

Strengthening Sisterhood in Fighting for Women Migrant Workers' Safe and Fair Migration in Curut Village of Central Java, Indonesia



A Feminist Participatory Action Research Project

Strengthening Sisterhood in Fighting for Women Migrant Workers' Safe and Fair Migration in Curut village of Central Java, Indonesia

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Cover photo: LRCKJHAM

This research report is part of a multi-country Feminist Participatory Research Project implemented by The Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) in partnership with colleagues in South, South East and West Asia. GAATW gratefully acknowledges the financial support of Women's Fund Asia to carry out this project.

GAATW and the Research Partners stand by the process and findings from the researches. Views and Opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of Women's Fund Asia.

About GAATW's Feminist Participatory Action Research Project on Safe and Fair Migration in Asia

In 2018-2019, the International Secretariat of the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW-IS), in collaboration with eleven organisations across nine countries in Asia carried out a Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) focusing on 'Safe and Fair Migration: A feminist perspective on women's rights to mobility and work'.

In our study, FPAR is used as a framework and approach to capturing women migrants' complex realities and perspectives on labor and migration. What distinguishes FPAR from conventional research is that it is deliberately women-centered and participant driven, the knowledge comes from the women (community) and owned by them, and based on their lived experiences, the research participants propose solutions so the research results become a tool to collectively organize advocacy actions. Therefore, this is an outcome of deconstructing the dominant understanding of safe migration and fair migration and reshaping the concepts from a feminist perspective. We believe our approach of building knowledge from ground up and creating evidence base will add value in addressing the structural causes of power disparities that affect women's migration and mobility.

Our research community ranges across South, Southeast, and West Asia offering views from both countries of origin and destination, as well as adding the perspective of internal migration from rural to urban areas. Three distinguished sectors of work are covered in this study including domestic work, garment industry, and entertainment work.

The lead researcher groups who facilitated discussions with women migrants include Anti-Racism Movement (Lebanon), Cambodian Alliance of Trade Unions (Cambodia), International Domestic Workers Federation (Lebanon), Karmojibi Nari (Bangladesh), Legal Resources Center for Gender Justice and Human Rights (Indonesia), MAP Foundation (Thailand), Sandigan (Kuwait), Self Employed Women's Association (India), Society for Labour and Development (India), Women Forum for Women in Nepal (Nepal), and an independent researcher based in Jordan.

"Two people will shout as much as they can. But ten people are louder than two."

Borrowing from one of our FPAR research participants' words, we hope each piece of our collective study will help amplify women migrant workers' voice to bring about structural change for a safe and fair migration that works for women.

GAATW-IS gratefully acknowledges the support of Women's Fund Asia in conducting this research project. A consolidated regional report and the country research briefs are available on the GAATW (www.gaatw.org) website.

FOREWORD TO THE 'SAFE AND FAIR' RESEARCH SERIES

In the past several decades neoliberal globalisation, increasing inequality between and within countries, conflict, climate change and environmental degradation have prompted unprecedented levels of migration. We are seeing a major trend towards increasing internal migration and urbanisation within countries – by 2050, the global population living in urban areas is expected to reach 66 per cent. Meanwhile there are around 250 million international migrants worldwide, of whom half are women. In some destination countries, demographic, labour market and economic changes (the privatisation of public services, aging societies, women's increasing participation in the workforce) have created a demand for care and service sector work, with an expectation that this demand will be filled by low-wage female workers, in the domestic, care, manufacturing and entertainment sectors. In origin countries, climate change, economic restructuring and industrialisation have led to the loss of traditional livelihoods, agricultural decline, environmental degradation, wage stagnation and a growth in precarious work – resulting in gross inequalities, and creating push factors for women to seek alternative income generating activities, including through migrating for work.

While these structural changes play a huge role in shaping “push and pull factors” for migration, it needs to be acknowledged that women are not merely passive agents in their migration, but that for many, migration is a way of asserting agency and finding freedom from patriarchal societal norms. Many women choose to migrate in order to see the world and gain new experiences, find economic opportunities, to be able to support families and to exercise autonomy and social independence. Despite the many risks and the challenges in accessing information about migration processes and opportunities, women continue to migrate all over the world, including from marginalised communities and rural villages. However, there is a lack of recognition of migration as a right, and of women workers as independent economic actors. States' labour migration policies are broadly missing a human rights and gender-transformative approach to migration and work.

Activists on the left have long critiqued the exploitative nature of some cross-border labour migration schemes that employ workers on poverty wages in substandard conditions, while outsourcing the costs of social reproduction to countries of origin. In the past 20 years, feminists, including GAATW, have tried to bring attention to the particular discrimination and risks created for women migrants by laws and policies governing, and failing to govern, labour migration. Although such initiatives have tried to stress women's perspectives, the conversation about migration has sometimes backfired and produced unintended consequences. Governments of origin and destination countries have in some instances responded not by making migration protective of human rights, but by curbing it through restrictions on women's mobility on the basis of age, marital status, pregnancy and maternal status, and category of work, especially for low-wage workers, and increasing border controls. Much of this is done with the supposed aim of ‘protecting’ women from trafficking and exploitation; however, what these protectionist restrictions have done is open up a market for clandestine and debt-financed migration, creating or exacerbating the very vulnerability, violence, and exploitation they were intended to prevent. While non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have tried to bring issues of human rights to the table, they have, perhaps unintentionally, contributed to the repressive government agendas. Some anti-trafficking NGOs perpetuate narratives and images of migrant women as victims, and infantilising women by portraying them as inherently vulnerable and in need of protection. As a feminist alliance, GAATW sees its role as

supporting the empowerment of migrant women to move and work safely and with dignity. This feminist participatory action research project is our collective effort to deconstruct and reshape a narrative of labour migration that is safe and fair for women workers, especially those in the most marginalised segments of society. We hope that this study serves as evidence to fight for the rights of migrant workers and amplify women's voices in the local, regional, and international migration agenda.

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Introduction

Over the past decade, the term safe migration had been taken up by numerous entities including the government, international institutions, NGOs, and community based organisations, among others. It has been used so widely that people accept the term as self-explanatory and stopped questioning what ‘safety’ truly entails and from whose point of view.

LRC-KJHAM has been working closely with returnee migrant women in Central Java, Indonesia whose migration experience had mostly been far from safe or just. Previous research and documentation projects had provided LRC-KJHAM with an insight into the challenges that women face in the destination country and the rights violations committed against them throughout their labour migration journey.

In 2018-2019, LRC-KJHAM, together with Migrant Group Wedoro, and with the support of the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women documented the lived experiences of returnee migrant women in Curut Village of Central Java. Among many problems, rights violations on migrant women were rampant and women had taken the burden of their family’s financial security as well as providing care work in the household. The use of Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) methodology has aimed to center women’s issues throughout the study period and as an outcome, Migrant Group Curut was formed and organised to fight for women’s rights and dignity in Curut village.

Background and Context

Economic and political context on women’s labour and migration in Indonesia

Indonesia has the highest number of out-flow labour migrants in Southeast Asia. The Indonesian government started to actively encourage international labour migration – mostly low-skilled labour migrants - to address labour surpluses and to earn foreign currency in the 1970s.¹ In 2016, an estimated 9 million Indonesians worked overseas, accounting for almost 7 percent of the country’s labour force, according to the World Bank. However, the actual number is probably higher as there are many undocumented migrants.

From the 1960s during the New Order regime, the Indonesian government embarked on a growth-oriented development strategy, at the expense of the agricultural sector which led to loss of subsistence and high rates of unemployment. To generate foreign revenue, the government built its economy based on cheap labour at home to attract foreign investment and embarked on a labour export programme.

The process of globalisation, which enabled the movement of labour across national boundaries, brought about the gradual feminisation of Indonesian labour migration. During the 1970s, men outnumbered women in international migration, but by the early 1990s, almost twice the number of women were placed overseas compared to men. This is a reflection of the rise of poverty and the

¹ Indonesia: A Country Grappling with Migrant Protection at Home and Abroad, September 2018, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/indonesia-country-grappling-migrant-protection-home-and-abroad>

deepening of sexual division of labour where women had a narrow option of work in the domestic sector whereas men in the public sector.²

Between 2013 and 2017, the top four occupations for Indonesian migrant workers were reported to be domestic worker, caregiver, operator, and plantation worker as seen in the table below. Both domestic worker and caregiver are predominantly taken by women which outnumber the other two occupations.

Occupation	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Domestic worker	168,318	133,390	52,328	45,309	92,158
Caregiver	48,188	49,069	44,941	54,160	44,033
Operator	46,799	38,836	35,187	32,411	31,367
Plantation worker	47,598	47,790	38,526	30,834	26,470
Subtotal	512,168	429,872	275,736	233,848	261,820

Reference: BNP2TKI (National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers), <http://www.bnp2tki.go.id/read/12943/Data-Penempatan-dan-Perlindungan-TKI-Periode-1-JANUARI-S.D-31-DESEMBER-2017.html>

Indonesian women are not only engaged in the domestic sector as overseas employment but even within Indonesia, domestic workers are one of the largest segments of the national workforce which is predominantly taken by women.

While estimates vary, the number of domestic workers employed in Indonesia is around 2.6 million, according to the International Labour Organisation's data in 2013. In 2018, it was estimated that migrant domestic workers make up the majority of the Indonesian migrant workers abroad.³ The vast majority of both domestic workers within the country and abroad share common characteristics such as having low education and coming mainly from economically disadvantaged families in rural communities as well as urban poor.

While these women come from the socially marginalised and poorest background in Indonesia, their contribution to the Indonesian economy is immense. Over the years, the economic contribution boosted by remittances has been praised by states, non-state institutions and civil society. The importance and positive impact of migrant women's remittance has been well researched and promoted by many institutions and academics alike. Some of the benefits include: improved family wellbeing and increased autonomy of women and girls. As this growing attention put women migrants as the champion and the 'new' development agents of the nation, a number of development programmes were geared towards boosting the economic gains, such as enhancing financial literacy for women migrants and decreasing transfer charges of remittances to win bigger financial gains. While the intention might be to empower women and maximise resources, unfortunately, these narratives neglect the accounts of forced migration and the lack of economic opportunity that pushed women to search for work abroad in the first place. Moreover, the social

² Indonesian Migrant Workers: Systematic abuse at home and abroad, Indonesian Country Report to the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants, 2002, Komnas Perempuan and Solidaritas Perempuan, p.7

³ <https://jakartaglobe.id/opinion/indonesias-domestic-workers-need-urgent-protection/>

value of the work that they are mostly engaged in (i.e. domestic work) within and outside Indonesia are still critically missing.

Policy and regulatory context

With the enactment of Government regulation No. 4, International Labour Placement (AKAN) programme was introduced in 1970⁴ which paved the way for the involvement of a private recruitment industry for migration. Since then, international migration from Indonesia has become a business involving agents, middlemen, government officials and sponsors in the destination countries. At the centre of this lucrative business are low-paid individual migrants who are mostly from marginalised groups of Indonesian society – undereducated, from a poor family background, and lacking access to information, among others.

While the Indonesian government had actively facilitated labour migration abroad as a way of easing domestic unemployment and as a development strategy to earn foreign currency, heavy criticisms were pointed towards the lack of protection measures in the migration policies that created opportunities for abuse of migrant workers.

Indonesian labour migration governance saw its change followed by the Reform Movement (*Reformasi*) in 1998 when the country made a democratic transition. Among many notable changes, civil societies were allowed more spaces for activism⁵ and a number of laws and policies pushed by various stakeholders including NGOs were put in place during that period. Building on this momentum, the Law No. 39/2004 on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers Overseas was endorsed in 2004. It was Indonesia's first law on migrant workers which included provisions on workers' rights and protection along with the government's duties and obligations. However, there are number of shortcomings which the law has not been able to address properly.

Following this law, the government also signed a number of MoU with major destination countries. Currently, Indonesia only deploys migrant labour to countries with which the government has a Memorandum of Understanding or other bilateral or regional agreements. Some of these countries include Malaysia, Taiwan, Korea and recently Saudi Arabia, allowing the Indonesian government to negotiate employment conditions for Indonesian migrant workers. The occupations taken by Indonesian workers – predominantly women - in these countries are mostly low-paid work, including in the domestic work and service sectors.

In April 2015, after the incident of two Indonesian domestic workers found guilty of murder in Saudi Arabia, the Indonesian government placed a moratorium on sending domestic workers to 21 countries in West Asia and the Gulf. The ban is officially still effective as of January 2019⁶ but a number of issues that have arisen over the past years neither brought protection nor justice to the women migrant workers. Despite the moratorium, there were considerable number of out-migration flows to the Gulf countries and the ban resulted in leaving 500,000 Indonesians

⁴ Labour Migration from Indonesia: An overview of Indonesian Migration to Selected Destinations in Asia and the Middle East, IOM 2010, p.9

⁵ Yazid, S., Activism of Indonesian NGOs on the issue of women migrant workers: engaging in national and international co-operation, 2012

⁶ There were media reports in May 2018, that Indonesia is set to lift the ban, however, no official announcement was made thereafter.

undocumented in Saudi Arabia, according to a report presented by the UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights Philip Alston in 2016.

The above-mentioned example of undocumented migrants in Saudi Arabia is just the tip of the iceberg. Significant numbers of Indonesian women migrants are in a limbo where their domestic work is unprotected with the basic labour rights and their fragile legal status puts them in an even more precarious situation whereby employers can easily abuse them under *kafala* or sponsorship system.

In 2012, the Indonesian government ratified the 1990 UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, which provides a number of legal rights for migrants, including for those living and working in irregular situations. However, the domestic law contradicts the commitment to protect irregular migrants. Under the Law No. 39/2004, irregular labour migrants are not covered and will not receive protection under this law, irrespective of whether they intentionally or unintentionally used unofficial channels to migrate (IOM 2010). Hence, the moratorium, which supposedly intends to ensure “safety” of the migrant women from potential injustice, is in fact widely opening up irregular channels where migrants’ rights cannot be protected.

Moreover, the Law No. 39/2004 does not include the protection of labour migrants once they return to Indonesia. For instance, the protection of labour migrants ends with their repatriation and does not leave a room to discuss the protection of former labour migrants even if they had problems in the destination country.⁷ In reality many labour migrants experience social and economic problems at the time of re-integration and the benefits of their overseas experience and the wages they earned could be enhanced if placement services for employment in Indonesia were available along with basic financial education to manage their overseas earnings.

In September 2017, the UN Committee on Migrant Workers had a review of Indonesia in which recommendations concerning stronger protection of irregular migrants were repeated throughout. More concretely it was recommended that Indonesia lift the ban on migrant domestic workers wishing to travel to countries in the Middle East for work and consider adopting and implementing alternative non-discriminatory measures to effectively protect the rights of migrant domestic workers. Other key recommendations included improving pre-departure trainings in a gender-responsive manner and providing information on workers’ rights such as fair recruitment, decent work standards and social protection, among others.⁸

Social justice movements related to women’s labour migration

The women’s movement in Indonesia had existed well before its democratic transition; however, as with many other social justice movements, the democratic environment after the fall of authoritarian regime (the New Order era) had certainly led to the growth of women’s activism in Indonesia after 1998.⁹ Women’s movement was certainly at the very centre of the Reform Era

⁷ Labour Migration from Indonesia: An overview of Indonesian Migration to Selected Destinations in Asia and the Middle East, IOM 2010, p. 36

⁸ Concluding observations on the initial reports of Indonesia, MCW/C/IDN/CO/1

⁹ Indonesia’s women activism – beyond suffrage, Devi Asmarani, 2018, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2018/03/indonesias-women-activism-beyond-suffrage/>

(*Reformasi*), marked by the protest of *Suara Ibu Peduli* (The Voice of Concerned Mothers), a protest against injustice, towards democracy and equal rights for women.¹⁰

Although different values and priorities placed along political and religious line existed across diverse social movements as well as within the women's movement itself, tackling violence against women had been one of the most prominent fields of work that brought many social justice movements within Indonesia to unite. The National Commission on Violence against Women (or *Komnas Perempuan*) was established to push and monitor the government's accountability after the killings of ethnic Chinese women after the end of the New Order regime. One of the most crucial laws which enhanced women's status was the Law on Domestic Violence, enacted in 2004.

In the midst of increasing poverty and widening economic inequality in the late 1990s, Indonesian women were excluded from 'national development' which was determined by international institutions such as IMF and World Bank through national-level economic growth and foreign capital flow. While on one hand, a number of NGOs had focused on empowering women and providing microfinance schemes, other groups recognised it is a matter of gender-based discrimination and violence which blocked women from benefitting from national development. *Yayasan Anisa Swasti* was one such group which focused on strengthening women's labor rights. *Kalyanamitra* was another organisation concerned with women's labor rights violations which actively provided women with information on their labour rights¹¹ especially during their initial years of activism. Gradually they played the role of feminist knowledge building and significantly contributed to the progress and discussions on feminism in Indonesia.¹²

A group of NGOs which specifically looked at migrant workers' rights were also formed around the period of *Reformasi*. *Solidaritas Perempuan* (SP) is a women's NGO which first took up the issue of women migrant workers in Indonesia in the 1990s. Although the issue of their programmatic focus gradually diversified, SP still remains one of the strongest and most prominent organisations in the country to advance women migrant workers' rights. Migrant CARE is another migrant worker NGO established in 2004 which is about the same time the Indonesian government passed the law on migrant workers.¹³ Both these organisations had been raising particular concerns with the abuse faced by Indonesian female domestic workers in the Middle East and in other countries in Asia. As in many cases for migrant rights groups based in the origin country, the limitation for their activism is the lack of representation at the destination country¹⁴ which poses challenges to assist abused workers and to coordinate with various stakeholders more effectively.

Many other human rights groups which advocate migrant workers' rights including Human Rights Watch and Komnas Perempuan, among others, have strongly voiced their concerns about the government's migration ban as there are more harms and counterproductive consequences than protecting workers' rights. In particular, SBMI - Serikat Buruh Migran Indonesia (SBMI), the migrant workers trade union, and SP have seen an increase in cases of trafficking to the Middle East since the ban in 2015. Both SP and SBMI believe the solution is not to restrict women's ability to work

¹⁰ Hundred years of feminism in Indonesia, FES

¹¹ Hundred years of Feminism, FES

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Activism of Indonesian NGOs on the issue of women migrant workers: Engaging in national and international co-operation, Yazid S, 2008.

¹⁴ Ibid.

overseas legally, but to enforce the protection of their rights and form binding bilateral agreements with destination countries to ensure that the workers have access to justice.¹⁵

Significance of the Research & Research Questions

In 2010, LRC-KJHAM conducted a feminist participatory action research which shows that the problems of migrant workers were not caused by one factor alone, but are the results of the intersections between gender, migration, labour, and trafficking issues. The characteristics of labour migration in Indonesia are not only connected to economic issues but are influenced by gender relations, labour regulations, and the treatment of migrants in destination countries.

At the time of the research in 2010, Central Java was the third largest sending province in Indonesia. Based on the National Agency of Protection and Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers' (BNP2TKI) statistics, the region was the second highest sender of migrant workers between 2016 and 2018. The destination countries where these migrants work are Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, etc. Most of them work as domestic workers.

Grobogan is the district within Central Java where this study was conducted. This district is one of the places with the highest number of women migrant workers. With the village of Wedoro, located in Penawangan, many women had gone for labour migration. Most of the women who had taken up domestic work mentioned the lack of protection of their rights due to insufficient support and bad systems of law and policy. In Central Java, there is no regulation for protecting the rights of migrant workers. Although the Law No.18/2017¹⁶ exist on the national level, it is ineffective in Central Java as the decentralised system in Indonesia allows each province to implement the law in their own discretion. The Law is also criticised by migrant rights groups as it still gives more leeway to the recruitment agency than strengthening protection of migrant workers' rights.

As noted earlier, LRC-KJHAM had conducted FPAR nearly a decade ago and found many rights violations of women migrants which included document forgery, inadequate accommodation in the process of training and education, unpaid and underpaid salary, sexual abuse and harassment, among others. As an outcome of the FPAR in the late 90's, a community of women migrant workers called 'Migrant Group Wedoro (MGW)' was formed to advocate for their rights. Their active involvement in the development planning in the district office is still ongoing.

Recognising the power of women-centred action research, LRC-KJHAM along with MGW had explored the situation of women migrant workers in Curut village of Grobogan district. We have paid particular attention to whether the situations of WMWs have changed over the decade by documenting women returnee migrants' experience from pre-departure to post return and devised the possibility of mobilising women's group to claim their rights for safe and fair migration.

¹⁵ <http://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/the-plight-of-indonesias-women-migrant-workers/>

¹⁶ Law No. 18/2017 replaced the Law No. 39/2004 which was the first law in Indonesia on migrant workers. The previous law mainly focuses on the placement whereas the revised one has more provisions on the protection and entitlement of rights for the migrant workers.

Research Framework and Methodology

Research Methodology

The research was conducted with 29 participants, all of whom are returnee women migrant workers from Curut Village, Grobogan, Central Java, Indonesia. Based on their educational background, 12 out of the 29 participants had completed elementary school, 8 graduated from junior high school, 1 graduated from senior high school, and the remaining are not known. With regard to the participants' age at the time of their labour migration, 9 out of 29 left the country when they were still a minor and the rest left during their adulthood. Saudi Arabia was the top destination with 16 participants; 5 had worked in Taiwan, 5 in Hong Kong, 2 in Singapore and one in Malaysia.

LRC-KJHAM team and Migrant Group Wedoro (MGW) organised a process for selecting the groups of returnee women migrant workers in Curut. It was decided by both groups that representatives from MGW will play the role as researchers.

Villages that were pre-selected for the research includes Dublong, Kluwan, Penawangan, Duari and Curut. LRC-KJHAM and MGW then performed an assessment of the three villages except in Penawangan, because it is a pilot project of Integrated Service Center (PPT) Swatantra. The assessment was done by observing the villages and meeting some key persons from each villages. At the end of the process, the researchers selected Curut village as the target area for the research.

The process in connecting MGW with the returnee women migrant workers in Curut was through Mbak Yati, a member of MGW, who had a friend in the same shelter when they were migrant workers. Her name is Mbak Rus. Mbak Rus, Mbak Yati and the LRC team approached some returnee women migrant workers who were added to the group of community researchers. Their names were Mbak Siti Qonaah, Pujiwati, Endang and Murtini.

Research Tools

Live in is used as a tool by researchers "to live together" in the village or within the FPAR location. The aim is to build mutual understanding, closeness, and trust between the researchers and the community. This kind of effort allows the researchers to understand different perspectives and the context within the community as well as to find common themes and objectives in carrying out the FPAR research.¹⁷

LRC-KJHAM and MGW team lived at the household of Mbak Ruswati in Curut Village. While living in, they coordinated several FGDs with the community.

¹⁷ Buku Panduan FPAR, LRC-KJHAM, 2012



Figure 1: An FPAR researcher buying vegetables at the traditional market called "Tanjung" in Curut village

FGD (Focus Group Discussions)





Figure 2: FGD on safe and fair migration from the perspective of women migrant workers in Curut



FGD was organised with women in the community. In total, the research team conducted nine FGDs. Topics of the FGD included the following:

1. Sex and Gender
2. Recruitment Process and Situations at the shelter
3. Departure process and situations in destination countries
4. Working conditions in destination countries and upon return
5. Safe and fair migration

6. The situation of women migrant workers in destination countries
7. Discussion of findings and development of recommendations
8. Age, document falsification and the decision-making process of migrant workers
9. Developing the FPAR report with the community

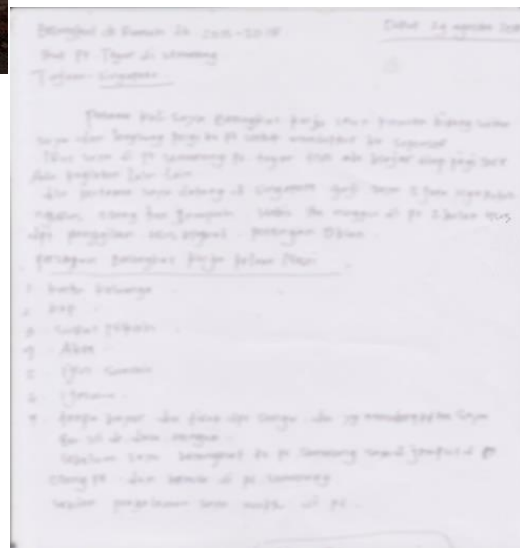
In-depth Interview



In-depth Interviews were conducted to talk with the women about their personal stories. It was observed that some women were more open and trusting during the in-depth interviews as compared to FGDs.

Story Writing

Story Writing from the community of women migrant workers in Curut. Women were asked to write down their migration stories. They described their experiences within the entire migration process and their working situations in the country of destination. Some women also described the situation inside the shelter.



In Indonesia, most labour migration begins with the recruitment process which involves a sponsor (recruitment agent) who goes to different villages to offer employment opportunities overseas. After the recruitment process, the applicants are placed in a shelter to receive further education or skills training for a particular job in the destination country. The applicants had to stay in the shelter until they received a call from the destination country. On average, their stay lasts from three to six months and then they are deployed to the destination country.

The deployment to the destination country occurs if the applicant successfully completes her/his training at the recruitment agency.

Drivers of Migration

a. Low education and lack of work opportunities

The highest educational background of the returnee women migrants who participated in FPAR was middle school. Of all the participants, two women have not taken some formal education, 16 women graduated from elementary school, 9 women graduated until junior high school and only 1 graduated senior high school. In the rural villages, like Curut, investing in girls' education is not a priority, as women are expected to do household chores and 'return to the kitchen' after completing their education.

“Mung lulusan SD iso opo mbak, meh kerjo opo. Sone yo kerjo dadi TKW. Meh ning pabrik adoh, njug meneh ijasahe mung SD, mbak.”

(Hanya lulusan SD bisa apa mbak? Mau kerja apa? Bisanya ya kerja jadi TKW. Mau ke pabrik ya jauh, ditambah lagi ijazah Cuma SD, mbak)

(I only graduated from elementary school, what can I do, Mbak? What kind of work is available for me? I can only work as a migrant worker. If I want to go to the factory, it is far away, and I only have an elementary diploma, Mbak.)

The lack of jobs and the low educational background of women practically mean they need to seek employment overseas. The main livelihood in the village is concentrated around farming; however, only those who have rice fields and those who are farm labourers have access to these jobs. Other source of work can be located at the center of Grobogan Regency, namely at Purwodadi. The distance from Curut Village to Grobogan Regency is quite far, around 45 minutes by a motorised vehicle. In addition, to get to the city center, there is no direct public transportation for the residents of Curut Village. They have to ride a motorcycle for 15 minutes in order to get to the nearest public transport to the city. Available work in factories, or in any industrial sector in the city, requires the minimum educational background of a high school graduate, whereas most of the people in Curut village have only completed elementary and middle school.

In the agricultural sector, there are also problems of injustice when it comes to equal wages. For the same work, half a day, men are paid IDR 45,000 plus a pack of cigarettes worth IDR 15,000, while women are paid only IDR 35,000. The reason for men’s higher wage is because men are socially considered ‘stronger’ thus they are likely to do more labour intensive work.

From this, we see that that wage discrimination exists despite the equal work that women do. Educational opportunities are still prioritised to boys over girls which opens up different life path and livelihood options.

b. Living Conditions



Suti’s Terrace



Yuli Prehati’s Kitchen



Suciati's Living Room

"I was born in a poor family, only graduated from elementary school, I could not continue my studies because we had no money. My mother got divorced when I was a child, so as the first child I was given the responsibility of financing the family. "

The high rate of poverty in Curut Village is one of the reasons that push women to find work abroad. Lack of access to employment sources, low education, low land ownership and no alternative livelihoods compel Curut villagers, especially women to work abroad. Men who are left behind find menial jobs on neighbours' land or on construction sites in nearby cities.

Debt was also cited as one of the reasons women migrated for work. In Curut Village, many families are in debt, which makes the cycle of poverty harder to break. Money lending is usually handled by banks or individuals within the community. With limited access to resources and no stable jobs, many resort to borrowing to sustain their everyday living and their children's education. Some also borrow to buy assets such as motorcycles.

Responses by women on debt situation:

"I am in debt, Mbak, because I don't have rice fields and a job"

"To finance my children's studies and to be able to eat every day."

The pressure to pay off the family debt has been an added burden for women to take up work abroad even if it is against her personal desire.

"The family debt is a lot, his father doesn't have any work, his father told him to go abroad to pay off debts"

Although both men and women in Curut village struggles with poverty and lack of job opportunities, higher numbers of women were found to be migrating as opposed to men. The reason for the higher number of women's migration is in the process of recruitment. Women who apply for domestic

work are not required to have higher education degrees. Those who are elementary school graduates or even without any education can easily be recruited for domestic work. In some cases, diplomas can also be falsified. Whereas for men, the minimum requirement in the plantation sector is junior high school, and vocational school for those who are applying for work in factories.

The recruitment costs paid to agencies by women migrant workers range between IDR 500,000 and 2,000,000. Mother Siti's child, for example, had to pay IDR 45 million to a recruitment agency to be able to work in South Korea. It has also been a practice that agencies even give money to incoming women migrants; however, the advance payment will later be deducted from their salaries for 6 to 12 months. As for men, they have to pay the agency up front and only then can their deployment abroad be processed. Salary deductions are not an option for men since recruitment agencies suspect that male workers can easily run away from work without completing their contracts.

Overall, the decision-making process of women migrant workers is not solely based on their own aspirations – a lot has to do with the family's economic situation, the lack of livelihood opportunities for sustainable living, and patriarchal social norms. Despite women taking up the breadwinners' role, the decision-making power for the family rests heavily on men. Women's autonomy is also undermined by the lack of equal pay, discriminatory practices, and the undervaluing of women's work. Furthermore, the feminisation of migration puts women into triple burden. In the case of Curut village, women are expected to provide for their family and act as breadwinners by paying off the family debt, while providing care work for the children and house work.

c. Violence Against Women

"There are a lot of problems; not only that, but my husband also cheated on me, and it hurts me more because I'm already facing other problems."

"So, there are some women who are migrant workers due to experiencing domestic violence. So they fled by going abroad."

Violence against women is another push factor for migration for the women in Curut. From their testimonies above, some women migrated to escape domestic violence from their husbands.

d. Climate Change and Land Resource

"Because we do not have land, it is even harder to grow our own crops, and with the erratic weather, even planting fruits like melon and watermelon are difficult. We also notice that the soil has been mixed with chemicals, too."

Climate change has greatly affected the harvest seasons in Curut village. Frequent flooding during the rainy season and the absence of water during the dry season resulted in crop failures. Before these changes, the people of Curut village could harvest crops in their fields three times a year. At present, with the erratic weather, harvest seasons are only possible twice a year.

In addition, pest disorders also contribute to crop failure. Land damage due to excessive use of pesticides or chemical fertilisers contribute to poor harvests too. Every year, the amount of harvested goods decreases. With the decline in crop yields, the residents of Curut also felt a decline in quality and quantity of economic benefits to the farmers.

With the impact on agriculture, the majority of the Curut villagers who are working as farmers and farm labourers, especially women, eventually had to choose labour migration as an alternative solution to sustaining their livelihoods.

Challenges in the Recruitment Processes

a. The role of sponsors in women's recruitment

One of the trends in recruiting women migrant workers in Curut Village is to go through agents or 'sponsors'. A 'sponsor' is someone who offers services to manage all processes before and during migration abroad. Sponsors usually visit the homes of residents to offer them jobs abroad. These offers come with a promise of high salaries, light work, good employers, bonuses in the form of jewellery or other materials. Sponsors also provide a sum of IDR 2-4 million as pocket money for women who would take the job offer using their services.

Sponsors who visit the women in Curut are from the nearby villages. Sometimes sponsors are using their networks and their familiarity with people around the villages to get access to women in the households. In recruiting prospective migrant workers, women are often lured with promises of good employers and working conditions, and in most cases, sponsors fail to provide the real scenario in the country of destination. A lot of sponsors may not have the actual information nor the intent to provide accurate information to workers. Sponsors never talked about the actual situations at the work place, the rights of migrant workers, or how to make migration safe and fair for women workers.

"... I was convinced after hearing the offer of getting pocket money, huge salary, smart employer, light work, and other bonuses."

b. Document falsification

All participants in the research had their documents falsified when they worked abroad. The recruitment agencies falsify their age, work experiences, and address. When a document is falsified, the sponsor and PT do not submit the risk issue. Oftentimes, women migrant workers have never thought about checking their documents whether or not it has been tampered.

"...at the time of migrating to Saudi Arabia my letter was fake, and my document was falsified by the agent. My age was increased by 3 years. They then discovered that my documents were fake when my passport was rejected at the emigration system. I wanted to re-migrate to Hong Kong, but in order to be able to work, I had to change all my original data which I could simply not afford."

c. Contract signing

From the 25 women migrant workers, 5 had their contracts in English and the rest received their contracts in Bahasa. They were deployed to Hong Kong and Taiwan. However, all of the women felt that they had signed the work agreements in a hurry. There was no time to carefully review the contracts because they received them from the company shortly before boarding their flights. The company only gave instructions to read the employer's name, the employer's address and the job description. As a result, the women were not able to get other important information in the contract, including their salary rates.

“... I don't know what the contents of the contract were, because the signing was done in a rush.”

“We were told that the most important thing to know is to have the employer's name and address, and our work tasks.”

d. Access to safe spaces and information on migration

Women make the decision to migrate without proper information about the migration process. With the lack access of information about migration, women are unaware of the complexities prior to and during migration. There is no forum or meetings that share information about safe migration, the rights of migrant workers, etc. Through the FPAR process, women migrant returnees saw the importance of creating a space for women to discuss about their rights as migrant workers and to talk about the cycle of migration.

e. Lack of access to information about the rights of migrant workers

Among the returnee women who were interviewed, the duration of stay in the centre varied from one month to nine months.

Based on their experience, information about the rights of migrant workers was not provided while at the centre. In fact, information on policies regarding the protection of migrant workers and the State's accountability towards the constituents are also not covered in any training programme.

“nothing was said about the rights of women migrant workers”

f. Inadequate services in training centres

Language barrier is one of the challenges faced by many migrant workers when working abroad. Incidents of abuse and violence occur because of miscommunication due to language barriers. This has resulted in verbal and physical abuse, and in some cases, wage cuts as a penalty.

Language classes in training centers provide very basic and often times irrelevant information for migrant workers in the destination country.

“From the research, we found out that there are no standard days set for pre-departure trainings. Although there is a recommended process by the government, it is usually not followed by the recruitment agencies. In many cases, the companies compromise their practice.”

Women also experience inadequate services when it comes to proper facilities and services while in the training centre. Women complained about the conditions of the living quarters, poor sanitation, lack of bathing facilities, and insufficient food and water.

Shelter is a place used to prepare and train prospective migrant workers before working abroad. The shelter is operated by a private sector responsible for the placement of Indonesian workers as government business partners (national policy, Law No. 39 of 2004 concerning the placement and protection of Indonesian workers abroad). In the recruitment process, trainings in holding centers,

departures, placing workers abroad and even returning, the State surrenders everything to the private sector, in this case referred to as PTKIS (Private Indonesian Manpower Organizers) appointed by the government as its partners.

At the Shelter, prospective migrant workers receive training for 3 months. 4 days a week, learn about languages. 1 day a week, learn about skills. Like cooking, how to use a washing machine, etc. While the remaining 2 days for gymnastics and holidays. Some are only in shelters for 1 month. Maximum in a shelter for 9 months. Prospective migrant workers who are in the shelter for 1 month, they get education for 3 weeks. So, prospective migrant workers who are only in shelters for 1 month only get language training for 4 days x 3 weeks = 12 days. Of course, 12 days is very lacking when working abroad. Whereas the old prospective migrant workers in the shelter, usually do nothing. The reason from private sector, they stayed at the shelter was because they waited for a visa and waited for an employer in the destination country.

in addition, facilities at the shelter are also very minimal. one shelter can contain hundreds or even thousands of prospective migrant workers. however, the bathroom provided is not more than 10 pieces. so when they bathe, they bathe 10-15 women together.

The costs of prospective migrant workers during the shelter are borne by themselves. The fee is taken from the salary received each month. For the most part, salaries are deducted for 9 months to cover costs during the training process at the shelter. In fact, there is a salary cut for 1 year by the private sector. In financing, the private sector never submits details that must be released during the process at the shelter.

Rights Violations at the Workplace

a. Violence against women (VAW)

Returnee women from Saudi Arabia shared that to some extent they all went through sexual violence while at work; for example, exposure to sex shows or pornography, attempted rape, and sexual harassment.

S and D experienced sexual harassment from their male employers every day for a year. Sexual harassment ranges from being touched, kissed, hugged, forced exposure to genitals and pornographic films, and attempted rape.

Excerpts from women's testimonies:

"he opened his clothes and showed his penis.." "suddenly he kissed me", "he would rape me.."

"We experienced harassment from the company officers. They usually target women who they think are still virgins"

"VAW occurs with all women migrant workers. It can be physical, psychological and economic."

When asked how they reacted against violence and harassment, most women shared they did not fight against their employers due to the fear of losing their jobs and income. Nevertheless, even

those who had the courage and determination to report to agents or to the Indonesian Embassy, their efforts were in vain. The agents and the Indonesian Embassy only told them to be patient.

As this was the first time sharing their difficulties while working abroad, many could not hide their emotions. Their families are unaware of the hardships. At first, when participants started sharing their experiences with regard to sexual violence, they felt embarrassed and reluctant to share, but as they opened up, they expressed anger and started crying uncontrollably.

b. Salary cuts

Women migrant workers experience unfair treatment whenever their employers impose salary cuts without consulting or hearing their side of the story. Any damages to property even though it was not directly done by the migrant worker would be deducted from their salaries. R for example said she always had salary deductions when her employer's child would break something inside the household. This happened when she worked in Hong Kong as a domestic worker.

c. No day off

Returnee women from Taiwan and Arab countries shared that they were not given the right to take a one day off per week. They also had to do overtime work without additional compensation.

d. Prohibited to observe religious practices

In Hong Kong and Taiwan, women migrant workers were not allowed to pray and fast. All women working there were prohibited from exercising their right to practice their religion. Employers think of superstitious beliefs whenever workers would wear the *mukena* (the veil). However, women regard wearing the veil as a political statement. Some domestic workers were not allowed to practice fasting during Ramadan or other religious festivals, because employers were worried that this will have an effect on the work and health of the domestic worker.

According to the experience of SQ when she fasted, she was severely scolded by her employer and was then forced to eat in front of her employer. When she took time-off to pray, the employer threatened to cut her salary.

"My employer said, wearing mukena is scary, like a dead person. And if she finds out I take some time off to pray, I usually get scolded."

"When I was fasting at that time, the employer scolded and forced me to eat before him. He said, he won't let me die. I'm stupid already just by fasting..."

Other problems faced by women migrant workers include high workload, and prohibition from freedom of assembly.

Upon Return to Indonesia

Women shared that they have mixed feelings when returning back to their communities. They said it can be even more challenging for victims of labour violations or those who experienced physical, psychological, and sexual violence. This is due to the general perception within in the Curut community that migration brings only positive experiences and success to migrant workers and their families. It is hardly known that abuse and violence are also happening. Those who experience challenges within their migration are unwilling to disclose these negative experiences including exploitation and violence for fear of stigma.

“I was embarrassed to tell my family about the salary deductions while I was working abroad. The image and expectations from working people abroad is positive, we are believed to receive a lot of money which could improve the family's economic situation.”

a. Returning personal documents to returnee migrants

After coming back to Indonesia, some companies delay the release of personal documents such as ID card, Family Card and Educational certificates. Because of the delay some women were forced to file new documents while others did not pursue in claiming the documents.

b. Insurance money

It is a good practice that the insurance could be claimed upon return to Indonesia. As experienced by M, she was able to claim her health insurance.

“It could be claimed after coming back home, I got 9 millions rupiah for 3 years working in Taiwan.”

The employer is responsible for paying the employee's health insurance through salary deductions. But many women migrant workers are not aware that they have health insurance from their salary cut every month. It was because the company did not give any information about the health insurance.

c. Financing the return cost

One of the additional burdens faced by women migrant workers is financing their travel expenses when they decide to return to Indonesia.

d. Lack of work opportunities in source communities

Returnee migrant women face the same conditions as when they left Curut Village. Women shared that they don't want to return abroad for work but if there are no ways of making a living in the village then they may have to go again overseas.

Safe and Fair Migration Redefined

With the FPAR process, the women had the opportunity to discuss their own experiences and knowledge around “safe” and “fair” migration. The group came out with the following definition of what safe and fair migration would mean:

Safe

- *Access to services which process authentic travel documents*
- *Access to legal channels for labour migration*
- *Access to social protection and other benefits*
- *Getting the salary as per the agreed contract*
- *Having good recruitment practices from pre-departure till after return*
- *Access to important information, i.e. telephone number of Indonesian embassy*
- *Exercise the right to take time off and holidays*
- *Access to communication with the family*
- *To have laws and policies in place which protect women migrant workers*

Fair

- *Decent working conditions and proper salary*
- *Upholding the right to be respected and treated with dignity*
- *Access to social and medical services*
- *Access to decent living conditions and work facilities*
- *Able to keep personal and travel documents during the entire contract period*
- *Access to the justice system by the State*
- *Freedom from discrimination and rights violations*

Recommendations

Below are suggestions from the returnee woman migrant workers for other women migrant workers, potential migrants, agents and recruitment companies, government and NGOs:

a. For potential women migrant workers

Part of the decision-making process during pre-migration is to have open communication with the immediate family members. This is due to the current regulations in Indonesia which involves seeking permission and sharing information with the family of the migrant worker. This is done to build communication and establish a point person in the family in case of emergency. In addition, the family also wants to ensure that the condition of women while working abroad is safe and secure.

There were several cases in the past where the family had no knowledge of the woman’s whereabouts for many years. The family members had no other information about the work, the name of the employer or the working conditions in the country of destination.

During the recruitment phase, women advised that it is better to look for a recruitment agency which is licensed by the government. With this, women will not have problems with fake or falsified travel documents and agents who will take advantage of their situation. Further, women should also gather more information from the local labour agency.

b. For women migrant workers

Women migrant workers who face abuse and violence would likely run away from their employers. The research participants encouraged women migrants to keep to their contract and not to run away from the employers. However, if they are faced with circumstances where their safety is at risk and they have no options to seek help, then running away can be one of the options.

Some of the women advised to avoid any problems at work. Some of the examples given include having stay-in guests at the employer's house without prior permission, doing part time work that may violate the current contract, unauthorised selling of goods, theft, etc. They also highlighted the need to observe the rules and customs of the country of destination. It is also essential to carry their documents while outside and to ensure that they have the contact details of the Indonesian Embassy at all times. For many migrant workers, belonging to a collective or an organisation was also seen as beneficial.

c. For the recruitment companies

The women advised that recruitment companies or agents should have legitimate registration from the government and that they should have greater responsibility of the whole recruitment process from pre-departure until the safe return of migrant workers. Women also raised the concern that companies and agents must provide information about the rights of migrant workers and to create a database of workers.

d. For the government

Effective implementation of existing laws and policies will help protect and uphold the rights of women migrant workers. This effort will also eradicate the operations of unlicensed recruitment agencies and agents who take advantage of the situation of women. Furthermore, it will also provide better services and prompt action to claim for justice and compensation for victims. It is also the state's accountability to ensure that women migrant workers will have access to safe migration and decent work. At the same time, the government must also provide adequate opportunities for livelihood and access to training programs in source communities.

Reflection of the Researchers on the FPAR Process

Lesson Learnt

1. Language diversity

A lot of learning was gained when we conducted FPAR with women returnee migrant workers in Curut village. We knew beforehand about language diversity, especially of Javanese language. For example, they used the word “delik” in the village whereas in Semarang the word would be “ngumpet”, etc. The differences between words made us confused when discussing with the women migrant workers. Even though it was an obstacle for us, we handled it well and learnt a lot about the meaning and use of different words.

We did our best to speak the language that is used in the village instead of the Javanese language that we always use in Semarang, and we also used more everyday words. In this way, women migrant workers could understand us better. Still, sometimes it was challenging to understand some of the questions that women asked.

2. Practicing gender-sensitivity

We learnt about managing our expectations when conducting the FPAR sessions. During the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) there were many participants who had to bring their children during the sessions. Sometimes the process was disrupted due to the activities and calls for attention by the children. We think it is important to exercise gender sensitivity when organising activities especially when involving women in the communities. We had to be friendly and respond to any conversation or questions asked by the mothers of Curut village.

3. Access and trust by the community

During the initial FPAR process we also learnt how to be accepted by the Curut village community. We learnt to establish good communication and gained the trust among the people there, especially of the women migrant workers.

We also learnt that we should set aside our identity as researchers and just naturally engage with women migrant workers. We placed ourselves in a position where we learnt from our experiences and made them our teachers. We were also mindful of the clothes we wear and followed the example of the community women. We dressed up simply, respecting the local traditions within the community.

Life in the village encouraged us to reflect about the sense of community and value of life. In the village, people are friendly, and there is mutual cooperation and assistance. Villagers appreciate what is available, they have a simple lifestyle, and they buy only what is needed. Some of these values can be learnt from the FPAR process with women migrant workers in Curut Village.

Insights by the researchers

1. Increased knowledge about migration through the experiences of migrant workers

We lived at the house of Ms. Rus, who is a migrant worker from Curut village, and we gained lots of new knowledge and experience. Through the FGDs, we observed that women face many forms of human rights violations and they occur in every stage of migration.

The conditions in recruitment centres are also worrying with the lack of proper facilities, access to good sanitation and services, which speaks to the poor treatment of migrant workers prior to migration. And with the absence of useful information and training programmes to benefit workers, many migrant workers will continue to face challenges in countries of destination. We also note that importance of listening to the experiences of women migrant workers upon their return to Indonesia. Oftentimes, many of the challenges women face do not end when they arrive back home. The struggles for justice, having a better life, and opportunities for alternative livelihood in the community remain a challenge in Curut Village.

2. Data gathering and validation with the women migrants

During the data gathering process, the researchers from Women Migrant Curut Community noticed some gaps in the results of the initial data collection and the series of 9 FGDs. It was only on the 10th and 11th FGD sessions that this information was reviewed and clarified with the participants. This was made possible through the increased knowledge and capacity of the local researchers to be able to identify the gaps in the information.

We also noticed the building of trust and openness among the research participants when they talked about the rights violations in the work place. Some women shared the details of their case in the last FGD session. Through the FPAR process, women's understanding of concept of safety and fairness within their migration experience were reflected from the practical examples and recommendations that women identified.

This set of recommendations to different stakeholders will be made available in a flyer and will be distributed to prospective migrant workers at the Manpower Office.

Annex 1:

Profile of the research participants:

#	Name (pseudonym ok) and age	Education status / current occupation	Destination Country/ years of migration	Occupation	Remarks
1	Rudiyem, 46 years old	Elementary school / housewife	Saudi Arabia/ departed in 1997 and returned in 2004 (7 yrs)	Domestic worker	17 years old when she migrated
2	Suciati, 44 yo	Elementary school/farmer	Saudi Arabia/ departed in 2001 and returned in 2011 (10 yrs)	Domestic worker	15 years old when she migrated
3	Yuli, 30	Elementary school/farmer	Saudi Arabia/ 2010-2014 (4yrs)	Domestic worker	16 years old when she migrated
4	Suti, 51	Elementary school/farmer	Saudi Arabia/ 1998-2013 (15 yrs)	Domestic worker	35 years old when she migrated
5	Darwati, 39	Elementary school/vegetable seller	Saudi Arabia/2007-2013 (6 yrs)		16 years old when she migrated
6	Suliyem, 56	Elementary school/seller?	Saudi Arabia/ 1993-2010 (17 yrs)		30 years old when she migrated
7	Harni, 47	Elementary school/farmer	Saudi Arabia/ 1997-2016 (19 yrs)		17 years old when she migrated
8	Lian, 32	Junior high school/ will remigrate to HK	Hong Kong / 2014-2016		27 years old when she migrated
9	Siti, 42	Senior high school/online shop	Taiwan/ 2006-2016		29 years old when she migrated
10	Pujiwati, 29	Junior high school / seller ?	Taiwan / 2007-2013		17 years old when she migrated
11	Ruswati, 36	Junior high school/entrepreneur	Hong Kong / 2000-2010		16 years old when she migrated
12	Jurohmi, 53	Elementary school/farmer	Saudi Arabia/ 2002-2015		36 years old when she migrated
13	Siti Oonah'ah, 32	Elementary school/	Saudi Arabaia (2003) and HK /		19 years old when she migrated

		housewife	returned in 2016		
14	Erna, 34	Junior high school/ will re-migrate to Singapore	Singapore / 2004-2018		18 years old when she migrated
15	Siti Handayani, 34	Junior high school / house wife	Saudi Arabia/ 2005-2011		20 years old when she migrated
16	Sri, 34	Junior high school/ seller?	Saudi Arabia (2005) and HK / returned in 2016		25 years old when she migrated
17	Murtini	Junior high school/ is working in HK	Hong Kong / 1998-2017		16 years old when she migrated
18	Endang	Jnior high school/ housewife	Hong Kong / 2010-2018		16 years old when she migrated
19	Musirah	? / houswife			
20	Wiji	Junior high school/ housewife	Taiwan/ 2009-2015		
21	Kiswati	? / farmer	Taiwan / 2009-2015		
22	Sutarmi	Junior high school /seller?	Singapore		
23	Suntari	Junior high school/ farmer	Saudi Arabia / worked for 17 years		17 years old when she migrated
24	Narmi	? / farmer	Malysia / 2016-2018		
25	Sutiyem	Elementary school/ farmer	Saudi Arabia/ 2017-2013		31 years old when she migrated
26	Rusmini	Elementary school/ farmer	Saudi Arabia / 2006-2010		30 years old when she migrated
27	Sumarni	Elementary school / seller	Saudi Arabia / 2003-2006		17 years old when she migrated
28	Nur Hidayati	Junior high school / housewife	Hong Kong (2000)and Bahrain / returned in 2016		17 years old when she migrated
29	Masirah	Elementary school/ housewife	Arab Saudi (1999 – 2005)		16 years old when she migrated

