for recruitment and placement. Instead they typically repay these fees through a debt deduction period over the first eight to nine months of their contract (see for example Platt *et al.* 2013). In some cases women's families may also receive a small payment from the agent as an incentive to encourage the recruitment of their family member. Men on the other hand are required to make upfront payments for fees associated with their migration. As such, for a family facing economic difficulties and wishing to generate remittances, upfront fees may prove insurmountable and thus facilitate women's international migration instead. This gendered difference in payment structures is linked to a gendered perception regarding the financial risk the recruitment of male and female labour migrants entails. Women as domestic workers are largely confined to the workplace. In contrast, men typically enjoy more on-the-job mobility (and therefore are perceived to be at greater risk of running away). Consequently, men are deemed to be more of a fiscal risk to agents and employers and are required to pay fees upfront (Hugo 1995, 2002; Lindquist 2010).

Table 8: Person who Secured Job for Migrant by Gender of Migrant and Destination

Person who secured job for migrant before departure	Male Migrant		Female Migrant	
	Internal	International	Internal	International
Family member	32%	8%	31%	1%
Friend	51%	13%	35%	3%
Agent at Origin		70%	20%	88%
Others	18%	9%	14%	8%

5.3 Migrants' Reason for Return to Ponorogo

Over a third of returned migrants cited that their main reason for return was the fact that their work contract had ended (see Table 9 and Figure 10). Looking at Table 9, which includes a breakdown of reasons for return based on internal and international migration status, we can see that this is an issue predominantly among international migrants. This is no doubt due to the fact that international migrants' employment tends to be formalised via contracts so that they can obtain the appropriate work visa in their host country. Previous studies of Indonesian domestic workers (see Platt *et al*. 2013) have found that women typically conceive their employment trajectories in two-yearly increments, upon which they then decide to extend their contracts or return home. Another key reason was family issues (27 per cent overall), which

included reasons such as returning home to marry, marital disruptions, the need to care for one's children and manage their schooling, taking care of a sick family member, or preparing for pregnancy. Interestingly, internal migrants cited that family issues were more of a compelling reason to return home (42 per cent versus 22 per cent for international migrants). This is not necessarily due to the fact that internal migrants faced more family issues per se, but rather that their relatively close proximity, combined with the casual nature of their labour, gave them greater flexibility regarding the decision to return home.

Figure 10: Reasons for Return (International and Internal Migrants)
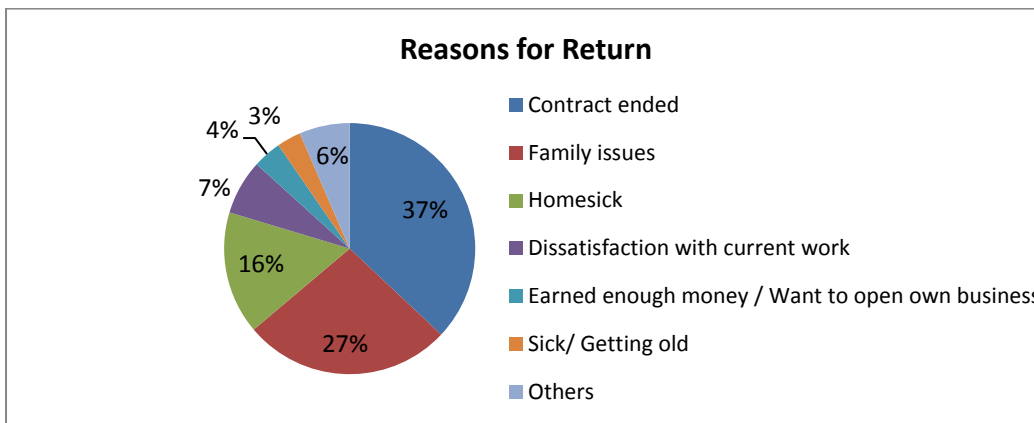
Table 9: Reason for Return by Type of Migrant

Reason for Return	Type of Migrant	
	Internal	International
Contract ended	14%	48%
Family Issues	42%	22%
Homesick	20%	13%
Dissatisfaction with current work	11%	5%
Earned enough money / Open own business	5%	3%
Sick/ Getting old	5%	2%
Others	3%	8%

The fact that family issues, including marital disruptions, featured as a key reason for return, is not of great surprise. Migration and its impact on marital stability has been highlighted by a number of researchers in the Indonesian context, who have pointed to the fact that prolonged separation of couples can indeed lead to marital instability and even contribute to the high divorce rate in communities (Hugo 2002; Lindquist 2010). In addition to the above reasons, 16 per cent of respondents reported homesickness as the main reason they returned to Ponorogo. When comparing the breakdown between internal and international migrants (see Table 9), more internal migrants (20 per cent) than their international counterparts (13 per cent) cited

this as their reason to end their migration. Again, this is likely due to the greater inherent flexibility of internal migration when compared to the more formalised, fixed-term nature of international migration.

5.3.1 Occupational mobility and return

Based on the findings of our survey, we found that for the large majority of returned migrants their migration episode generally did not offer occupational mobility. This lack of occupational mobility may be explained by the low levels of skills and qualifications migrants received while undertaking jobs in the destination. Just over 10 per cent (38 of 356 returned migrants) reported receiving any form of training certificate during their migration episode. In the majority of these cases (61 per cent), these qualifications were obtained by those who had undertaken domestic work. This is not surprising given that domestic workers are at times encouraged by their employers to upgrade their skills in the area of cooking, first aid, and even computer courses (; Huang and Yeoh 2003; Platt *et al.* 2013).

Table 10 generally points to the overall lack of occupational mobility observed amongst the returned migrants who took part in the survey. This table highlights that a substantial proportion of those who worked in professional sector (Professional Management, Executive and Technical, or PMET) migrated to undertake lesser skilled jobs. Thus beyond the lack of certification, low occupational mobility of returned migrants can be generally explained by the typically low-skilled nature of labour migration from Ponorogo. This is consistent not only with broader patterns regarding low-skilled migration flows elsewhere in Indonesia (Hugo 1995; 2002) but also with the Southeast Asian region (Wickramasekera 2002).

Table 10: Occupation of Migrant before Migration and at Destination

Occupation before Migration	Occupation at Destination							
	PMET	Sales & Services	Agriculture	Transport Operator	Construction Worker	Production staff	Domestic Worker	Unknown
Unemployed[8]	52	75	63	14	62	105	312	6
PMET	5	2	2	1	1		3	
Sales & Services	1	17	6		2	9	22	
Agriculture	8	9	66	9	71	20	62	5
Transport		1		5	1	2		

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[8] Unemployed (occupation before migration) includes people who were doing unpaid work in / outside the household and those previously still in school before migration.

Operator								
Constructio n Worker	1	4	6	1	26	10		1
Production staff	2	3	1		6	9	9	
Domestic Worker						3	32	
Business Owner	2	1	2	1	3	1	3	

5.4 Self-Perceived Assessment of Well-Being in Ponorogo

The survey data also asked households to assess a range of factors, relative to how they compared their household situation to that of five years ago. The concept of quality of life related to respondents' overall perception of their household's situation, including household finances (including the level of debt the household had, as well as access to more land), health conditions, and educational attainment of household members. Interestingly, there was a slightly higher proportion of non-migrant households than migrant households that described their quality of life as much easier than five years ago (see Table 11). This highlights that there are households that have achieved an easing of economic burden without having members undertake migration. The starkest difference with regard to self-perceived quality of life occurs in the 'easier' category, where over half of migrant households described their life as easier, compared to just over one third of non-migrant households. When it comes to seeing their quality of life as remaining the same, or harder, migrant households also seemed to fare better than their non-migrant counter parts. Thus the findings regarding self-perceived quality of life seems to suggest that migration has had a beneficial influence. However, this measure would need to be subject to greater statistical analysis before a relationship can be established.

Table 11: Self-Perceived Overall Quality of Life by Type of Household

Self-Perceived Overall Quality of life	Non-migrant Households	Migrant Households
Much easier	5%	3%
Easier	39%	53%
Neither easier nor harder	35%	31%
Harder	20%	12%
Much harder	1%	<1%

When weighed against the table above, Table 12, describing a household's self-perceived physical living conditions, presents an interesting point of comparison. The concept of physical living conditions relates to respondents' perception of their household's situation with regard

to access and ownership of physical resources and facilities (e.g. toilet facility, source of drinking water, materials used to build the house). If we look at both migrant and non-migrant households' responses to this question, we can see that the proportions of households in each category are relatively similar (with slightly more migrant households reporting that their living conditions have improved, and slightly fewer households reporting a deterioration of living conditions). The majority of both household types reported that their situations remained fairly static. From the perspective of non-migrant households, this is consistent with the fact that nothing has particularly changed for them. However, it is unclear why more migrant households are not reporting a greater improvement in their physical living conditions, especially if we take into account the fact that over half reported that their quality of life was easier.

Table 12: Self-Perceived Relative Household Physical Living Conditions by Type of Household

Self-Perceived Relative Household Physical Living Conditions	Non-migrant Households	Migrant Households
Much better	1%	1%
Better	11%	13%
Neither better nor worse	71%	74%
Worse	14%	11%
Much worse	3%	1%

Finally, Table 13 breaks the sample down further, examining self-perceived quality of life by specific migrant type. It highlights that a higher proportion of households with international migrants tended to report that their overall quality of life was easier compared to five years ago, ranging from 53 to 80 percent of households. In comparison, around half (46-52 percent) of those households with internal migrants said that the quality of life has improved. As highlighted above, this does seem to suggest there may be some positive correlation between migration, especially international migration, and quality of life, although this requires further analysis. On the other hand, the table also highlights that a higher proportion of households who reported hardship tended to be those that only had internal migrants. This further strengthens our supposition that international migration has a more positive influence on household quality of life than internal migration. Based on the fact that international migrants are likely to earn higher incomes, it seems logical that their migration would have a greater bearing on their household's financial situation.

Table 13: Self-Perceived Quality of Life by Type of Migrant Household

Self-Perceived Overall Quality of life	Type of Migrant Household						
	Internal	*Internal & International*	*Internal, International & Returned*	*Internal & Returned*	*International*	*International & Returned*	*Returned*
Much easier	2%			4%	3%	4%	5%
Easier	46%	53%	80%	52%	57%	68%	52%
Neither easier nor harder	35%	42%	20%	34%	33%	16%	27%
Harder	16%	6%		10%	6%	12%	16%
Much harder	1%						

While more women are engaged in international migration, the proportion of households with female international migrants that reported a higher quality of life was smaller than households with male international migrants (Table 14). This suggests that the perception of quality of life could be influenced by the loss of unpaid female labour in the household. When the woman migrates for work, there is disruption in terms of care work and housework arrangements and this impact is especially felt in households who have women who migrate overseas for work. The distance and contractual obligations that these female international migrants encounter may limit the flexibility in returning home when there are problems in the households (e.g. child falling sick) and thus may result in a reduction of the overall positive perceptions of women's migration impact on the household.

Table 14: Self-Perceived Quality of Life by Type of Migrant Household

Self-Perceived Overall Quality of life	Type of Migrant Household			
	Male Internal	Female Internal	Male International	Female International
Much easier	2%	3%	4%	3%
Easier	47%	49%	59%	57%
Neither easier nor harder	35%	32%	31%	31%
Harder	15%	15%	6%	9%
Much harder	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%

6. Conclusions

This paper has highlighted that some key differences regarding migrant and non-migrant households indeed exist, in both the lead-up to and the outcomes of migration. Consistent with previous literature (Ashan Ullah 2010), this working paper shows that the initial decision or perceived ability to migrate may be influenced by a household's dependency ratio. Non-migrant households have a lower household size and higher dependency on average, suggesting they lack a significant number of adults who are able to leave their familial and other household responsibilities for an extended period.

Another key difference between non-migrant and migrant households exists based on the outcomes of migration. When it comes to self-perceived quality of life, migrant households, especially those with international migrants, are more likely to report a greater improvement of quality of life (based on financial situation and acquisition on land) compared to five years ago than their non-migrant counterparts. Curiously, in terms of relative living conditions, there does not seem to be any great discrepancy between migrant and non-migrant households when they compare their current situation to that of five years ago. Overall, however, our findings suggest that migration is likely having some influence on the household's perceived financial situation. This finding needs to be followed up with more detailed statistical analysis to verify if there is indeed a causal relationship in this case.

In terms of individual migrants, we found that women are more likely to be involved in international migration than their male counterparts. This is fitting with trends indicating that the number of female migrants going overseas to work in predominantly low-skilled occupations, particularly domestic work, has proliferated in recent decades (Hugo 1995, 2002). Unlike their male counterparts, females are also migrating to a greater array of countries across the Southeast and East Asian region, whereas men for the most part migrate to Malaysia. This gendered difference in movement patterns is linked to a well-established migration industry that offers women the ability to migrate without payment of upfront fees (Hugo 2002; Lindquist 2010). This is clearly playing out in Ponorogo and therefore suggests there is a need to conduct further research on the intra-household dynamics, as communities across Indonesia are currently going through a process of social transformation whereby women's (and men's) long-term migration likely impacts on younger generations' ideals around gender and aspirations for the future.

There are also differences between international and internal migrants. International migrants are likely to be slightly older than their internal migrant counterparts and they rely more heavily upon social networks to assist them to find employment. This is fitting with the notion that migration in the region has developed the characteristics of an industry, which formalises international migration and use agents for both labour recruitment and placement. Given the formalised and often fixed nature of international labour contracts, internal migrants are often more likely than international migrants to return home for reasons relating to family, homesickness or dissatisfaction with their work. Our results show that, by comparison, an international migrant's trajectory is linked more closely to the completion of their employment

contracts, suggesting less flexibility regarding their decision to return. What is consistent is that both internal and international migrants typical migrate to a job that is low-skilled in nature, with little scope for occupational mobility, even for some of those who have previously been involved in more skilled occupations.

Overall, this working paper has shown that labour migration in Ponorogo is fitting with general migration trends in Indonesia and in the destination areas in the Southeast and East Asian region. It has raised a number of important points relating to the typically gendered nature of this migration, and explored some of the reasons underpinning men and women's different movement patterns. In order to more thoroughly explore some of the broader implications of migration on households, including across generations, we highlight the need to do further research in order to understand in greater detail migration as a phenomenon that is integral to social change.

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Appendix 1: Propensity to Migrate - The Indonesian Case

Which individual and household characteristics increase or decrease the likelihood of an individual household member to migrate? This question is a starting point in order to understand the complex process of migration and poverty reduction. Who is more likely to migrate? A man or a woman? Young or older people? Persons from richer or poorer households? Those better or less educated? How do these characteristics determine whether an individual moves within the country or abroad?

Regression analysis was done to determine the propensity to migrate. We were interested to find out how the independent variables, such as landholding, dependency ratio, education, gender, age, and social network at destinations, affect the likelihood of migration. This implies the prediction of three outcomes: no migration, internal migration or international migration. Hence, both samples of migrant households and non-migrant households were used to estimate the propensity to migrate through a simple Multinominal Logit Model (MNL). The rationale for including so many independent variables is that income is known to interact with other determinants such as human capital and social networks (Lucas 1997), the availability of labour in the household, contact with other migrating members in the community (Bigsten 1996), as well as marital status and age (Adam 1991). We also know that migration is context-specific, hence by including education in the analysis we will be able to identify whether there is selection of migrants on that basis and whether this differs by gender.

These findings report the results of two quantitative regression analyses, which estimate the propensity to migrate for individuals, both men and women, from Indonesia. The regression analyses are based on data from 3805 individuals (aged 15 and above)[9] in 1203 households in the region of Java. In the first regression, we estimate the probability to migrate with a simple Probit-model first, for the full sample and then by gender sub-samples. Table 15 reports the marginal effects at the means of all independent variables (i.e. holding all other variables constant at their mean), where the marginal effect shows how much the likelihood to migrate changes if the variable of interest changes by one unit.

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[9] We included only individuals who were aged 15 and above at the time of the survey. This is based on the assumption that younger individuals (i.e. below 15 years old) who migrated were unlikely to have exercised much agency as their migration was likely to be part of the household's decision/plans.

Table 15: Propensity to Migrate - Indonesia, Marginal Effects of Probit-estimation

	Full sample (1)	Male (2)	Female (3)
Household income per capita	2.68e-09	5.59e09	2.50e-10
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Land ownership (Yes=1)	0.005	0.021	-0.004
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.018)
Number of migrants from village	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Dependency ratio	-0.025*	-0.004	-0.040***
	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.014)
Education in years	0.007***	0.005**	0.005***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Female	-0.015*	-----	-----
	(0.008)	-----	-----
Youth (15-24 years)	0.075***	0.097***	0.047***
	(0.016)	(0.027)	(0.016)
Network at destination (Yes=1)	0.364***	0.398***	0.689***
	(0.031)	(0.048)	(0.025)
Sex of household head (**Female**=1)	0.045***	0.180***	-0.047***
	(0.011)	(0.022)	(0.013)
Age of household head	0.004***	0.004***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education in years of household head	-0.007***	-0.004	-0.008***
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
N	3805	1857	1948
Chi2	685.47	311.16	353.16

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses

Column 1 of Table 15 indicates that individuals who are better educated, male, young adults, with a network at the destination, are more likely to migrate. In terms of household characteristics, a higher dependency ratio and higher education of the household head lower the propensity to migrate while an older and female household head increase it. Interestingly, household income per capita does not have any significant effect. Individuals from richer and poorer households seem equally likely to migrate overall.

When the sample is split by gender, there are a few very interesting differences between men and women. For women, the dependency ratio within a household lowers their likelihood to migrate significantly by 0.04 percentage points. This supports what we contended earlier in the paper on the inverse proportion of dependency ratio and tendency to migrate. The effect of having a network at destination is almost double for women compared to men, corresponding to our earlier argument on the gendered migration regimes where agents and the practice of

debt-financed migration for women makes it easier for women to migrate. If the household head is female, women are around 0.05 percentage points less likely to migrate, while men are almost 0.2 percentage points more likely. The education of the household head is only significantly affecting the propensity to migrate for women and seems irrelevant for men. Thus, we conclude that there seems to be a gender division of responsibilities within the household that affects the propensity to migrate for male and female individuals differently. However, we would like to present a caveat in the current regression analysis, because we had identified the head of household as the person currently around and best able to answer questions on behalf of the household at the time of the survey. The gender of the household head could therefore be contingent on who in the household was currently away at the time of the survey – in fact, as seen in Table 15, male migrants were more likely to have a female household head, suggesting that the previous household head could have been the currently-away male migrant at the time of the survey.

In a second step, we estimate the propensity to migrate internally or internationally with a Multinominal Logit model (MNL). Table 16 reports the marginal effects, where the figures always have to be interpreted in comparison to the base group, non-migrants.

Table 16: Propensity to Migrate - Indonesia, MNL with Base Group: Non-migrants

	Full sample (1)	Male (2)	Female (3)
internal			
Household income per capita	-2.77e-08***	-2.18e-08*	-2.27e08***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Land ownership (Yes=1)	0.002	0.006	0.003
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.006)
Number of migrants from village	0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Dependency ratio	-0.009	-0.000	-0.015**
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Education in years	0.003***	0.003**	0.001**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	-0.015***	-----	-----
	(0.004)	-----	-----
Youth (15-24 years)	0.600***	0.072***	0.035***
	(0.012)	(0.021)	(0.011)
Network at destination (Yes=1)	0.141***	0.167***	0.269***
	(0.019)	(0.033)	(0.028)
Sex of household head (**Female**=1)	0.022***	0.096***	-0.017***
	(0.006)	(0.019)	(0.005)
Age of household head	0.002***	0.002***	0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Education in years of household head	-0.003***	-0.002	-0.002***

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	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
international			
Household income per capita	4.71e-09*	2.65e-09	2.32e-09
	(0.000)	(0.000)	0.000
Land ownership (Yes=1)	0.001	0.002	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Number of migrants from village	-0.000	-0.000	7.01e-06
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Dependency ratio	-0.004*	-0.002	-0.006*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Education in years	0.001**	0.000	0.001*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Female	0.001	-----	-----
	(0.001)	-----	-----
Youth (15-24 years)	0.002	0.003	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Network at destination (Yes=1)	0.054***	0.030	0.418***
	(0.016)	(0.189)	(0.030)
Sex of household head (**Female**=1)	0.005**	0.012	-0.008**
	(0.002)	(0.009)	(0.004)
Age of household head	0.000***	0.000	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education in years of household head	-0.001**	-0.000	-0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
N	*3805*	*1857*	*1948*
Chi2	571.23	242.62	293.31

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses

From Table 16, we notice that household income per capita does matter for the destination of migration. Individuals from poorer households are statistically significantly less likely to migrate internationally, however with a very small effect. In contrast, individuals from richer households are more likely to migrate internationally at a low significant level. This effect becomes insignificant when the sample is split by gender. However, it is important to note that the household incomes could likely be the outcomes instead of the determinants of the destination of migration, as the survey did not ask for the household income prior to migration. As we argue in our paper, households with international migrants are more likely to receive higher amounts of remittances than households with internal migrants or no migrant, and, as a result, the former would have reported higher levels of incomes.

Overall, women are significantly less likely to migrate internally. For international migration, the gender difference is not significant. The higher dependency ratio again is significantly decreasing the likelihood to migrate internally and internationally only for women, suggesting that women are likely to be assuming the caregiving responsibilities in the household.

Young adults are much more likely to migrate internally than internationally, supporting our earlier observation. The effect of having a network at the destination is highly and significantly increasing the probability to migrate internally, even more so for women. In the case of international migration, the network effect is only significant for females, which as we have asserted earlier in the paper, could be due to the role of agents and debt-financed migration that facilitated women's international migration.

As in the Probit-model, the sex of the household head affects the likelihood to migrate internally in opposite directions for men and women. The likelihood to migrate internationally is only significantly decreased for women if the head of the household is female and has no effect on men. The same applies for the education of the household head, but with a much smaller effect. Both regressions indicate that the determinants for migration in Indonesia are significantly different for men and women.

About the Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium

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

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

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