

WE PREFER TO WORK ABROAD THAN TO SCHOOL: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL DILEMMA AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS FAMILIES IN PONOROGO

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ABSTRACT

This research explores various factors that influence the decision of young people in Ponorogo who prefer to work abroad as Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) rather than continuing their education and how the family's economic conditions influence the choice to work overseas rather than continuing their education. This research took a qualitative approach with a grounded research design conducted in Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency. Data was collected by observation and interviews with informants as many as 10 PMI children with ages ranging from 6-20 years. The data was then analyzed descriptively and qualitatively. The research results show that changes in economic activities give rise to a welfare dilemma for young people in Ponorogo who want to become migrant workers rather than continue their education. These results provide valuable insight into the factors that encourage individuals to choose to work abroad rather than continue their education and provide input for better policies to support the education and economic well-being of families in the region.

Keywords: *Dependency on Remittances, Economic Conditions, Indonesian Migrant Workers, Education, Increasing Income.*

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of international migration to get better jobs has become part of history for many Indonesians. Since the end of the 19th century, Javanese, Minangkabau, Bugis, and Boyan tribes from Bawean Island in East Java, Bali, and Madura have worked in Singapore and Malaysia. In the 1980s, Saudi Arabia became the main destination for migrant workers, especially women. With the development of the global economy in recent years, countries in the Asia Pacific region, such as Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong, as well as countries in the Middle East, such as the United Arab Emirates, have also become popular destinations for migrant workers (Noveria, 2001) .

This remittance can increase household income, reduce poverty, and support local economic development. The high number of migrant workers working abroad has made Indonesia known as one of the countries providing international migrant workers. Indonesia is among the nine main countries in Asia that send workers abroad (Nguyen & Purnamasari, 2011; Orbeta Jr, 2013). One of the districts that sends migrant workers, which is well known enough to be called a migrant worker pocket, is Ponorogo.

Unfavorable economic conditions in their hometown are one of the main factors that encourage the people of Ponorogo to decide to become Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI). In rural areas such as Ponorogo, limited formal employment opportunities and dependence on the agricultural sector often make it difficult for local residents to meet basic economic needs. Socioeconomic conditions play an essential role in family survival (Aprillia et al., 2013).

Increasing economic pressure, coupled with social and cultural demands to support family well-being, has made many individuals fixated on the choice of work migration as a way out and put aside education. Perceptions of greater economic benefits abroad, supported by the positive influence of an already successful PMI, also play an important role in shaping the decision to become a migrant worker. Given the less favorable conditions in their hometowns, becoming a PMI is often considered a sensible step to improve the economic welfare of their families. Families are required to make decisions to achieve welfare goals (Permata et al., 2017).

The phenomenon of high numbers of migrant workers was also found in Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency. The majority of migrant workers from Pondok Village are women. The Head of Pondok Village stated that Pondok Village consists of 1204 heads of families. Of this number, more than 130 people work as migrant workers abroad, dominated by women and teenagers or productive people. Many people decide to become migrant workers because labor absorption in the agricultural sector is lower than the growth of the labor force, so the farm sector cannot be relied on. Job opportunities are still a major problem for economic development due to the imbalance between job opportunities and the existing population (Handriawan, 2011).

Limited employment opportunities and low wages in areas of origin, such as Ponorogo, are serious problems and affect the welfare of the local community. The lack of available work opportunities makes it difficult for many residents to earn enough income to meet their daily living needs. This situation is exacerbated by low wages for existing jobs, which often need to catch up with the ever-increasing cost of living. As a result, many residents are forced to look for other alternatives to improve their living standards, including becoming Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) abroad. This step was taken even though they faced various challenges and risks because opportunities abroad were considered more promising in providing higher incomes and better welfare for the families they left behind in their hometowns.

The success of migrant workers in realizing prosperity apparently cannot be separated from various dilemmas. On the one hand, migrant workers can increase their income significantly, fulfill their needs and desires optimally,

and make investments. However, this does not apply to educational investments. Children whose mothers leave abroad end up lacking attention to education, so they have no motivation to study (Taufiqurrohman et al., 2017). In fact, children are the nation's next generation, whose quality must be maintained through education (Nurmasari et al., 2016). Many PMI families have a good education, skills, health, finances, and materials. Unfortunately, on the other hand, they face problems related to fulfilling social and emotional needs, an imbalance between presence and social roles, and problems with partners.

A dilemma is defined as a choice between two options, both of which are attractive but mutually exclusive (Weese et al., 2018). A dilemma is a conflict, problem, or situation with two possible solutions. When a dilemma occurs, a person must choose between two desirable or two undesirable options. The word dilemma comes from the Greek words *di* and *lemma*, which are terms used in logic and rhetoric when someone has to choose between two unfavorable options. This requires someone to continue learning. *The Cambridge Dictionary* defines a dilemma as a situation in which a difficult choice must be made between two different things that can be done. Dilemmas are closely related to confusing situations that require a person to determine the best choice in facing difficult and contradictory conditions from two equally difficult possibilities to accept or reject (Gunz et al., 2002).

The encouragement to develop a pragmatic economic mindset and behavior is faced with the idea of becoming a figure who plays an important role in improving the welfare of rural residents in their living environment (Howe & Strauss, 2000). Well-being is another term for the quality of human life, namely, a condition where basic needs are met and life values are realized. Welfare is not only seen from the level of income but also from the ability to manage income (Nussbaum & Sen, 1984).

Subjective well-being can be seen from feelings of happiness. Well-being subjective is an evaluation of life, which covers cognitive development, such as life satisfaction, and affective evaluation (mood and emotion), like feelings or positive and negative emotions (Eddington & Shuman, 2005). Park (2011) Explains that subjective well-being is important for individuals because it encourages the release of positive potential and controls the release of negative aspects within oneself, including the emergence of psychological disorders. Lucas et al., (1996) It is said that the term *Subjective Well-Being* refers to a person's evaluation of his life, including cognitive assessments of life satisfaction and affective evaluations (mood and emotions) such as positive and negative emotional feelings.

In facing this dilemma, the rural millennial generation can develop a new economic mindset and behavior to compromise two options that are equally attractive but mutually exclusive. The dilemma faced by migrant workers is interesting. It needs to be studied in depth and comprehensively to build a *behavioral economics theoretical model* for migrant workers, as well as to develop recommendations for *stakeholders* who are concerned about migrant workers.

There has been a lot of research on migrant workers. The movement of residents from the country of origin (*sending country*) to the migrant's

destination country (*receiving country*) will result in the sending country receiving benefits through remittances. McKenzie & Rapoport (2007) It is stated that the real consequence of migration activities is the remittances received by migrant families in their regions of origin and countries. International migration provides economic benefits to the country of origin through remittances sent by migrant workers (Ratha, 2003). Migrants contribute to the economy of destination countries by filling labor shortages, increasing productivity, and supporting sectors that lack local labor (Ottaviano & Peri, 2012) .

In the country of origin, migration can change family structures and social dynamics, while in the destination country, migration can enrich cultural diversity but also pose integration challenges (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). International migration is considered a *brain drain*, namely an exodus of skilled workers from developing to developed countries seeking a better life (Pressat & Wilson, 1985). However, in Asia, this kind of migration is mostly carried out by unskilled and semi-skilled workers to improve their standard of living (Hugo, 1981). In Indonesia, research on PMI has also been widely carried out. Yunita (2019) Researching the factors that motivate someone to work abroad. Vadlun (2010) Find out about the factors that influence women migrating abroad. Furthermore, Kurniawan (2010) I also researched my interest in working abroad.

Based on the description in the research context as an initial study of this research, it is known that there are various problems for Indonesian Migrant Workers in efforts to achieve prosperity, especially in the field of education. Some people in Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency, who work in the informal sector with low incomes, have changed professions to become Indonesian Migrant Workers to help their families achieve prosperity. There was a change in economic activity from working as farm laborers, shop assistants, construction workers, and casual workers to becoming migrant workers, causing a significant increase in income. Even though migrant workers earn large incomes, they experience various dilemmas in their efforts to achieve prosperity. The dilemma experienced by Indonesian Migrant Workers is related to the hope of obtaining subjective well-being at the expense of educational aspects. The focus of this research is to find various kinds of educational dilemmas experienced by Indonesian Migrant Workers in Ponorogo Regency. Therefore, the subfocus of this study is: (1) the reasons why the people of Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency, decided to go abroad to become Indonesian migrant workers, giving rise to a welfare dilemma, and (2) the impacts that arise from the decision to become Indonesian migrant workers in the field of education.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research approach is inductive, using qualitative methods and a strategy for building theory from research findings, namely *grounded research*. An inductive approach was used because the initial idea for this research departed from empirical facts found in the research setting. From an in-depth study using qualitative methods by prioritizing objectivity of phenomena and

thoughts, attitudes and behavior of research subjects, categories of the meaning of research subjects regarding their lives, social environment, and values prevailing in society, as well as their views on the socio-economic changes taking place in society, are built. Surroundings. Based on this, a theoretical study was carried out on the research focus as a scientific basis and basis for building theoretical findings using a *grounded research strategy by carrying out open coding, coding of relationships between categories (axial coding), and selective coding*. The entire research process resulted in grounded theory in several propositions regarding the welfare of female Indonesian Migrant Workers.

This research was conducted in Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency. Ponorogo Regency is one of the regencies located in East Java Province, which is 200 km southwest of the provincial capital. Ponorogo Regency is located at 111°07'-111°52' East Longitude and 7°49'-8°20' South Latitude. The subjects of this research were Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) who came from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency, and aged 17-30 years. Pondok Village was chosen because the number of migrant workers in this village is quite large. Apart from that, the characteristics of migrant workers in Pondok Village are identical to those of migrant workers in the Ponorogo Regency area in general.

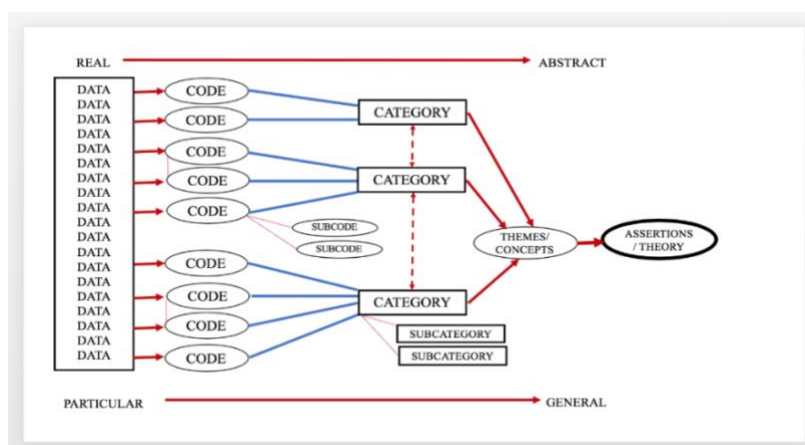
Table 1. The Characteristics of the Informant

No	Name	Gender	Age	Identity	Last Education
1.	RNM	F	24	Children of Former Migrant Workers, 25 years old in Saudi Arabia	Secondary
2.	KRS	M	19	Children of Taiwanese Migrant Workers	High school
3.	SRT	M	18	Children of Migrant Workers in Hong Kong	High school
4.	NRD	F	29	Children of Migrant Workers in Malaysia	High school
5.	SMRN	F	20	Children of Migrant Workers in Singapore	High school
6.	WWK	M	27	Children of Migrant Workers in Hong Kong	Secondary
7.	FRN	F	17	Children of Migrant Workers in Korean	High school
8.	PTN	F	24	Children of Migrant Workers in Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia	High school
9.	VAN	M	29	Children of Migrant	High school

No	Name	Gender	Age	Identity	Last Education
				Workers in Hong Kong	
10.	BG	F	30	Children of Migrant Workers in Malaysia	Secondary

Data collection is predominantly carried out through *in-depth interviews* and observation techniques. Interviews were conducted individually or in groups during social activities carried out by the informants. Observations were made when they carried out daily activities at home. Observation as a complementary data collection technique was carried out in order to match the results of interviews with the daily economic behavior of the community of migrant workers and former migrant workers in Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency. Meanwhile, documentation studies *are* used to obtain supporting data so that data collection can be carried out efficiently.

The collected data is then coded from the data (interview transcripts) (with the necessary subcodes). The codes are then combined into groups with similar attributes (referred to as axial coding); these groups are called categories, which may also have subcategories. Next, these categories are combined into themes, which or theoretical propositions.



Picture 1. A streamlined codes-to-theory model for qualitative inquiry

The process of concluding research results relies on the process of meaning, patterns, configurations, causal flows, and propositions. These temporary conclusions are verified during the research and are continuously tested for truth. In this study, to meet the credibility standards, various techniques were attempted, including (a) prolonged engagement, (b) participant observation, (c) triangulation, (d) peer debriefing, (e) negative case analysis, and (f) member check. First, the researcher was in and conducted field activities for a sufficient period, namely more than one year, so that the researcher had a good level of appreciation for the life of PMI in Ponorogo Regency. This prolonged engagement is very useful in correcting the bias of the ethical perspective that has long dominated the minds of researchers. Second, participation was carried out by being involved (participant observation) in as many activities as possible that took place at the location and

research situation so that a relatively comprehensive, detailed, and in-depth understanding was obtained. Third, data can be triangulated by meeting several community leaders and various sources to check its truth. In addition to matching information obtained from informants with local figures in the research area, the researcher also triangulated by asking again the information given at different times whether it was still the same or had changed. Fourth, the researcher conducted peer debriefing by involving the grassroots organization that cares about migrant workers, “Keluarga Besar Buruh Migran Indonesia,” which is directly related to the conditions of the migrant worker community in Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency. Fifth, the researcher conducted an analysis of negative case analysis. This analysis is for the researcher as part of strengthening the development of the theory being carried out. The negative case is taken into account for the refinement and certainty of the theory being built. Sixth, the researcher conducted a member check by presenting the findings to then check their suitability by the actors (informants) in this study. The researcher always maintains communication relationships with the informants in an effort to member check. The researcher always asks again for the information that has been transcribed, either by directly visiting the informant again or by contacting them by phone.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of research data analysis, a dilemma was found, especially regarding the educational aspect of the children of migrant workers from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency.

Reasons to Become PMI

The work background of the families of female migrant workers from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency is dominated by families of farmers and farm laborers with low levels of education.

“...bapak kalih ibu kulo meniko tani tus. Mboten gadah biaya kagem sekolah duwur. Kulo namung lulusan SMP...” (KRS)

“...bapak dan ibu saya berprofesi sebagai petani. Tidak punya biaya untuk sekolah yang tinggi. Saya hanya lulusan SMP...” (KRS)

“...my father and mother work as farmers. Don't have the costs for high school. I only graduated from junior high school...” (KRS)

“...kulo asale nggih buruh tandur, buruh matun, sekolah mboten tutug, make namung buruh tani. Mboke momong. Dados jaman semonten nek kulo terus sekolah mboten cekap. Kulo niki SD mawon mboten lulus, namung kelas kalih ...” (RNM)

“...saya sebenarnya juga seorang buruh tanam, buruh penyiangi rumput, sekolah tidak sampai selesai, bapak saya hanya buruh tani. Ibu seorang bekerja sebagai pengasuh anak kecil. Jadi waktu itu kalau saya harus terus sekolah tidak cukup. Saya ini SD saja tidak lulus, hanya sampai kelas dua ...” (RNM)

“...I was also a planting worker, weeding worker; I didn't finish school; my father was just a farm worker. One's mother worked as a nanny for young children. So, at that time, it wasn't enough if I had to continue going to school. I didn't even graduate from elementary school; I only got to second grade...” (RNM).

Migrant workers who come from Pondok Village have varying levels of education, some of which are high school graduates. Middle school and elementary school, but some still need to graduate from elementary school. Before becoming migrant workers, they worked as workers in charge of planting rice and mature *workers* in charge of weeding grass and fertilizing. Some migrant workers are forced to stop going to school due to financial constraints. The income from his family's rice fields is only enough for daily food costs. They have to work hard to become sharecroppers on other people's land. In between working as farmers, some have side jobs as shoe sole makers, tofu sellers, vegetable sellers, masseurs, and construction workers. This work is carried out when the rice is 60 days after planting, and we only have to wait for the harvest for approximately 30 days.

The period of waiting for the harvest is called famine by the people of Pondok Village because no work can be done in the fields, and the harvest is also running low. Villagers will start working again when the harvest season, followed by the planting season, arrives. Even though there are quite a few job opportunities for women, the people of Pondok Village do not rely solely on men as heads of the family to fulfill their family's economy. Generally, women work as much as they can to help the family financially. The following statement supports the observations in this research.

“...bapak ten sabin, aktifitas ibuk bakulan tahu nitih sepeda. Nek wancine nunggu panen, bapak kadangkolo disuwuni tulung mijet tonggo tepalih. Artone ditumbasne blonjo, didamel mbayar sekolah kalih damel maem. Adik kulo mawon kalih, nek bapak tok sing kerjo nggih mboten cekap...” (WWK).

“...bapak di sawah, aktifitas ibu jualan tahu menaiki sepeda. Sembari menunggu panen, terkadang bapak dimintai tolong untuk menjadi tukang pijat tetangga sekitar. Uangnya dibelikan belanja, dibuat membayar sekolah dan untuk adik makan. Adik saya saja dua, kalau bapak saja yang bekerja ya tidak...” (WWK).

“...father is in the rice fields, and mother's activity is selling tofu on a bicycle. While waiting for the harvest, sometimes my father was asked to be a massage therapist for the neighbors. The money was used to buy groceries, pay for school, and feed my younger siblings. I only have two younger siblings; if my father only works, then no...” (WWK).

“...jaman semonten Bapak nyambut damel nggarap sawah, ibuk nggih kerjo tapen, kerjo matun, nek mboten usum pendamelan sabin biasane ibuk nderek buruh isah-isah nggene wong mantu, kadang nderek bakul wedang, nopo mawon srabutan kersane cekap...” (NRD)

“...waktu itu bapak bekerja menggarap sawah, ibu juga bekerja membersihkan beras, menyiangi rumput, kalau tidak waktunya mengurus sawah biasanya mencuci piring di tempat orang menikah, kadang ikut jualan minuman hangat, apa saja supaya cukup ...” (NRD)

"...at that time, my father worked working on the rice fields, my mother also worked cleaning rice, weeding the grass, if she didn't have time to take care of the fields, she usually washed dishes at the place where people were getting married, sometimes selling hot drinks, anything to make enough..." (NRD)

WWK was forced to become a migrant worker due to economic limitations. His mother was a tofu seller, while his father was a sharecropper who also had a side job as a masseuse. The income from his parents' work was just enough to support the family and pay for WWK's school fees and that of his two younger siblings. Meanwhile, NRD's father and mother worked as sharecroppers. When the agricultural sector was quiet, his mother worked as a dishwasher in a place where people had needs, a laundry worker in a food stall, and any job as long as it was enough to meet the family's needs. They still continue working as female migrant workers even now when they have their own families.

Education Investment

The increase in migrant workers' income from remittances also has a big influence on the education of migrant workers from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency. Migrant workers allocate their income to pay for their children's school fees. They have great hopes that their children will have the opportunity to receive a better education than themselves. The money sent is used to pay school fees and buy books, uniforms, and other school supplies. This helps children get a better education, increasing their chances of getting a better job in the future.

“...kalau waktunya bayar kuliah saya pasti transfer ke Bintang mbak”
SRT

"...when it's time to pay for college, I will definitely transfer to Bintang, sis" SRT

“...pake telpon sak wayah-wayah mbak, njaluk kiriman nggo bayar sekolahe anak-anak. Trah cah 3 sekolah kabeh. Sak eneke tak kirimi...” RNM

“...suami sering telfon mbak, minta kiriman uang untuk membayar sekolah anak-anak. Memang tiga anak sekolah semua, ya seadanya saya kirimin...” RNM

"...my husband often calls Sis, asking for money to pay for the children's school fees. Indeed, all three children are at school, so I will send whatever I can..." RNM

“...aku nekat lungo mergo anak 2 wayahe sekolah kabeh mbak, gak mungkin iso sekolah duwur nek aku gak lungo” MLYS

“...saya nekat bekerja ke luar negeri karena 2 anak saya waktunya sekolah semua mbak, tidak mungkin bisa sekolah tinggi kalau saya tidak bekerja ke luar” MLYS

“...I was determined to work abroad because my two children all had time to go to school, sis; it would be impossible for me to go to high school if I didn't work abroad,” MLYS.

“...uang kiriman ibu saya pakai untuk biaya kuliah dan biaya hidup mbak...” BTG

“...the money my mother sent me used for college fees and living expenses, sis...” BTG

“...karena ibu saya bisa sekolah sampai SMA, dan melanjutkan menjadi pekerja migran ...” HS

“...because my mother was able to go to high school and continued to be a migrant worker...” HS

“...buke kerja ning Arab nggo biaya sekolah sampek lulus soko MAN 1 mbak...” DA

“...ibu bekerja di Arab untuk biaya sekolah sampai lulus dari MAN 1 mbak ...” DA

“...mother worked in Arabia for school fees until she graduated from MAN 1 sis...” DA

“...setiap holiday, aku melu-melu kursus njahit, kursus rias, sakdurunge...” SRHY

“...setiap holiday, saya ikut kursus menjahit, kursus merias, sebelumnya...” SRHY

“...every holiday, I take sewing courses, make-up courses, before...” SRHY

“...selain kerja menjadi pembantu rumah tangga, saya juga kuliah di UT mbak. sekarang semester enam...” SR

“... apart from working as a housemaid, I also study at UT, sis. now sixth semester...” SR

“...sempat kuliah sambil kerja di Hongkong, sayangnya hanya sampai semester lima, sempat kursus jurnalis online juga. Lumayan ilmunya. Sayangnya nggak sampai lulus mbak...” VRN

“...I studied while working in Hong Kong, unfortunately only until the fifth semester, I also took an online journalism course. That is not bad knowledge. Unfortunately, I didn't graduate, sis...” VRN

“...jadi Bintang itu setelah lulus MAN, lanjut kursus bahasa Inggris di Pare lanjut lagi SI di ITB, berkat jadi pekerja migran mbak...” SRT

"...became a star after graduating from MAN, continued with an English course in Pare, and continued with a bachelor's degree at ITB, thanks to being a migrant worker, sis..." SRT

Investing in family education and skills is an important step to improve the socio-economic future of migrant worker families. By increasing access to education and training, they can help create a better environment for family growth and progress and make a positive contribution to community environmental development.

Community Views

From the perspective of independence and dependency, migrant workers from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency, experience a dilemma regarding where to live. On the one hand, migrant workers have the desire to become independent and by building a decent place to live for their family, this reflects their aspirations to achieve financial and social independence, as well as build a more stable and comfortable life with their family. By realizing this independence, migrant workers are faced with dependence on remittances. They have to pay a lot of money to build a house as a place to live, thus spending the remittances that migrant workers get from working for years abroad. When the remittances run out, they have to return abroad to become migrant workers to obtain remittances to meet their daily living needs. This can be seen in the following data.

“...disini banyak rumah-rumah besar dan bagus mbak. Kalo istilahnya disini magrong-magrong. Sebagian besar rumah kaya gitu punyanya pekerja migran, yang punya masyarakat biasa nggak sampai 10 persen...” SHT

“...there are lots of big and nice houses here, sis. The term here is magrong-magrong . Most of the rich houses are owned by migrant workers, and less than 10 percent are owned by ordinary people." SHT.

The house consists of a kitchen, bedroom, garage, and bathroom and is well-equipped with a water pump. Migrant workers are satisfied with the house because they do not need to rent one. The culture of renting or renting houses does not exist among female migrant workers from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency.

Migrant workers ensure their families have a decent and comfortable place to live. They built a nice house with complete facilities. Unfortunately, migrant workers cannot enjoy the house for a long time. After building the house, they had to go back to work as migrant workers abroad, leaving their families for the umpteenth time because their savings had run out to build the house. In realizing prosperity, they face a dilemma. Ideally, a house should be built for the family to live in. Unfortunately, migrant workers' income over the years has run out, so to meet their family's needs well, they have to return abroad to become migrant workers.

"...biasanya yang jadi prioritas utama pekerja migran itu bangun rumah mbak, padahal ada juga rumahnya yang masih layak huni meskipun gak terlalu bagus. Makanya rumahnya bagus-bagus. Habis bangun rumah, ya berangkat jadi TKI lagi..." SRT

"... usually the main priority for migrant workers is to build a house, sis, even though there are also houses that are still habitable even though they are not very good. That's why the house is nice. After building a house, I'm leaving to become a migrant worker again..." SRT

By building a large and magnificent house, migrant workers are able to achieve a symbol of success that has long been established in the community of Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency. Unfortunately, building a house causes the income that migrant workers have accumulated over the years to run out, but if they don't build their house not yet categorized as successful migrant workers.

Female migrant workers from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency are able to fulfill their family's primary, secondary, and tertiary needs by remaining migrant workers. This is comparable to the risks and pressures experienced by migrant workers abroad. When they return to their homeland, they no longer have a monthly salary. This requires migrant workers and their families to live in simplicity. If not, migrant workers must return abroad to return to work.

In the context of the cost of living for migrant worker families from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency, the dilemma of aspirations versus family responsibility arises as a conflict between the individual's desire to fulfill personal ambitions and their responsibility for the family's financial needs. On the one hand, migrant workers aspire to improve their living standards, acquire luxury goods, or establish greater financial security.

"...saiki gak pareng numpak motor mergo pernah kecelakaan mbak, gantine aku ditumbasne laptop. Sekolahe dianter bapak..." VAN

“...sekarang tidak boleh naik motor karena pernah kecelakaan mbak, gantinya saya dibelikan laptop. Sekolahnya diantar sama bapak...” VAN

“...now you can't ride a motorbike because you had an accident, sis instead I bought you a laptop. My father took me to school...” VAN

On the other hand, they have the responsibility to provide financial support for their families at home, including daily living expenses, children's education, health care, and other needs that families cannot afford without financial assistance from migrant workers.

Welfare Dilemma in the Aspect of Satisfaction with Education and Skills

The increase in income of migrant workers is not commensurate with children's interest in pursuing higher education. The majority of migrant workers' children think that higher education is not very important because it will cost a lot of money and burden the family. In contrast to, migrant workers who, even with an educational status of not completing elementary school, are able to generate high incomes. Children of migrant workers see the opportunity to work as migrant workers to help the family financially because getting a job immediately is more beneficial than spending time and money on higher education.

“...kuliah ki ngentekne duit, angur ten Hongkong, kasil...” RNM

“...kuliah itu menghabiskan uang, lebih baik di Hongkong, bisa menghasilkan uang...” RNM

“...college costs money, it's better in Hong Kong, it can make money...” RNM

The significant increase in income obtained by migrant workers is not commensurate with the interest of migrant workers' children in continuing their education at a higher level. They see the opportunity to immediately work as a way to help the family financially rather than spending time and money on higher education. Even though education is a key element in objective welfare, which influences individual economic and social welfare, equal and quality access to education can increase productivity, reduce poverty, and improve health and social participation.

“...cah enom-enom wes seneng ngopi nang warung awit SMP mbak. Anaku yo podo. Ora omah. Roto-roto mergo iso rokok, nek nang omah rokok tiwas diseneni mbahe dilaporne aku, ora cair sangune...” DA

“...anak muda sudah suka ngopi di warung sejak SMP mbak. Anak saya juga sama. Tidak pernah di rumah. Rata-rata karena bisa merokok. Kalau di

rumah merokok dimarahin sama neneknya dilaporkan ke saya, tidak cair uang sakunya...” DA

“...young people have liked drinking coffee at stalls since middle school, sis. My child is the same. Never at home. On average, because you can smoke. If you smoke at home, your grandmother will scold you, report it to me, your pocket money won't be paid...” DA

In the context of satisfaction with the education and skills of migrant workers and their families, viewed from the dilemma of independence versus dependency, in fact, when they become migrant workers, women are able to pay for their children's schooling optimally. Children of migrant workers have the opportunity to receive a better education.



Diagram 1. The relationship between educational dilemma and economic conditions

Unfortunately, they are not motivated to continue their studies to a higher level. Motivation drives someone to do something (Nababan et al., 2020). A child's success in pursuing education also depends on his emotions (Saptono et al., 2020). Independence creates dependency for the children of migrant workers on remittances generated by their mothers, so school becomes unimportant. Children of migrant workers prefer to work or follow in their mothers' profession as migrant workers.

According to Hansen (2012) several theories, people's reasons for migrating include needs and stress. Everyone has some personal, social, cultural, and financial needs. Stress increases if needs cannot be met. A person will move to another place to fulfill their needs if stress has exceeded the limit. Those who leave their homeland to look for work in another country are called international migrants. This migration certainly brings many benefits, especially in economic terms. According to Castles & Miller (2009), promising job opportunities in destination areas encourage international migration, and salary differences attract workers to migrate to other countries. Therefore, Indonesian migrant workers do not experience difficulties in migrating. Every country has advantages and disadvantages. For example,

Indonesia has a lot of workers but not enough employment opportunities. Therefore, developed countries need to work together to empower the workforce for mutual benefit.

Most migrants migrate because of socio-economic imbalances in several regions, according to Clifford Jansen. Certain factors attract people to their destination and remove them from their place of origin. Research conducted by Peter H. Rossi also used this hypothesis. He divides the reasons for moving into two categories: reasons for moving from the place of origin (push) and reasons for moving to the destination (Susilo et al., 2018). Lee (1966) States that the theory of migration is that the amount of migration that occurs in a developing region is correlated with the level of diversity of the regions in that region.

In general, international migrants come from low-income families. They become migrant workers to improve living conditions. The purpose of sending the remittances determines the impact of remittances on the development of the region of origin. In economic analysis, remittances can impact both micro and macroeconomics. In a microeconomic context, remittances contribute to the well-being of recipient households and provide temporary emergency money supplies, increased possibilities during economic crises and natural disasters, improved living standards through human and capital investments (health, nutrition, education) and building assets (business, real estate, and savings), and increased state income.

Todaro & Smith (2020), an individual's decision to migrate is based on the possibility of different incomes in the area of origin and destination of migration. People will choose to migrate if their desires to fulfill their living needs cannot be met in their place of origin. Wulan et al., (2018) Stated that the term remittance emerged to define remittances as transfers of cash or kind from migrants to their homes or families in their country of origin. The IMF also defines remittances as transfers of cash or in kind from foreign workers to their families at home (Setia et al., 2013). There is a positive correlation between the condition of families experiencing difficulties in their area of origin and the amount of remittances sent. Curson (1981) Argues that remittances are the main component of a person's migration process. With migration, someone can send money or goods to their home area. The fact is that the majority of migrant workers in Indonesia, including in Ponorogo Regency, become migrant workers because they want to earn a decent income.

The high level of income that migrant workers earn is commensurate with the risks and consequences that migrant workers must face. When someone has decided to become a migrant worker, they must be prepared for all the consequences and risks they have to face. Moreover, Ponorogo migrant workers are dominated by women of productive age who are married and have children. So, when a mother leaves the family, it will certainly bring big

changes to the child's life, growth, and development. This will create a great sense of loss for the child. Those who are abandoned by one or both parents are generally entrusted to their closest relatives, namely grandparents. However, it is also not uncommon for them to be entrusted to other relatives. Unlike biological parents, close relatives generally provide a different parenting style to parents, often over-sufficiently provide for children, and are unable to reprimand children when they make mistakes. So this allows for changes in children's morals, behavior, and religiosity.

Widyarto & Rifauddin, (2020) found that the problems of children of migrant workers are health, economic, family, religious, moral, personal, social relations, organizational, study habits, and romantic problems. Apart from that, the condition of parents and children being far apart has an impact on the child's growth and development. Children of migrant workers have a low orientation towards further studies (Kholis, 2017) . Children of migrant workers choose to become migrants like their parents and do not choose to continue their education. They spend a lot of free time in coffee shops, disobey their parents, ask for things forcefully, refuse to eat, experience health problems, do not have the right to identity, do not carry out religious activities, and often receive violence (Kholis, 2017 ; Suryadi, 2020 ; Wahyuningsih & Jatningsih, 2017 ; Purwatiningsih, 2016). The significant shift in income among migrant workers means that the living needs of migrant workers and their families are relatively well met, but unfortunately, *the social costs* that must be paid are much greater than what they get. Child-rearing patterns will be different if the family is not intact (Wahyuningsih & Jatningsih, 2017). Even though their physical needs tend to be met in excess, children of migrant workers who their fathers, mothers, or fathers abandon often lack parental attention, which causes quite severe behavioral problems. The separation between mother and child or father for quite a long time causes the closeness between mother and child and father to become strained so that the expected *basic trust cannot be built*. This will cause difficulties in the child's social development.

Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation number 20 of 2010 states that in the economic sector, it turns out that workers who work abroad mostly engage in consumptive activities. In the field of resilience and welfare of migrant workers' families, it turns out that many divorces occur due to being abandoned for a long time, or the family Those who were abandoned turned out to remarry secretly; in other words, it had an impact on household harmony. In the field of child protection, it turned out that children abandoned by parents who worked abroad had a big impact on their children's development because TKI children were cared for for a relatively short period of time. For a long time, parents who are not (father or mother) or even raised by other family members such as grandparents and other family

members. This condition is a parenting style that deviates from the parenting habits that the family has carried out. Another impact of this condition, for example, in the education sector, is that the children of migrant workers' families are neglected in school. As many as 25% of migrant workers' families are late in going to school even though they are already school-age, and 10% of migrant workers' children drop out of school. This strengthens the opinion that the level of economic satisfaction is not directly proportional to the level of education (Kholis, 2017).

Various goals of migrant workers' countries do not have a significant effect on the progressive mindset of migrant workers. The goals of the migrant workers' countries are developing countries or even developed countries, but the progress of the migrant workers' destination countries and the length of time working in those countries do not make the migrant workers' mindsets develop (Pramesti, 2022). In line with what is stated in Ministerial Regulation Number 20 of 2010, mothers work for a long time and are separated from their children for a long time. This has a negative impact, which causes children to experience moderate levels of stress and low learning achievement (Puspitawati & Setioningsih, 2011). Children from TKI/TKW families. The lack of fulfillment of spiritual needs and love from fathers and mothers has a tremendous psychological influence on children, causing juvenile delinquency, such as speeding, smoking, drinking, and even going to brothels (Yuniastuti, 2014).

The increase in parents' income after becoming PMI apparently has not been able to generate support and motivation for children to continue their education to tertiary level (Mufti Nur Fakhri and Triwahyuningsih, 2020). This is because many migrant workers are unable to allocate their income to their children's school fees. To show their success while being migrant workers, PMI tends to use its remittances for consumption activities of goods that are considered to have added value among the community, such as cars, the latest motorbikes, *Apple iPhones*, the latest motorbikes, branded clothes, bags and shoes and even gold jewelry. Worth tens of millions of rupiah. Excessive fulfillment of needs for PMI families is solely to gain recognition from society so that there is no longer any allocation of education costs for their children.

CONCLUSION

From an educational aspect, female migrant workers from Pondok Village, Babadan District, Ponorogo Regency have experienced many dilemmas. The increase in income of migrant workers is not commensurate with children's interest in pursuing higher education. The majority of migrant workers' children think that higher education is not very important because it will cost a lot of money and burden the family. In contrast, migrant workers,

even those with an educational status of not completing elementary school, can generate high incomes. Children of migrant workers see the opportunity to work as migrant workers to help the family financially because getting a job immediately is more beneficial than spending time and money on higher education. These factors interact and create an environment where working abroad is often seen as a more realistic and profitable option than continuing education. Understanding these factors can help in designing more effective interventions and policies to support the education and economic well-being of PMI families.

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