

Salasika

**INDONESIAN JOURNAL OF GENDER, WOMEN,
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"Decision to Migrate" of Female Migrant Workers in Sendang Biru, Malang Regency

Keppi Sukeşi

Department of Agricultural Social Economics, Faculty of Agriculture, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

Henny Rosalinda

Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

Yahya

Dept. of Socio-Economy Fisheries and Marine, Faculty of Fisheries and Marine Science, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

Wahyu Handayani

Dept. of Socio-Economy Fisheries and Marine, Faculty of Fisheries and Marine Science, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

Jedda Ayu Inggrida

Department of Agricultural Social Economics, Faculty of Agriculture, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

Elok Anggraini

Department of Agricultural Social Economics, Faculty of Agriculture, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

Rany Purnama Hadi

Portsmouth-Brawijaya Centre, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

Rozaila Farcha

Portsmouth-Brawijaya Centre, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

Correspondence email: keppi.fp@ub.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to analyse the decision to migrate among the female villagers in a fishery village in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. Based on the data from BP2MI, until November 2021, Malang Regency is a pocket for Indonesian female migrant workers. However, in Sendang Biru Hamlet, Tambakrejo Village, Sumbemanjing Wetan District, Malang, only a few women choose to migrate. Using the mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative approaches, this study investigated the causes of international migration of women in the village. The quantitative data were derived from 204 households with surveys, while the qualitative data were analysed from the interview transcripts from semi-structured interviews with 21 Indonesian female migrant workers and their left-behind families. The study has arrived at some interpretative points that the Sendang Biru Hamlet is a unique coastal area with specific community characteristics where women were given more access and opportunities in a productive public area by utilizing coastal resources as the main economic income. The result shows that economic factors dominated the factor associated with the origin or push factor. The second factor is the destination factor. Higher salaries in a destination country and cultural affiliation have become the main reason to

choose a destination country. The third factor is the intervening obstacles. It shows that some left-behind families tried to persuade their family members who are working as migrant workers to return home due to communication difficulties. And the last factor is the personal factor, for example, to fulfill personal needs such as buying a house. Therefore, migration is not the only favoured option for the female villagers to improve their living standards.

KEYWORDS: *international female migrants; fishery village; migrant and fishery; coastal women*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the developing countries that actively send migrant workers abroad. According to the data from The National Board for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers, there are approximately 72,624 Indonesian migrant workers placed overseas in 2021, and 88% of them are women (BP2MI, 2022a) As many as 4.3 million Indonesian Migrant Workers are currently abroad (IOM Indonesia, 2021). East Java Province is considered the largest migrant sender, and Malang Regency is the second largest migrant pocket from the East Java region, with 4,831 migrant placements in 2021 (BP2MI, 2022a). Female migrant workers from Malang Regency mostly come from the coastal area.

The coastal area, according to the definition contained in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 27 of 2007 concerning the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands, is a transitional area between terrestrial and marine ecosystems which is affected by changes that occur both on land and at sea (Archipelago Indonesia Marine Library, 2023) The coastal area of Malang Regency consists of six sub-districts, namely Bantur, Donomulyo, Gedangan, Tirtoyudo, Sumbermanjing, and Ampelgading. Within these six sub-districts, there are 19 coastal villages.

These coastal villages stretch to form a coastline of 92.244 km (Department of Marine and Fisheries of East Java Province, 2017).

Furthermore, coastal communities include people who live in coastal areas, and they carry out their daily life based on habits that have been seen as generally accepted values. Indirectly, they fully depend on coastal resources. With regard to coastal communities, which are generally considered poor, community empowerment measures are needed. The act of community empowerment for coastal communities is an effort to provide facilities, encouragement or assistance to coastal communities so they can make the best choices in utilising Coastal Resources in a sustainable manner (Satria, 2015).

The special uniqueness and characteristic related to the migration process in coastal areas are an "in and out" process, which refers to the process of migrant communities from various areas entering and/or leaving the coastal areas that are included in the category of productive capture fisheries areas. They are commonly known by the term Fisher Andon (Andun). The Andon (Andun) fishers are temporary residents. Their attendants mark the abundant fish season in the area. Many people

leave the coastal area to make a living because their inability to access the natural resources related to the sea (e.g., fishing activities), and mostly, they are women who decide to work as migrant workers. The opportunity for those women is limited due to the beliefs in the community that the sea is associated with men, even though, in fact, women also play a large role in the utilization of the coastal resource.

The inaccurate mapping of the division of labour between men and women in coastal areas thereupon has an adverse impact on the process of utilizing the coastal resources itself. Despite the fact that women are also very much needed in the management of coastal resources, their involvement is not evident in the process of capturing fish resources, in which the role of women is very important in the process of processing and marketing fish resources. Because of this inaccurate understanding of the division of labour, many women in coastal areas choose to become migrant workers without considering the huge opportunities in harnessing natural resources in coastal areas.

Based on data from BP2MI, until November 2021, Malang Regency was one of the coastal areas and was a pocket for Indonesian migrant workers (BP2MI, 2021). The Sendang Biru Coastal Area is one of the unique coastal areas of Malang Regency with a specific community character. Sendang Biru Hamlet is a coastal area with great potential in the fisheries sector. It is located in Tambakrejo Village, Sumbermanjing Wetan District, Malang Regency. Fisheries potentials are supported by the existence of a coastal fishing port

named UPT PPP (Coastal Fisheries Port Technical Implementation Unit) Pondokdadap (UPT PPP Pondokdadap, 2022). UPT PPP Pondokdadap is a Technical Implementation Unit under the Capture Fisheries Sector of the Fisheries and Maritime Service of East Java Province which was established based on East Java Governor Regulation No. 74 of 2018. Fishing ports are classified into 4 (four) classes or types, namely (1) Class A Fishery Port, hereinafter referred to as the Ocean Fishery Port (PPS); (2) Class B Fishery Port, hereinafter referred to as Archipelagic Fishery Port (PPN); (3) Class C fishing port, hereinafter referred to as coastal fishing port (PPP); and (4) Class D Fishing Port, hereinafter referred to as Fish Landing Base (PPI). The Fish Auction Place (TPI) is accompanied by fishers's fish stalls which were only inaugurated later by the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries on February 5, 2019.

Tambakrejo Village is located in a coastal area with hilly land conditions and is inhabited by approximately 8,673 people with around 2.241 households. The livelihoods of most people are fishers, and some are rainfed rice farmers and planters. Around 2.169 or 49% of the total 4.417 working population in Tambakrejo are fishers, and approximately more than 1.500 people resided in Sendang Biru Hamlet in 2022 (Tambakrejo Village Government Administration data, 2022). Since most of them are fishers, this indirectly has influenced the pattern of life and culture of the community, with a mixture of cultures. This is because they come

from various regions that bring various cultural influences and styles. However, in general, the customs and dynamics of society still present a similarity in prioritising togetherness and cooperation.

Economically, most of the villagers rely on the fishery as their main livelihood. They earn approximately 200 tons of fish daily (Republika News, 2022). However, despite the huge economic potential of the fishery sector, some villagers, particularly women, perceive that the living standard has not yet been met, and they choose to work abroad as international migrant workers.

METHODS

This paper used data from household surveys and in-depth interviews with the left-behind family of the female migrants or returned female migrant workers in Sendang Biru Coastal Area, Malang Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. This location is a sending area for female migrants. The total number of households surveyed to identify current international female migrant households was calculated using the Slovin technique.

The sample size for the household survey was determined based on the target number of international migrant households in the Sendang Biru area. The household survey questions include socio-economic details of the village and information about international female migrants. The survey also addresses the condition of facilities, infrastructure, and the potential for applying appropriate technology for fishers to migrant families.

In this study, the Survey Phase was conducted randomly on a number of households in Sendang Biru Hamlet, Tambakrejo Village, Sumbermanjing Wetan District. By using the Slovin formula, the number of respondents to be surveyed was 204 households. This figure was based on the following calculation: the number of families in Tambakrejo Village, Sumbermanjing Wetan District, Malang Regency is 1,569 families (as N), and using a confidence level of 95 per cent (margin error of 0.05), with a Slovin formula as follows (Slovin, 1960):

$$n = \frac{1,569}{1 + 204 \cdot 0,05}$$

N = 1,569 (the number of fishery households in Tambakrejo Village)

e = 0,05 (e² = 0,0025)

n = 204

Based on the results of a previous survey, 20 female migrants were selected purposively for in-depth interviews (with the criterion that the selected respondents were adjusted to the research objectives).

Quantitative data from the in-depth interview were obtained through interviews with bereaved families of migrant workers (husbands, parents, siblings, or children). All of these households were selected to have maximum variability in economic conditions, age, and migrant destination countries. Key questions include inter alia, remittance flows, economic hardships during the pandemic, migrant safety, government responses to meet the

special needs of international female migrants, possibilities of appropriate fishing technologies for families, and marketing strategies. Interviews were conducted openly, with an unstructured interview guide. In addition, migrant women from the fisher family were interviewed to understand the reasons for their migration. Topics discussed in the interview included jobs and salaries, socio-economic management, issues around going home, and concern about the safety and welfare of migrant families, including children.

This research also uses qualitative research method analysis with a comprehensive review of existing literature and media publications (newspapers, social media, news, etc.). Literature in these fields consequently includes those focusing on women's international migration pattern in the Fishery village and the decision to migrate.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Coastal Women's characteristic in Sendang Biru

Sendang Biru coastal area is a fishery hamlet that is part of the Tambakrejo Village, Sumbermanjing Wetan District, in Malang Regency. Sumbermanjing Wetan District is one of the regions in Malang Regency with the most fishery villages (see Table.1), and one of them is located in Sendang Biru hamlet of Tambakrejo Village. Sendang Biru waters is a strait with a depth of 20 meters with a rocky

sand bottom with the dominant current direction to the south. It is estimated that the depth of this strait can be passed by large ships weighing 50-100 GT. These waters are directly adjacent to the Indian Ocean and have a depth of more than 1000 meters. This makes the waters of Sendang Biru one of the water areas that are quite busy traversed by fishing boats.

The geographical typology of Sendang Biru is considered one of the most potential coastal areas for fishery sectors. Its fishery business is then supported by the existence of a coastal fishing port named Pondokdadap Beach Fisheries Port Technical Implementation Unit (UPT PPP). Fishery Port is an area consisting of land area and surrounding water area accompanied by certain area boundaries that become a place for government activities and fishery business system activities used as a place for fishing vessels to lean on, anchor, and/or load and unload fish equipped with shipping safety facilities and fishery support activities (Indonesian Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, 2022). Therefore, Sendang Biru hamlet in Tambakrejo Village also contributes as one of the centres of the capture fisheries industry that has also been prioritised as a marine fishery resource management area in Malang Regency, East Java.

Table 1. Village's Typology in Malang Regency 2018-2021

No	District	Agrarian Village	Industrial Village	Fishery Village	Tourism Village
1	Donomulyo	4	0	6	0
2	Bantur	7	0	3	0
3	Sumbermanjing Wetan	11	0	3	1
4	Pagak	8	0	0	0
5	Dampit	11	0	0	0
6	Ampelgading	12	0	1	0
7	Poncokusumo	15	0	0	3
8	Wajak	12	0	0	0
9	Turen	13	1	0	1
10	Gondanglegi	14	0	0	0
11	Kalipare	9	0	0	0
12	Sumberpucung	7	0	0	0
13	Kepanjen	11	3	0	0
14	Bululawang	10	4	0	0
15	Tajinan	10	2	0	0
16	Tumpang	14	0	0	1
17	Jabung	12	2	0	1
18	Pakis	4	12	0	0
19	Pakisaji	6	6	0	0
20	Ngajum	8	0	0	0
21	Wagir	6	6	0	0
22	Dau	6	3	0	1
23	Karangploso	6	3	0	0
24	Singosari	8	6	0	0
25	Lawang	4	4	0	1
26	Pujon	4	6	0	2
27	Ngantang	5	4	0	2
28	Kasembon	3	2	0	1
29	Gedangan	5	0	3	0
30	Tirtoyudo	10	0	0	3
31	Kromengan	8	0	0	0
32	Wonosari	7	0	0	1
33	Pagelaran	10	0	0	0
Total		280	64	16	18

Source: Communication and Informatics Office of Malang Regency – KMSD 2022

As a consequence, the population's livelihood is dominated by fishers. According to data in 2022 shown in Table 2, among a total of 4,417 people, 2,169 of them (or 49%) were fishers, followed by farmers (25%), farm workers (4,9%), *ojek* drivers (4.5 %), and migrant workers (4.2%). Because most of the villagers are fishers, the economic conditions mainly depend on the fishing seasons in Indonesia. An increase in the number of fishers generally

occurs during the fishing season. A fish season (peak season) is a period of time when fish stocks in these waters reach a large number with abundant catches. The fishing season in Sendang Biru waters and other waters in Indonesia is strongly influenced by two seasons, namely the western and eastern monsoons, each of which lasts for a certain period of time. Therefore, the economic activities of the people in the village are quite erratic.

Table 2. Type of Livelihood of Villagers in Tambakrejo Village

No	Occupation	Male	Female	Total (n %)
1.	Fishers	2,169	-	2,169 (49)
2.	Farmers	716	394	1,110 (25)
3.	Farm workers	205	56	261 (4.9)
4.	Ojek drivers	201	-	201 (4.5)
5.	Migrant workers	83	104	187 (4.2)
6.	Small and medium entrepreneurs	50	67	117 (2.6)
7.	Animal husbandries	50	38	88 (2)
8.	Drivers	58	-	58 (1.3)
9.	Government company employees	22	27	49 (1.1)
10.	Private company employees	25	16	41 (1)
11.	Retired TNI/POLRI/PNS	25	15	40 (0.9)
12.	Masons/carpenters	22	-	22 (0.5)
13.	Businessmen	10	8	18 (0.4)
14.	Civil servants (PNS)	9	5	14 (0.3)
15.	Trained village shaman	5	7	12 (0.27)
16.	Itinerant traders	8	3	11 (0.24)
17.	Mechanics	10	-	10 (0.22)
18.	Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI)	3	-	3 (0.06)
19.	Police Officers (POLRI)	3	-	3 (0.06)
20.	Barbers	3	-	3 (0.06)
Total		3,677	740	4,417 (100)

Source: Tambakrejo Village's Government Administration data, 2022

Coastal communities usually have a certain pattern in distributing their task within the family. Most of the activities related to the sea, fishing and shipping are mostly conducted by men. On the other hand, women or wives are in charge of helping their husbands work and taking care of the house chores. Even if the wives work independently, their responsibilities are mainly to support their family's social-economic needs (Azizah, 2019). According to Wardana et al. (2022), coastal women tend to have a double role in the family. Women must carry out several responsibilities to meet the family's needs, while the husband's income is

mostly uncertain every day. Therefore, besides being a housewife, coastal women are also involved in processing the fish, which they can then sell to the market or directly to the people in the neighbourhood to support their economy.

This pattern is also apparent among the coastal communities in Sendang Biru coastal community. According to the survey data of Sendang Biru Population in 2023, from 552 surveyed population, 392 people are currently working (71%) with 252 males (64%) and 140 females (36%) (see. Table 3). In contrast, the unemployed people are dominated by females (134 people, or

approximately 84% of the total non-working population), compared to males that contribute to only 16% (26

people) of the total non-working population in Sendang Biru.

Table 3. Working population (>17 years old) in Sendang Biru Hamlet

	Male (n%)	Female (n%)	Total (n%)
Working	252 (64)	140(36)	392 (100)
Not working	26 (16)	134 (84)	160 (100)
Total	278 (50.4)	274 (49.6)	552 (100)

Source: Survey data of Sendang Biru Population, 2023

Meanwhile, from the total of 392 working population, 198 people (51%) are working as fishers (see. Table 4). This number shows that more than half of the population works as a fisher for their livelihood. The data also shows that the work as a fisher in Sendang Biru coastal community is dominated by men, with a ratio of 95% and 5% (189:9 population) between men and women respectively. Interestingly, the female fisher in Sendang Biru is not

a fisher who works out to sea. Based on the survey conducted by the author in Sendang Biru Hamlet, the female fisher in Sendang Biru are mostly the owner of the ship. The ship owner, locally called *Pengambek*, provides boats for fishers to work out to sea. They can also be referred to as owners of capital because they provide the needs for fishers to work and share the profit after all the caught fish are sold.

Table 4. Working Sectors of Sendang Biru Population

Working Sector	Male	Female	Total (n%)
Fishers /ship crews	189	9	198 (51)
Factory/construction labour	6	8	14 (4)
Services (drivers, ojek online, etc)	5	3	8 (2)
Fish traders (big/small enterprises)	12	53	65 (17)
Non-Fish trading	4	20	24 (6)
Processed fish trade	3	7	10 (3)
Farmer	1	0	1 (0)
Housemaid	0	11	11 (3)
Professional (teacher, doctor, banker, nurse, etc)	3	5	8 (2)
Others	29	24	53 (14)
Total	252	140	392 (100)

Source: Survey data of Sendang Biru Population, 2023

The data in Table 4 also shows that most females work in the trading business. Approximately 53 people work as fish traders (38%), followed by 24 people (17%) working in other occupations (such as office employees, self-employed, or housewives), and 20 people (14%) working in non-fish trading. This data indicates that the female population in the coastal area of Sendang Biru also have a double role in which they are responsible for

taking care of the family and work to support their husbands as a fisher by managing or selling fishery product.

However, despite the economic potential for females to earn their own income, most families still consider the husband as the main source of income in the household. Of the 204 households in Sendang Biru that were interviewed, more than 62% represent husbands as the main breadwinner (see. Table 5).

Table 5. Source of Income of Households in Sendang Biru

Average total income per month (Rp)	Main Source of Income					Total
	Son/ Daughter	Parents	Wife	Husband	Others	
<1 million			1	3		4
1-3 million		1	10	37	8	56
3.1 -6 million	2		3	74	25	104
>6 million			11	13	16	40
Total (n%)	2 (0.98)	1 (0.49)	25 (12.25)	127 (62.25)	49 (24.02)	204 (100)

Source: Survey data of Sendang Biru Population, 2023

DISCUSSION

Coastal Community and International Migration

Apart from the abundant marine potential and aquaculture, the problem that is often faced by coastal communities is the inability of the community to cultivate and utilise fishery products to the fullest. As a result, the phenomenon that occurred in the society is that coastal areas should be encouraged to improve the economic welfare of their people, rather than becoming areas that are vulnerable to poverty. According to data from Statistics Indonesia, coastal areas have become pockets of extreme poverty in Indonesia. In 2021, the extreme

poverty rate in coastal areas reached 4.19%. This figure is higher than the national extreme poverty rate of 4%. Of all the national poverty of 10.86 million people, around 1.3 million people, or 12.5%, lived in coastal areas (Statistics Indonesia, 2021; Kompas News, 2023).

This condition seems in stark contrast when compared to the fishery income earned by Sendang Biru waters. The data obtained from UPT PPP Pondokdadap, as reported by Media Indonesia, shows that Sendang Biru was the largest tuna auction centre in Indonesia. The total production of fish, such as tuna and skipjack, in Sendang Biru until November 2022 was 10,559,772

kilograms with a production value of IDR 226.8 billion (Media Indonesia , 2022). Moreover, nationally, the fishing industry contributed 469.59 trillion rupiahs in 2021 (a very provisional figure) or 2.76% of the National GDP (Statistics Indonesia, 2022). These figures indeed denote the considerable potential of coastal areas in economic development. Unfortunately, the high potential for various abundant fisheries was not accompanied by the socio-economic conditions of the people living in coastal areas.

Poverty in coastal areas cannot be separated from the pattern of work of coastal communities, most of whom depend on the capture fisheries sector. Coastal communities also tend to optimise the area around the coast for various other economic activities, such as aquaculture, salt ponds, marine tourism, public transportation, and

mangrove cultivation for various purposes. These economic activities are highly dependent on the sustainability of natural resources, which are relatively very vulnerable to changes and fluctuations in market prices. This causes the livelihoods of coastal communities to be erratic, affecting the stability of the economic conditions and welfare of the coastal community. As a consequence, some of the populations decide to search for a second job in an attempt to support their economic needs, for example, by being an international migrant worker.

Since 2018, East Java province has been the largest sender of migrant workers (see. Table 6), and Malang Regency is one of the regions that is considered a migrant pocket in East Java, including Sendang Biru Hamlet in Tambakrejo Village, Sumbermanjing Wetan District.

Table 6. Migrant Worker Placement 2020-2022

No	Province	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
1	East Java	70.381	68.740	37.829	28.81	51.348	117.987
2	Central Java	61.434	60.432	26.335	17.504	47.48	91.319
3	West Java	57.230	57.957	23.255	12.178	33.285	68.718
4	West Nusa Tenggara	18.843	21.465	8.255	2.331	22.79	33.376
5	Lampung	32.557	30.706	9.154	4.244	14.052	27.45
6	North Sumatera	17.903	15.964	2.84	194	12.501	15.535
7	Bali	4.181	3.323	894	5.086	9.428	15.408
8	Banten	2.380	2.436	792	400	1.764	2.956
9	Di Yogyakarta	1.886	1.635	358	190	1.062	1.61
10	South Sumatera	2.077	1.147	497	194	952	1.643
11	Dki Jakarta	1.814	1.605	349	285	812	1.446
12	West Sumatera	1.434	1.314	216	30	710	956
13	South Sulawesi	846	877	300	147	663	1.11
14	West Borneo	511	604	371	131	608	1.11
15	North Sulawesi	1.097	1.145	307	241	588	1.136
16	East Nusa Tenggara	561	1.089	378	241	521	1.14

17	Aceh	1.081	1.114	120	22	389	531
18	R I A U	1.017	1.023	195	34	388	617
19	Riau Island	802	582	54	36	276	366
20	Bengkulu	406	306	154	34	275	463
21	Central Sulawesi	925	665	166	73	193	432
22	J A M B I	339	371	86	30	169	285
23	Southeast Sulawesi	171	166	81	38	136	255
24	East Kalimantan	360	261	37	37	84	158
25	South Kalimantan	282	253	80	57	80	217
26	Central Kalimantan	1.224	1.043	14	14	41	69
27	West Sulawesi	1.728	108	64	12	36	112
28	North Kalimantan	42	92	216	8	27	251
29	Gorontalo	48	30	2	3	24	29
30	Papua	11	50	7	5	24	36
31	Bangka Belitung	23	19	8	6	20	34
32	Maluku	27	8	20	8	18	46
33	Nort Maluku	15	19	1	1	11	13
34	West Papua	4	4	1	0	6	7
Total		283.640	276.553	113.436	72.624	200.761	386.821

Source: Indonesian Migrant Workers Placement and Protection, BP2MI, 2020-2022

Based on the previous survey data in Table 2, it is shown that at least 4.2% of the population (187 people) in Tambakrejo Village have been working as migrant workers, with a ratio of 83 males and 104 females (or 44.4% and 55.6%). Besides, based on the survey of 204 households in Sendang Biru, there are 21 people who have worked or have been working as female migrant workers. Reflecting on the fishery potential of Sendang Biru, it becomes interesting why some of the residents decided to become migrant workers abroad. This cannot be separated from the push and pull factors that influence an individual's decision to work as a migrant worker.

International migration of the female population from Sendang Biru coastal area

According to Lee's migration theory, there are four factors that influence migration decisions, namely factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors. Lee argues that in every area, there are several factors that might hold, attract or repel people. However, there is no specific set that could be generalised since some of those factors could affect most people the same way but affect different people in different ways. To put it simply, migration may result from a comparison of factors between factors at the origin (push) and destination (pull). However, between those lines, there is an obstacle that could affect the decision to migrate.

Moreover, there are also personal factors to be put into consideration (Lee, 1966).

Analysing these factors, there are several reasons that influence the decision to work as a migrant worker abroad among the female population in Sendang Biru. From the factor of origin, the economic condition seems to be the main cause of migration. Based on the survey data, most female migrants come from a middle-low-income households (see. Table 7). The data

shows that 42.8% of surveyed female migrant workers in Sendang Biru come from middle-income families with a monthly income of Rp 3-6 million, followed by 33% with an average monthly income of Rp 1-3 million. These amounts of income are quite low, considering most migrant families consist of at least four persons in the household. Only 19% of them have more than Rp 6 million in monthly income.

Table 7. Migrant's type of Job and Household income

Type of Job	Household's average monthly income (Rp) (n%)				Total (n%)
	< 1 million	1-3 million	3-6 million	> 6 million	
Housemaid and caregiver		1 (4.76)			1 (4.76)
Housemaid	1 (4.76)	5 (23.81)	9 (42.86)	3 (14.29)	18 (85.71)
Caregiver				1 (4.76)	1 (4.76)
Others		1 (4.76)			1 (4.76)
Total	1 (4.76)	7 (33.33)	9 (42.86)	4 (19.05)	21 (100)

Source: Survey data of Sendang Biru Population, 2023

The economic factor as a push factor from origin was supported by the statement of female migrants and their left-behind who claimed their need for capital to improve their economic conditions, and this became the reason for migration.

"I used to work abroad too. My child is not yet one year old. I worked in Singapore for two years. I tried to earn more capital for business. After that, I went home to develop my fish business." (NI, former female migrant worker)

"My mother lived in Hong Kong until I was in Grade 3 of high

school, in around 2011. The reason for going overseas was because of the economy because my father used to work as a driver and worked in a contract office at Highways. That salary was only IDR 25,000.- daily. With four people in the family, it was not enough to fulfil our needs." (WI, relative of Female Migrant worker)

"Usually, the money that was sent from my mother was used for family needs, especially my needs and my grandma's, but now since I have a job, she rarely sends money. My mother used to send money to Indonesia every 3-4 months." (MY,

relative of Female Migrant worker)

The second factor is associated with the destination. Most of the pull factor for international migration is the higher salary and the availability of job opportunities abroad compared to the country of origin. Cultural affiliation and shared religious practices in destination countries can also encourage individuals to migrate to those countries. In Sendang Biru, female migrants decide to go abroad because it gives them a higher salary. Considering the chosen country, usually, they tend to go to the country with the easiest language barrier or similar culture.

"I worked as a babysitter and took care of the house. Apart from Saudi Arabia, I was in Jordan in 2007 for two years. Then in 2009, I returned to Saudi Arabia for five years until 2014. When I was in Jordan, my salary was IDR 900,000 if converted to a rupiah. In Saudi Arabia, I was paid almost Rp. 6-7 million per month." (MU, former female migrant worker)

"I worked as a migrant worker in Singapore for two years. I chose Singapore because I got a higher salary than here. I have never been a migrant worker in another country, only Singapore. The reason for choosing Singapore was because learning English was easier than other languages." (JU, former female migrant worker)

In terms of intervening obstacles factor, it is related to the hurdle that

might be faced by migrant workers, which then could influence their decision to return or continue working as migrant workers. In the case of Sendang Biru, most of the obstacles are related to the communication problem. Some of the relatives of the female migrants stated that they usually experience difficulties in getting in touch with their family abroad, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic.

"I was worried about my mother's condition because I couldn't contact her. She said there was CCTV monitoring. When it was break time, she was asked to take complete rest; she shouldn't do anything and couldn't use her mobile phone. So, when I wanted to contact her, there was a scheduled time. I often asked her to come back home, but she refused. She wanted to work abroad until she felt it was time to return." (MY, relative of female migrant worker)

Aside from factors of origin, destination and obstacle, personal factors are also a motive that influences the decision of coastal women to become migrant workers, one of which is the desire of women to contribute to improving the family economy. Several female migrants claimed that the reason for their decision to work abroad was to improve their family's condition. That also included buying a new house or becoming the "hero" of the family.

"In my opinion, women who work as migrant workers abroad are national and family heroes. Even though sometimes some gossiped about it, I just ignored it and did

not take it seriously." (JU, former female migrant worker)

"I have been working as a migrant worker in Saudi for seven years. There is no specific reason. I just want to get more money to buy a house in town." (MA, female migrant workers)

CONCLUSION

From the previous discussion and analysis, it can be concluded that despite having great potential in fishery industries, coastal communities in Sendang Biru could not maximise the utilisation of their natural resources. A lot of the coastal population is still unemployed and lives in poverty. Women, in particular, do not involve much in economics. However, there is a certain value among the coastal community that women have a dual role in society. They are responsible for not only taking care of the family but also supporting their husband's jobs by helping them manage the fishery products and sell them.

However, aside from the potential of women to be actively involved in the fishery industry, some decide to be migrant workers to improve their economic conditions. The survey result shows that four factors are the reasons coastal women decide to become migrant workers. First is the factor associated with the origin or push factor, which is dominated by economic factors. Most of the female migrants decided to work

abroad in an attempt to help improve their economies or increase their capital to start a business. The second factor is the destination factor. In the case of female migrants from Sendang Biru, higher salaries in destination countries and cultural affiliation have become the main reason to choose a destination country.

The third factor is the intervening obstacles. This factor usually determines the reason a female migrant decides to migrate or discontinue their job as a migrant worker. The data from Sendang Biru shows that some left-behind families tried to persuade their family members who are working as migrant workers to return home due to communication difficulties. The last factor is the personal factor. Some female migrants decide to work abroad because they want to fulfil their personal needs, such as buying a house. The others choose to work abroad because they see it as an honourable job.

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