

Migration Trajectories among Rural Households in Indonesia

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Received: 2020-08-09
Accepted: 2022-08-27

Keywords:
international migration;
trajectories; migrant workers

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Abstract. International migration trajectory is one of the important aspects discussed when viewing the migration culture of a region. The specific types and patterns created are unique and dependent on the length of the migration history. Therefore, this study is aimed to explain the migration history carried out by residents in Ponorogo Regency, East Java Province, and the factors that influence international migration. This is a survey research of 515 international migrants. The results showed that the migration pattern in Ponorogo Regency was divided into one, two, and three destination countries with temporal space-related cultural factors used to determine an important influence on rural households' ability to work abroad. Similar to other studies, age and gender are the two key variables related to migration trajectories in Ponorogo Regency.

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1. Introduction

The migration of Indonesians overseas is an interesting topic to study. Indonesia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia that accounts for the largest migrant workers in the world. Hugo (2002) stated that this affects both micro and macro levels. Meanwhile, in the micro household context, migrant workers contribute to the thriving economy, such as high wages, meeting basic needs, children's education, housing, seeking venture capital, and poverty reduction (Mas'udah, 2020; Pratikto et al., 2020; Azizi, 2019; Pitoyo, 2018; Arlini et al., 2019; Todaro & Smith, 2006; Adams & Page, 2005; Haryono, 1999). The negative impact includes bad relationships with family members due to having been left for a long time (Hugo, 2002; Lam & Yeoh, 2016).

At the national level, the migration of Indonesians to other countries boosts the economy through foreign exchange. Besides, it is the second largest contributor after oil and gas (Ford, 2006; Priambada, 2014). The National Agency of Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers, presently referred to as the *Badan Nasional Penempatan and Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia* (BNP2TKI), reported that in 2018 approximately six million migrant workers contributed relatively 70 trillion rupiahs, to the foreign exchange (CNN Indonesia, 2018). This amount was specifically contributed by those officially registered at The National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. It is estimated that more foreign exchange is generated from undocumented individuals.

Indonesia has a long history of overseas employment from 1979 to 1980 (Pitoyo, 2018; Sukamdi, 2007; Hugo, 2002). Sukamdi (2007) stated a significant increase in international migration from 1994 to 2007. The highest number of migrant workers was recorded from 2005 to

2007. There was a decline in the subsequent years, in line with the moratorium on sending migrant workers overseas. This is consistent with the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Article 31 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. It stated that the placement of these workers can only be conducted in destination countries based on legislative protection, bilateral agreements, and social security (Nugroho, 2018). From 2011 to 2016, international migrants significantly reduced from 586,802 to 234,451 (BNP2TKI, 2018).

Pitoyo (2015) stated that international migration has existed for a long time, and it has even become a custom for parents to send their children overseas. This is bound to continue, supposing parents, grandparents, or family members have engaged in this act and yielded results that meet their expectations. Accordingly, other family members' potential to migrate overseas is enhanced by the experiences of those who have travelled before them (Boyd, 1989; Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014). In the context of international migration, kinship ties tend to have more effect on female migrants than males (Liu, 2013). This simply indicates that they are encouraged by the success of family members, compared to the males, who are mostly affected by friendship.

The reason why people migrate abroad has been assumed to be underlined by economic factors (Harris & Todaro, 1970; Winchic & Carment, 1989; Spoonley & Bedford, 2008; Villarreal & Blanchard, 2013; Pérez & Stallaert, 2015; Gheasi & Nijkamp, 2017; Eckstein & Peri, 2018). However, the effect of international migration in certain areas is a cultural factor that mainly affects the origin place (Kandel & Massey, 2002; Romaniszyn, 2004; King, 2012; Geisen, 2012; Pitoyo, 2015). It also triggers the urge to

migrate overseas because many people have engaged in this process. Besides, they usually reflect on the success of other migrants. The interesting aspect is how this migration culture is viewed from the destination countries, which will be patterned in an area of origin, and whether it will be repeated together with those from other places. This is triggered by the strong network that has been formed, thereby deciding to undertake international migration, especially by those who reside in villages easier (Davis et al., 2002; Curran & Rivero-Fuentes, 2003; Del Rey Poveda, 2007; Liu, 2013).

One of the areas with a lengthy history of international migration is Ponorogo, a regency in East Java, Indonesia (Arlini et al., 2019). The people in this region are known for sending family members abroad, and most venture to work overseas. This has existed since the colonial era under Dutch rule (Pitoyo, 2015). The patterns of migration and destination areas are interesting to study because the people had engaged in this act for decades or even hundreds of years. Such a lengthy migration history shows that the destination has similar patterns only directed at certain countries. Unfortunately, migration trajectories among rural households in Ponorogo Regency have not been investigated, although this research is expected to fill this gap.

Based on the history of Ponorogo Regency as the highest migrant enclave in East Java, this research attempts to describe how people engage in this process. Migration is aimed at how the patterns of destination countries exist. Also, factors affecting international migration in this regency are evident to date. This study reported innumerable benefits realized from elaborating on previous themes and findings in this region (Khoo et al., 2014; Pitoyo, 2015; Arlini et al., 2019; Widiyanseno et al., 2019). The elaboration is specifically centered on explaining the historical pattern of migration in the Ponorogo Regency according to the trajectory of the destination.

2. The Methods

Data

Data was obtained from research titled "Child Health and Migrant Parents in South-East Asia (CHAMPSEA)", carried out at the Center for Population and Policy Studies (CPPS) Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, in 2016. This study was carried out at the centre of migrant areas, such as West (Sukabumi and Tasikmalaya) and East Java (Ponorogo and Tulungagung Regencies). The present research focuses on Ponorogo Regency, which has the most extended and complete migration history.

Respondents

The sample selection process in this survey is based on respondents or household members involved in international migration. The 2016 CHAMPSEA samples were obtained from the CHAMPSEA 2008 database. The selection process was carried out using the 2008 CHAMPSEA survey. The number of samples for the 2016 CHAMPSEA had been determined or already existed, therefore, it does not need to be resampled. The selection of samples in 2008 was based on the presence or absence of migrant households under the condition that some children were left behind, and in this case, Ponorogo Regency. The sampling results

indicated that Babadan Subregency, and Ponorogo Regencies, consisting of seven villages, represented mainly international migrants.

In accordance with the listing results, there were 2,000 migrant households. Incidentally, 261 met the requirements and were selected as the respondents, such as migrant children left behind. The determination of whether or not they were eligible was made following the Extraction of Household Registration. A total of 261 households were the basis of CHAMPSEA respondents in 2008 and 2016. Based on the 2016 CHAMPSEA, 256 households with 515 family members were successfully interviewed. These results are the basis of the data used in the current research.

The samples obtained are 515 respondents consisting of 80 international migrants, 28 internal ones, and 407 non-migrant informants. Furthermore, the 407 non-migrants comprise 124 and 283 individuals who have never migrated. This research focuses on 80 international migrants compared to 124 informants.

Data Analysis

The data were processed using the STATA program, while descriptive analysis was carried out to determine the history of the migrants in Ponorogo Regency, East Java Province. It was also used to explain the destination countries' patterns. A temporal explanation of migration trajectory was performed by comparing migrants who had migrated once, twice, and thrice. A spatial description was further carried out by comparing different destinations based on the migration sequence. The analysis was strengthened by exploring the precipitating factors influencing migration in Ponorogo Regency.

3. Result and Discussion

History of Migration in Ponorogo Regency

Ponorogo is located in East Java Province, and it is one of the largest international migrant enclaves in the country as well (Khoo et al., 2014; Widiyanseno et al., 2019). The data acquired from BNP2TKI (The National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers) shows that in 2019, 2,393 people engaged in international migration, and of all regencies, this region was ranked fourth (BNP2TKI, 2019). However, in 2016 it was ranked eighth because the data shows that 6,597 people from Ponorogo Regency migrated overseas (BNP2TKI, 2016). There is a decrease in the number of migrants from 11,539 in 2011 to 6,443 in 2015, although this is only nationally applicable. Since the Indonesian government's moratorium on sending people overseas, a slight decline was recorded. Still, the number of international migrants in Ponorogo Regency started to increase from 2015 to 2018, when it was high again by 10,043 people.

The high number of international migrants from the Ponorogo Regency has been inseparable from its migration history (Pitoyo, 2018). According to Pitoyo (2015, 2018), these activities had been going on since the inception of the Ponorogo Regency almost 500 years ago. It was further mentioned that this region's migration stages comprises six stages (Pitoyo, 2018). The first phase existed during the late Majapahit era when the Malay World trade system connected neighboring countries through trade. This caused the indigenes of Ponorogo Regency to actively interact with

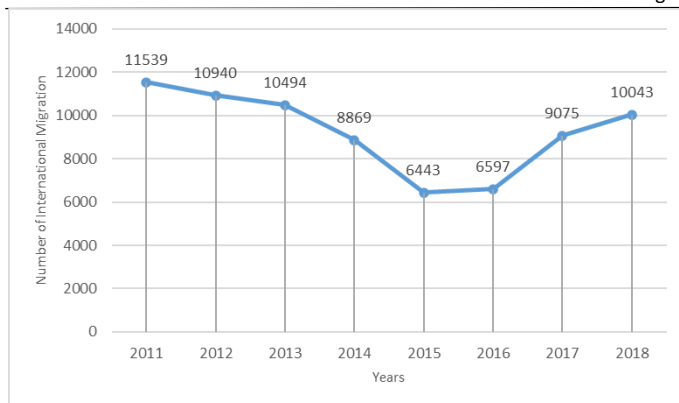


Figure 1. Number of International Migrants from Ponorogo Regency in 2011 – 2018 (The National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, 2019)

other countries and travel overseas, thereby leading to the discovery of migration routes.

The second phase is related to the pilgrimage (Hajj) journey (Pitoyo, 2018). It shows that there is broad access to the outside world, besides Ponorogo Regency is a religious society where the Hajj ritual is a prestigious ceremony that must be celebrated, which eventually forced many people to travel to Saudi Arabia. After arriving in this country, some settled and started working due to certain circumstances and their inability to go home. This gradually formed migration patterns from Ponorogo Regency to the Middle East, starting with the intention to travel for Hajj. The third phase is related to the Dutch colonial era. There was a paramount need for workers in plantations and other sectors controlled by the Dutch. Accordingly, a contract worker mechanism (Collie System) was then established. The people of Ponorogo Regency were heavily involved in this system, forcing them to migrate to other areas. In the 19th century, the British government needed much labour in their colonies, and it was obtained from other countries, including Java, where the population of Ponorogo Regency was included (Pitoyo, 2015).

The fourth phase emerged after the independence of the old order of Indonesia (Pitoyo, 2018). International migrant consignments are associated with either individual or kinship systems with the trade or religious channels with departure through the sea and are traditional. The destination countries were Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. Malaysia was a temporary stopover because it had a similar language and culture to Indonesia. The main destination is Saudi Arabia, where the Hajj is held. After their arrival, several of them did not want to go back and were accommodated by relatives already residing in the country. The exodus to Malaysia occurred in the 70s, although most travellers were only in transit while working in the country, with their final destination being Saudi Arabia. The commonly used term is *migrasi lompat katak* (leap-frog migration), where the first stop in some country before heading to the main destination.

The fifth phase occurred from 1970 to 2000. In this stage, the state started to play a relevant role in the Indonesian government's coordinated initiative of sending migrants overseas. From 1970 to 1980, the destinations were still focused on Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. From 1980 to 1990, they started experiencing the development of the

destination and various other countries. The government played a greater role by facilitating the destinations in East Asia, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan. From 1990 to 2000, there was a culmination of a rapid international consignment of migrants in Ponorogo Regency with a growing number of destinations, namely Europe, Turkey, Greece, Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Spain, as well as Canada and the United States. This phase exposed the foreign exchange heroes, and their effect on the diverse destinations was beginning to be felt. A typical example is the regional development of Ponorogo Regency, which was realized with foreign exchange contributions from international migrants.

The sixth phase is from 2000 till date, and the consignment of migrant workers overseas helped improve the increasingly complex system. The government regulated the entire process, including the official route through The National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. All shipping lines were monitored, as well as those in Ponorogo Regency, per the issuance of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 39/2004 on Placement and Protection for Indonesian Overseas Workers. The destinations of these migrants are increasingly diverse, alongside innumerable government agreements, such as Cyprus, Maldives, Fiji, Mauritius, and New Zealand (Pitoyo, 2015). Besides, some complex problems have generated a moratorium on the migration of these individuals to the Middle East due to the weak protection policies.

Characteristics of Migrants in Ponorogo Regency

The migration history is based on the research on CHAMPSEA (Child Health and Migrant Parents in South-East Asia) carried out in 2016. This study is aimed at finding out the condition of migrants children. It also attempts to discover the patterns of Ponorogo Regency migration using the samples in the study area. However, if these are related to the destination countries, it forms certain patterns that affect the migration process in this regency. Based on the sample obtained from households or family members who have migrated, Table 1 shows the migration status of the study area. This study focuses more on the actors of international migration in Ponorogo Regency by considering the percentage of the migration status shown in Figure 1. It is interesting to discover the patterns between the destination countries and the culture or lifestyle that emerges from international migration. Regarding the

Table 1. Migration Status of the Respondents in Ponorogo Regency

	Number	Percentage
International Migrants	80	15.53
Non-migrants (who had ever migrated)	124	24.08
Non-migrants (who had never migrated)	283	54.59
Internal Migrants	28	5.44
N	515	100.00

Source: Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM (2016)

migration status of the respondents with respect to gender, Table 1 shows that those who have engaged in international migration are 70% (56 people) of female migrants and less than 30% (24 people) of males. A higher number of female respondents were also present in the non-migrant status, approximately 62.10% (77 people), while the remaining 37.90% (47 people) of the males were ex-migrants. The comparison of this status based on gender is shown in the figure 2.

Internal migrants and non-migrants, who had never migrated, were inversely compared, and it was reported that 53.57% and 57.95% were males, while the remaining 46.43% and 42.05% were female respondents, respectively. It indicates that there is indeed a relationship between migration and gender status, in which those who had ever or currently migrating are dominated by women, while the men are leading those who had never or do not intend to migrate. Khoo et al. (2014) conducted a study in Ponorogo Regency and reported a similar case, where women who are currently migrating are higher than men. This evidence implies that there have been gender and cultural dynamics in families where many women have travelled abroad to work (Khoo et al., 2017; Curran & Saguy, 2001). Morrison et al. (2007) further reported that virtually half of the international migrants are women.

The reason why female respondents migrate is that *first*, there is high demand for them in the destination areas, such as in the position of domestic servants, babysitters, and elderly caregivers (Loveband, 2004; Kaska, 2006; Ignacio, Emilyzen & Meijia, 2009; Araujo & González-Fernández, 2014). According to Azis (2003), there are more female migrants than their male counterparts due to the high demand for domestic servants and child sitters in the destination regions or countries. Male migrants are more responsive to construction and industry needs. *Second*, Sukamdi (2007) stated that female workers are easier to control and are usually in a position where there is a lack of job opportunities in the area of origin. Besides, women from low-income families usually engage in migration as a strategy for survival. The essence is to work in other regions or countries to fulfil the cost of living. This is in line with Everet Lee (1996) regarding the push and pulls factors that

trigger an individual's migration across nations. The country of origin's driving factors includes poor salaries, social access, and limited employment. Meanwhile, the pull factors in the destinations are competitive salaries and low unemployment rates.

The characteristics of migrants are also determined based on the educational background of each respondent. Indonesian migrants, especially the foreign ones, are dominated by women, with the average work type being household assistants and baby or elderly caregivers. The educational level is one of the conditions put forward by the government in terms of approving a migrant. Several studies on international migration in Indonesia reported that these individuals are characterized by low education, therefore, the majority of them work in the informal sector (Yogi, 2017; Liao & Gan, 2020; Sabban, 2002). In line with Van Hear et al. (2012), the causes of migration are triggered by certain factors, including a surge in unemployment and disruptions or low educational level.

Figure 3 shows that the majority of the international migrants have low secondary educational qualifications. The junior high school educational level dominates by 40%, followed by the senior high school, relatively 36.25 percent. Ironically, those that had elementary education constituted 21.25%, while respondents without any educational qualifications reached 1.25 percent. This shows that individuals with a low level of education dominate international migration according to the needs of workers in the destination countries. Based on the educational characteristics of the respondents in the study area, Figure 2 shows that international and internal migration patterns are more likely to be in demand for those with a secondary education background. Meanwhile, non-migrants with secondary and higher educational qualifications prefer to work in the area of origin. Table 4 shows that the average age of migrants ranges from 20 to >50 years. The international migrants are dominated by respondents between the ages of 40 to 50 years, relatively 47.50% (38 people), followed by those between 20 to 40 years, approximately 43.75% (35 people). This is in line with the findings of Khoo et al. (2014), where international migrants from the Ponorogo Regency are mostly 21 years and above.

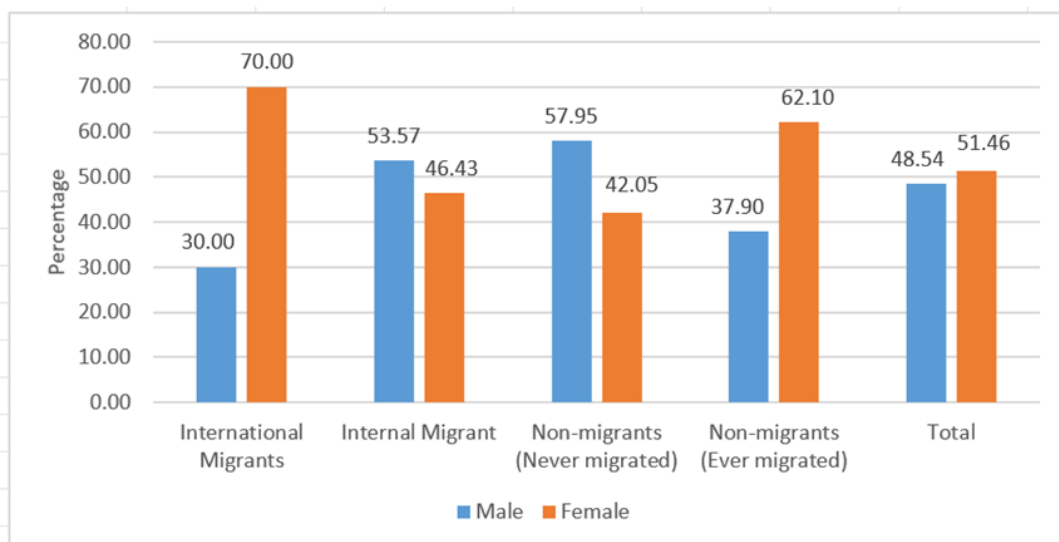


Figure 2. Migration Status by Gender in Ponorogo Regency (Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM, 2016)

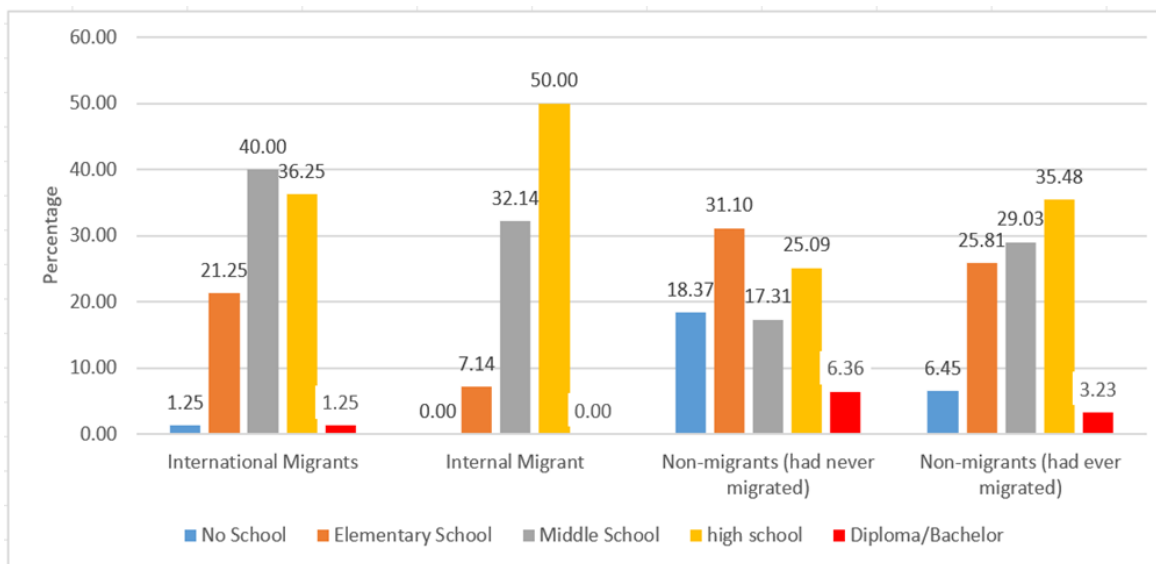


Figure 3. Migration Status by Education in Ponorogo Regency (Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM , 2016)

This indicates that the government implemented a regulation to this effect (BNP2TKI, 2019).

The variation in age distribution was discovered in internal migrants aged 20 to 40 years (i.e., 67.86 percent) and 40 to 50 years (i.e., 14.29 percent). Also, some of them were less than 20 years old, and this implies that after graduating from high school at a younger age, they had already migrated internally and worked across diverse regions. For non-migrants who have never migrated, the majority of the respondents were between the ages of 40 to 50 years (i.e., 54.42 percent), followed by those >50 years (i.e., 30.74 percent). This category slightly differs from non-migrants who have migrated, in which the majority of the respondents were between the ages of 40 to 50 years (i.e., 63.71 percent), followed by those between 20 to 40 years (i.e., 25.00 percent). Therefore, most migrants from Ponorogo Regency are of the productive age, within 20 to 50 years. This is in line with the studies carried out by Morgan and Robb (1981) and Jacobs (2012), that the consideration of young migrants or those within the productive age for economic opportunities is higher than the older (unproductive) ones.

The characteristics of migrants from Ponorogo Regency based on the relationship status of household members are shown in Figure 4. It simply indicates that 57.50%, 22.50% and 18.75% of the international migrants are mothers, fathers, and children, respectively. This is indeed consistent with the gender characteristics earlier discussed that the average international migrants are mostly mothers or married women because they intend to fulfil economic needs besides jobs in the destination countries, mainly household assistants and toddlers or elderly caregivers. Meanwhile, for married men, the average work status is manual labor in factories.

Similarly, the non-migrants were dominated by women with maternal status, approximately 62.10%, followed by 37.90% of married men (fathers). This is interesting because those who have migrated internationally are mostly mothers. It implies that these women eventually return to their area of origin and do not have the intent of traveling again. For non-migrants who have never migrated, there are

more married men (fathers) than women (mothers), approximately 57.95%. It is also interesting to pinpoint that most internal migrants are children. This implies that immediately after they graduate from high school, as shown in Figure 3 are mostly high school graduates, these children try to search for jobs across regions within the country. The increased percentage of female migrants shows a gender-divergent migration trend (Finnie, 2004).

Migration Historical Patterns of Ponorogo Regency Population

Migration historical patterns emphasize the headed destinations and migratory trajectories (Schapendonk, 2018). It questions whether the trajectories form a certain pattern due to several relationships, such as the area of origin, age characteristics, gender, and many more that can affect one's emigrational pathway or choice. These patterns are often observed in international migration among countries. Therefore, this study emphasizes the patterns of international migration history by comparing the migratory trajectory in the Ponorogo Regency.

As was earlier reported, this regency is a migrant distribution area that has existed for over 500 years, therefore migration activities are perceived as a culture. Based on the CHAMPSEA study carried out in 2016, historical migration patterns in Ponorogo Regency are discussed with respect to two perspectives. Firstly, the migration pattern of the people, which studies have proven are migrating abroad till date and secondly, the history of those who have migrated. This research focuses on the trajectories of international migration to ascertain the destinations of these migrants. This is further explained using the supporting data.

These patterns constitute several stages of the intended migration trajectories. It was previously reported that the first stage of migration in Ponorogo Regency was the Middle East region, especially Saudi Arabia, with the intent to worship and afterwards settle for work. The second stage was the migration trajectories to Malaysia, which served as a transit route to Saudi Arabia. Although in the actual sense, they settled to work in Malaysia, while some headed to

Saudi Arabia. In stages one and two, economic factors are not the main triggers of migration. Other attributes that triggered this activity include worship and the similarity of cultures among the Malays (Gungwu, 1985; Pitoyo, 2015). A similar pattern occurred in Europe, where the economy was not the main consideration. The cultural, political, and historical relations between the migrants and the host community override economic considerations (Fassmann & Munz, 1992). This was usually experienced in the early stages of international migration.

The third stage, in relation to the increasing benefits perceived by migrants and the progress of Indonesia, caused the government to implement certain regulatory measures, and the destinations started to vary according to the enacted policies among countries, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan. In some nations, this stage is usually perceived as the golden phase in developing international migration patterns, where the economic benefits are felt by both sending and receiving countries (Bonifazi, 2008; Van Mol & de Valk, 2016). The fourth stage was marked by the emergence of broader migration trajectories leading to Europe, Greece, Cyprus, Maldives, etc. The stages of historical migration patterns emerged from the 60s, 70s, and 90s to 2000 (Pitoyo, 2015).

Figure 5 shows one of the migration trajectories of migrant workers' paths in the research area and how the

international migration patterns are based on the countries sorted by the age of migrants. Several colors distinguish the destinations to be able to discern the trajectories. It is evident that these patterns tend to cluster in Asian, Middle Eastern, and Southeast Asian countries. The most popular destinations shown in Figure 5 are Asian countries, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea. Then these are followed by Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia United Arab Emirates, and finally, the Southeast Asian country, including Malaysia. Middle Eastern countries, especially Saudi Arabia, are dominated by Asians, perhaps due to the moratorium from the government related to sending labor to this region (Platt, 2018).

Interestingly, certain migration patterns are formed based on the migrants' age. Furthermore, the young, middle-aged and older migrants exhibit an entirely different pattern. Table 4 shows that the age composition of the 80 international migrants or respondents is between 20 to 50 years. Specifically, within 22 years to 52 years, although one respondent's age is unknown. The migrants aged 40 years and below tend to migrate to Asian countries, such as Hong Kong and Taiwan, as well as Malaysia and Singapore in Southeast Asia. The destination patterns of migrants between 40 to 45 years old vary, they usually migrate to Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, etc. This also includes Asian nations, namely

Table 4. Migration Status by the age of the Respondents in Ponorogo Regency

Migrants' Status	Migrants' Age				TT	Total
	<20	20-40	40-50	>50		
International Migrants	0	35	38	6	1	80
%	0.00	43.75	47.50	7.50	1.25	100.00
Internal Migrants	4	19	4	0	1	28
%	14.29	67.86	14.29	0.00	3.57	100.00
Non-migrants (had never migrated)	0	40	154	87	2	283
%	0.00	14.13	54.42	30.74	0.71	100.00
Non-migrants (had ever migrated)	0	31	79	14	0	124
%	0.00	25.00	63.71	11.29	0.00	100.00
Total	4	125	275	107	4	515
%	0.78	24.27	53.40	20.78	0.78	100.00

Source: Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM (2016)

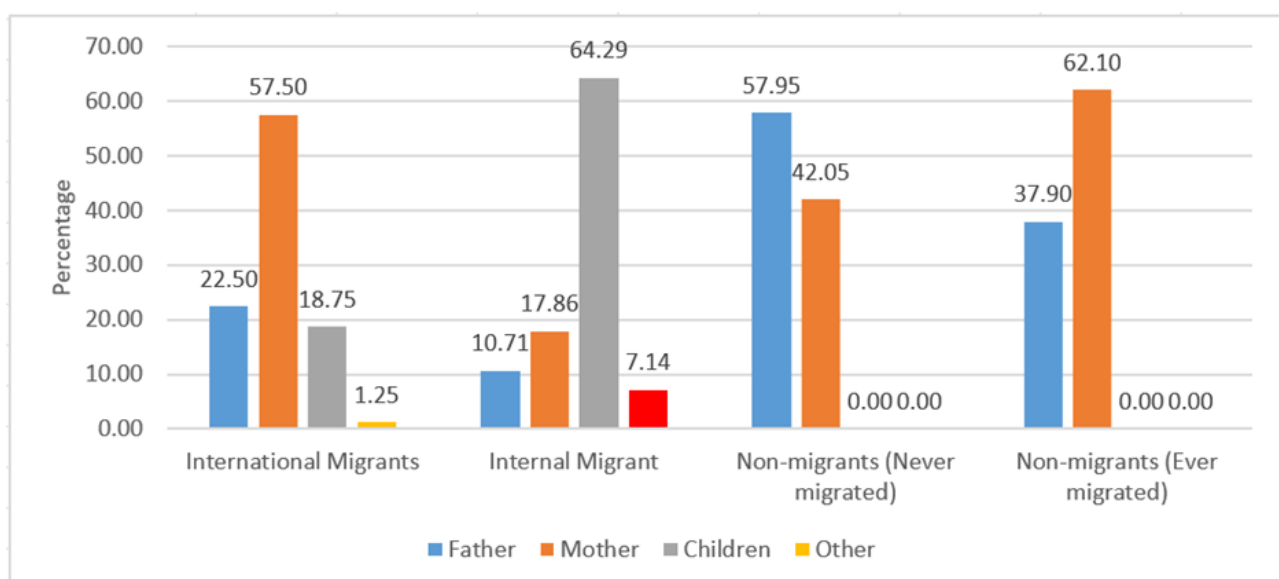


Figure 4. Migration Status by Household Members in Ponorogo Regency (Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM, 2016)

Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asian countries, such as Malaysia. The destination patterns of migrants aged 46 to 52 years old is the opposite of those below 40 years old. For those between the ages of 46 to 52 years old, their destinations are dominated by Middle Eastern countries (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, etc), followed by Malaysia and some Asian nations (Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan).

Based on data acquired in the field, each migrant departs with a two-year contract, and once it is completed, the individual can submit a contract extension by first returning to the country of origin (Ministry of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia, 2007). With a contractual agreement, migrants can either extend to the same country or change their destination. Figure 5 shows that some migrants changed their destinations from one country to another. For example, from Saudi Arabia as the first destination, they migrated to Taiwan, from Hong Kong to Singapore and Malaysia, and from Taiwan to Saudi Arabia and back. In addition, based on data, these destinations are further dominated by the same country. They usually migrate to the same Asian region, such as Hong Kong to Taiwan or Saudi Arabia to other Middle Eastern countries.

Figure 6 clearly illustrates the migration patterns of the respondents from Ponorogo Regency. Saudi Arabia experienced the most migration, while the respondents also migrated to several other countries, such as Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, United Arab Emirates, as well as other Asian and Middle Eastern nations. Dynamic migration was also witnessed in Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Besides from the migration patterns in Ponorogo Regency, the migrants do not continually move to other countries yearly. In Figure 5, the area shaded in green implies that sometimes they return home, while some usually return after a gap of one or two years or even more. Afterwards, the migrants continue to travel to the same country as before or to a different one. The average duration of migration is at least two years, the longest is 10 years. According to the data, there are even 10 to 18 years of overseas migration. This shows that in Ponorogo Regency, migration has become ingrained in their culture.

The gender of the migrants affects the migration patterns of the target countries. Based on Figure 2, 70% are females, while the remaining 30% are males. With respect to the comparison that females dominate, when viewed from the acquired data, the distribution patterns of the destination countries turned out to have a different pattern. Figure 5 shows that female migrants are likely to migrate to Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia, United Arab

Emirates, etc and Asian nations, including Hong Kong, Taiwan, etc. Incidentally, approximately 10% of the total female respondents rarely migrate to Southeast Asian countries, such as Malaysia and Singapore. In contrast, relatively 50% of the total male migrants are likely to travel to Southeast Asian countries, such as Malaysia. The rest spread to Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia, and Asian nations, like Hong Kong, Taiwan, and North Korea. This is similar to the results of research by Khoo et al. (2014), which was also carried out in Ponorogo. It simply implies that the pattern is expected to remain the same from 2014 to date.

The number of female migrants is higher in the Middle East and Hong Kong, and Taiwan due to the demand for household assistants, babysitters, or elderly caregivers. Meanwhile, the number of male migrants is higher in Southeast Asian countries because most are factory and plantation workers, which is much needed in Malaysia. According to Hugo (2004), there is no significant difference in the number of male and female migrants in Indonesia as well as in other related countries. This phenomenon has specifically occurred in the past five to 10 years in Southeast Asian nations. An interesting finding shows that the number of female migrants abroad (feminization) is greater than those in the Philippines, known as the highest sender of female workers (Wee & Sim, 2004). Based on the respondents observed, this feminization condition in Ponorogo Regency proves that there are more female migrants than their male counterparts.

The dynamics of international migration in Ponorogo Regency are pronounced and indicated by the alternation of migrants leaving with either new or the second or third departed status. There are also several of them returning from various destinations and not migrating anymore. Table 1 shows that most migrants did not return (24.8%) compared to the current ones or returnees (15.3%). The destination patterns of those who have not migrated are more likely to be the same as present-day migrants.

Migration Patterns in Ponorogo Regency

Based on the flow of migrants' destination countries depicts a certain pattern that occurs in the Ponorogo Regency. It shows that the migrants might travel to one or more countries from the onset. Employed cumulative causation was used to explain the migration flows, their causes and effect, as well as the different factors that induce international movement and the migrants' actions (Myrdal, 1957). According to Myrdal, the main cause of regional disparities has been the strong backwash impact and weak

Table 5. Migration Patterns in Ponorogo Regency

Number of Destination Countries	In Migration		Have Ever Migrated		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
One destination country	29	36.25	82	69.49	111	56.06
Two destination countries	24	30.00	34	28.81	58	29.29
Three destination countries	10	12.50	2	1.69	12	6.06
Don't know	17	21.25	0	0.00	17	8.59
Total	80	100.00	118	100.00	198	100.00

Annotation: * 6 respondents had an internal migration; thus, they were not included

Source: Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM (2016)

Table 6. Migration Patterns to One Destination Country

Number of Destination Countries	In Migration		Have Ever Migrated		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Taiwan	5	18.52	14	17.07	19	17.43
Hong Kong	9	33.33	5	6.10	14	12.84
Malaysia	12	44.44	30	36.59	42	38.53
Singapore	1	3.70	0	0.00	1	0.92
South Korea	0	0.00	5	6.10	5	4.59
Other Middle Eastern Countries	2	7.41	25	30.49	27	24.77
Other Asian Countries	0	0.00	2	2.44	2	1.83
USA	0	0.00	1	1.22	1	0.92
Jumlah	27	100.00	82	100.00	109	100.00

Source: Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM (2016)

Table 7. Migration Patterns to Two Destination Countries

Number of Destination Countries	In Migration		Have Ever Migrated		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Taiwan	2	8.33	2	5.88	4	6.90
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Malaysia	1	4.17	1	2.94	2	3.45
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Hong Kong	3	12.50	1	2.94	4	6.90
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Saudi Arabia	10	41.67	25	73.53	35	60.34
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Qatar	0	0.00	1	2.94	1	1.72
Other Middle Eastern Countries, UAE	0	0.00	2	5.88	2	3.45
Japan, Other Asian Countries	1	4.17	0	0.00	1	1.72
Taiwan, Hong Kong	3	12.50	1	2.94	4	6.90
Malaysia, Singapore	1	4.17	0	0.00	1	1.72
Malaysia, South Korea	2	8.33	1	2.94	3	5.17
Singapore, Hong Kong	1	4.17	0	0.00	1	1.72
Total	24	100.00	34	100.00	58	100.00

Source: Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM (2016)

spread effect of migration. This simply means that the developed regions are developing faster at the cost of undeveloped ones. Therefore, divergence and convergence are bound to be developed when the backwash and spread effects dominate, respectively.

Migration can be either forced or voluntary, although it is difficult to distinguish between the two forms in some cases. Based on the literature, its determining causes are divided into push and pull factors. Interestingly, push factors to cause the migrants to leave their homes, while the pull attracts them to the host country (Lee, 1966; Greenwood et al., 1991). As De Haas (2010) stated that the push-pull model is still popular in the literature, although there are some limitations. It is a static model because these factors are mirrored in both destination and host countries.

Table 5 shows that the migration patterns in Ponorogo Regency are divided into three. This includes one, two, and three destination countries. Interestingly, those currently migrating and individuals that have migrated were dominated by one country destined for their international migration period, respectively 36.25% and 69.49%. This was followed by the two destination countries where the current migration is 30.00%, and those who have migrated are 28.81%. The migration patterns in the three destination countries are common among respondents. Those who are currently migrating constitute 12.50%, compared to those who have migrated 1.69%. The acquired data shows that

one, two, and three destination countries are 56.06%, 29.29%, and 6.06%, respectively.

Types of migration patterns based on Table 5 are not only one destination country because some migrants travel from one country to another. This is further described as follows, 1) The migration patterns to one destination country usually occur from the onset until the process has been completed. In accordance with Figure 5 and Table 5, the first migration pattern, which is to one destination country, is more dominant. This is because 36.25% are currently migrating, while 69.49% have migrated, thereby resulting in a total of 56.06%. The migration destination countries are shown in Table 6. Malaysia dominates the migration patterns to one destination country, with 38.53% of all respondents migrating internationally, including those who have migrated. Of the individuals currently migrating, 44.44% are moving to Malaysia. The difference occurs in those currently migrating to the second most visited destinations, Hong Kong and Taiwan, with 33.33% and 18.85%, respectively. The migration patterns to only one destination country show that from the first time they migrated to date, the migrant's intention was only one nation.

2) The migration patterns to two destination countries; often, when migrants migrate internationally to the first destination country, and the contract ends, or they are indeed uncomfortable, these individuals are forced to move to another nation on the departure of the next international

Table 8. Migration Patterns in Three Destination Countries

Number of Destination Countries	In Migration		Have Ever Migrated		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Number	Percentage	Number
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Japan, Saudi Arabia	1	10.00	0	0.00	1	8.33
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia	3	30.00	1	50.00	4	33.33
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia	1	10.00	0	0.00	1	8.33
Other Middle Eastern Countries, South Korea, Saudi Arabia	1	10.00	0	0.00	1	8.33
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Other Asian Country, Saudi Arabia	1	10.00	0	0.00	1	8.33
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Saudi Arabia, UAE	2	20.00	0	0.00	2	16.67
Other Middle Eastern Countries, Singapore, Saudi Arabia	0	0.00	1	50.00	1	8.33
Taiwan, South Korea, Saudi Arabia	1	10.00	0	0.00	1	8.33
Total	10	100.00	2	100.00	12	100.00

Source: Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM (2016)

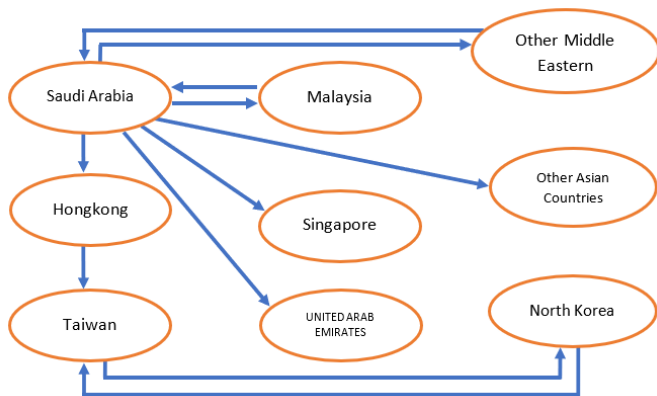


Figure 6. Transfer Trajectories of Migration Destination Countries of International Migrants in Ponorogo Regency (Survey of CHAMPSEA, CPPS UGM, 2016)

Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Japan, and Europe as well as America.

Of the three migration patterns in Ponorogo Regency, it appears that they are not monotonous, although the one destination country is dominant. However, this shows that international migrants in Ponorogo Regency are growing.

The countries considered to be the final destination for migrants tend to change over time. The choice depends on various factors, objectives, and subjective, such as relocation programs at the EU level, decision-making abilities, geographic influences, finances, available routes, visa options, networks, chance, migrants’ knowledge of potential destinations, etc. Occasionally, when trying to escape difficult conditions, these individuals have limited choices or none in some cases (Manafi & Roman, 2022).

Conclusion

The age structure and year of migration affect the patterns of migrants’ destinations in Ponorogo Regency. During the survey period (from 2000 to 2016), the destination countries were dominated by Taiwan, Hong

Kong, and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, migration to the Middle Eastern countries clusters middle to old-age migrants, while young ones dominate Asian countries (Hong Kong and Taiwan). The migration pattern in Ponorogo Regency is dynamic, where migrants depart and return, one after another, while some stopped migrating, others continue.

Age, gender, and education shape the types of migration patterns in the Ponorogo Regency by displaying the characteristics of each migrant. The variation of destination countries forms the occurrence of three migration patterns. This includes one, two, and three international destination countries.

It was concluded that the historical migration pattern in Ponorogo Regency, and with respect to the destination trajectories, are unique and are grouped based on age, gender, and education. The younger ones are directed towards Hong Kong and Taiwan, while older individuals migrate to the Middle East. Female migrants are more directed toward Middle Eastern and Asian countries (Hong Kong, Taiwan), while their male counterparts are likely to move to Malaysia. Lower education dominates the Middle Eastern countries, and upper secondary educational qualifications develop more in several East Asia and Southeast Asian nations. The migration patterns of one, two, and three countries continue to be dominated by Middle Eastern nations, followed by those in East and Southeast Asia. A deeply rooted migration culture and government regulations monitoring destination countries influence the migration patterns of these trajectories.

Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to Professor Brenda Yeoh from the National University of Singapore, Professor Elspeth Graham from the University of St. Andrews, and Assoc. Professor Lucy Jordan from the University of Hong Kong for permission to use the data from the Health of Children and Parents of Migrants in Southeast Asia (CHAMPSEA). The

authors confirm that this research is original and has no conflict of interest.

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