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FUTURE STAYING PREFERENCES OF YOUTH MIGRANTS: CASE OF SLEMAN DISTRICT, SPECIAL REGION OF YOGYAKARTA¹

(*PREFERENSI TEMPAT TINGGAL MIGRAN MUDA DI MASA DEPAN: KASUS KABUPATEN SLEMAN, PROVINSI DI YOGYAKARTA*)

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Abstrak

Data Sensus Penduduk 2010 menunjukkan sekitar 30 persen migran internal di Indonesia berumur 15-24 tahun. Di antara mereka, terdapat kelompok migran muda yang pindah dengan tujuan untuk menempuh pendidikan tinggi. Kajian dinamika spasial migran muda setelah mereka menyelesaikan jenjang pendidikan tinggi diperlukan, sebab keberadaan mereka di suatu wilayah dapat menggambarkan kesempatan ekonomi dan investasi yang tersedia. Studi ini menganalisis data survei 'Migrasi Penduduk Usia Muda di Indonesia' oleh P2 Kependudukan LIPI (2016) di Kabupaten Sleman, Provinsi DI Yogyakarta, salah satu daerah tujuan utama migrasi untuk menempuh pendidikan tinggi. Kajian ini menemukan sekitar sepertiga migran muda ingin tetap tinggal di kota tempat mereka bermukim saat ini, sedangkan sisanya berniat untuk bermigrasi kembali ke daerah asal ataupun menuju daerah baru. Karakteristik demografi dan atribut kewilayahan para migran tersebut memiliki keterkaitan dengan pilihan tempat tinggal migran muda di masa mendatang. Temuan studi ini juga memperlihatkan bahwa motivasi utama preferensi utama tujuan migrasi selanjutnya oleh para migran berpendidikan ini berdasarkan pada situasi pasar kerja, ikatan sosial, dan fasilitas perkotaan.

Kata Kunci: *migran pendidikan, penduduk usia muda, preferensi tempat tinggal*

Abstract

The 2010 Indonesia census report shows that about 30 percent of the internal migrant population belongs to youths aged between 15 and 24 years old. A substantial proportion of the young migrants moves to pursue tertiary education. It is important to examine the spatial dynamics of the graduate youth migrants since their presence in an area can represent the provision of economic opportunity as well as acceleration of economic growth and investment. This study analysed data from the 'Youth Migration in Indonesia' survey by the Research Center for Population, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (2016) which was conducted in Sleman district, Special Region of Yogyakarta, one of the prominent destination areas for college student migrants within Indonesia. It is found that about one-third of the migrants intend to remain in their current residential city, and the rest express their intention to re-migrate, either returning to their hometowns or moving to new areas. The demographic and spatial attributes of the youths of the migrants are related to their future staying preferences. The findings also suggest that critical motivations for future migration by the educated migrants are employment situations, social ties, and urban facilities.

Keywords: educational migrant, youth, staying preference

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INTRODUCTION

A 2010 census report shows that about 30 percent of the migrant population in Indonesia belongs to the 15-24 age group (Statistics Indonesia, 2012). A large proportion of these youth migrants moves for continuing education to a higher degree. Lack of educational opportunities has been suggested as the primary reason to move out from their hometowns (Eacott & Sonn, 2006; Easthope & Gabriel, 2008). Moreover, a study by Eacott & Sonn (2006) adds the importance of cultural factors on youth's decision to migrate. This situation is particularly prevalent in communities that highly valued the migration culture. Similarly, another study by Easthope & Gabriel (2008) reveals that many adolescents' decision to migrate were affected by their surroundings' assumption that those who able to live elsewhere are 'the best and the brightest' among their peers.

This type of migration will result in the growth of educated people as well as human capital development in the areas of destination (Franklin, 2003; Faggian & McCann, 2009; Winters, 2011). Yet, this gain can be lost if these young migrants move out after completing their study. While some students might stay in their destination cities, Winters (2011) argues that others might choose to return home. Besides that, many graduate migrants might choose to move to new locations.

Graduate migrants have more options in deciding where to stay after earning their tertiary degree. It is because they already have knowledge, skills and academic degrees in their current areas of destination that can help them to access various career possibilities. Their previous migration experiences also enable them to build personal connections (e.g. friends, prospective employers, communities) that can help them to reduce costs needed when they enter labour markets (Coniglio & Prota, 2008). Besides that, migration for pursuing tertiary education should be considered as a human capital upgrading process that can improve the migrants' employability after they graduated (Benneworth & Herbst, 2015).

The decision for the subsequent migration is primarily related to the migrants' aspirations and plans. As suggested by Sweeney Research (2009), young people's choices on staying locations after graduate highly depend on their expectations on economic opportunities at some places. Furthermore, subsequent movements by the graduate migrants will have impacts for both origin and destination regions. For the areas of origin, this situation signals the loss of human capital with high educational qualification. This case is usually viewed as

a drag on regional development. In the meantime, the presence of graduate in-migrants in the destination areas will increase the number of educated individuals in destination areas that simultaneously accelerates the regions' economic growth. Since the accumulation of graduate migrants in an area may indicate the provision of economic opportunity and the potential for development acceleration (Franklin, 2003), the graduates' spatial movement can have significant impacts on human development across regions in Indonesia.

Thus, it is important to examine the subsequent spatial dynamics of the student migrants once they graduated. Similar studies had been conducted on this topic. For example, Gibbs (2000) used the US National Longitudinal Survey data to study the migration behavior of college graduates from a 1979 cohort. Meanwhile, Faggian & McCann (2009) examined the first occupation of university graduates in British regions and its spatial distributions. Furthermore, Corcoran, Faggian, & McCann (2010) analyzed the inter-state movements of university graduates in Australia and Winters (2011) utilized the US census data to explore the behavior of recent youth migrants. Yet, there has been a dearth of research on the graduate migration issue in Indonesia.

In order to address the gap in knowledge on this issue in this country, this study intends to address the staying preferences of the graduate migrants and factors that affect their preferred future staying locations. Moreover, this study serves as a basis for the efforts to overcome the human development disparity in Indonesia. In particular, the findings of the study are expected to support local government in formulating policies to retain and attract highly educated populations to their regions.

DATA AND METHOD

This study analysed data from findings in the research of 'Youth Migration in Indonesia' conducted by the Research Centre for Population, Indonesian Institute of Sciences in 2016. The research collected data on youth migration dynamics in Sleman district, Yogyakarta Special Region province. This region is one of the prominent destination areas for college student migrants within Indonesia. As reported by Statistics Indonesia (2016), about 40 percent recent migrants to Sleman was motivated by educational reasons. This situation is supported by the presence of about 40 tertiary institutions in this area, and many of them are considered as prestigious universities in Indonesia.

Youth migrants in this study were defined as those aged 15-24 years old at the time they migrated to study in tertiary educational institutions in Sleman and their movements from their last district of residence were during the past five years. The total number of youth migrants for educational purposes sampled in this survey was 160, chosen by the quota sampling method.

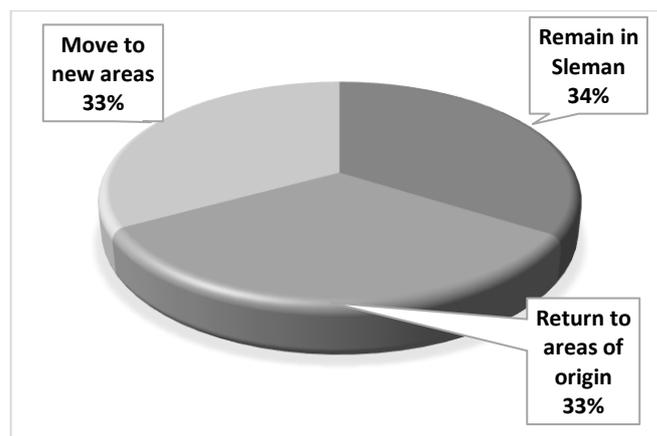
The data for this study were gathered through structured questionnaires that comprise of both close-ended and open-ended questions. The close-ended questions identify the respondents' demographic backgrounds and the spatial dimensions of their migration history, while the open-ended questions explore the respondents' reasons, opinions, and aspirations regarding their previous, current, and prospective future spatial movements.

The focus of this study is to understand the linkage between the profile of the young educational migrants and their preferences of future residences by applying a descriptive quantitative method. This article examines the significance of the relationship between migrants' staying preferences and their demographic backgrounds as well as the spatial aspects of their previous movements by applying bivariate analysis, i.e. chi-square test to determine whether these factors are statistically related. Furthermore, the influences of youths' aspirations on their subsequent migrations plans are analyzed by using the answers to the open-ended questions in the survey.

FUTURE STAYING PREFERENCES BY GRADUATE MIGRANT

After completing their graduate degrees, young migrants have to decide in which areas they will stay afterward. Thus, the survey asked 'where do you want to stay in the next five years' to the respondents to reveal their plan on possible subsequent movements. As shown in Figure 1, there are similar proportions of those who chose to remain in their current city, return to their areas of origin, and move to new areas. This situation implies nearly equal distribution regarding residential regions of the migrants in the future. Moreover, it can be seen that there is a substantial proportion of those who prefer to leave their current residences (66 percent) after they graduated, either to previous or new areas. However, as suggested by Winters (2011), the student migrants' current city will still gain gain additional numbers of highly educated individuals due to graduates' preferences to stay permanently in the city.

Figure 1. Distribution of respondents by future staying preferences, Sleman District, 2016 (%)



Source: Survey by P2K-LIPI, 2016

It is also important to understand that their aspirations on future staying regions are not fixed. The changes in their future place of residences can take place along with the enhancement of their knowledge and information, the economic opportunities in various areas, as well as other personal reasons.

Various factors could play a role in forming the youths' preferences on their future residential. Table 1 shows the result of chi-square test of the relationship between the youth migrants' future staying preferences and their socio-demographic characteristics as well as the spatial aspects of their previous migration.

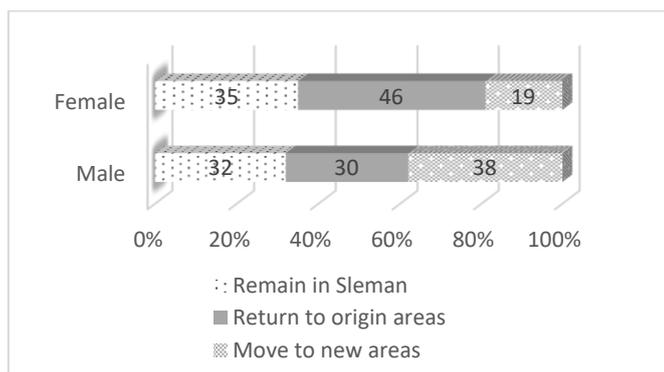
Table 1. Chi-square test of future staying preferences and respondents' demographic characteristics & spatial dimension of their migration

Respondents' characteristics	Future staying preferences	
	X ²	p-value
Sex	6.7186	0.035
Ethnicity	14.0269	0.007
Migration experience	0.3163	0.854
Distance to previous residential	17.9620	0.006
Length of stay in Sleman	1.8630	0.761

Source: Survey by P2K-LIPI, 2016

It can be seen that socio-demographic factors such as sex and ethnicity have significant relationships with the young migrants' plans (both p-values ≤0.05). In terms of sex, the chi-square test shows a significant difference in residential preferences of male and female respondents. Furthermore, the proportion distribution between these two variables is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Distribution of respondents by sex dan future staying preferences, Sleman District, 2016 (%)



Source: Survey by P2K-LIPI, 2016

It is noticeable that in both female and male respondent groups, around a third of each group intend to settle permanently in Sleman. Also, nearly a half of female respondents (46 percent) voiced their intentions to return home in the next five years, while only 30 percent of the male respondents who would like to re-migrate to their areas of origin. Interestingly, the proportion of male respondents who prefer to move to a new area are twice the proportion of female respondents who express similar aspirations.

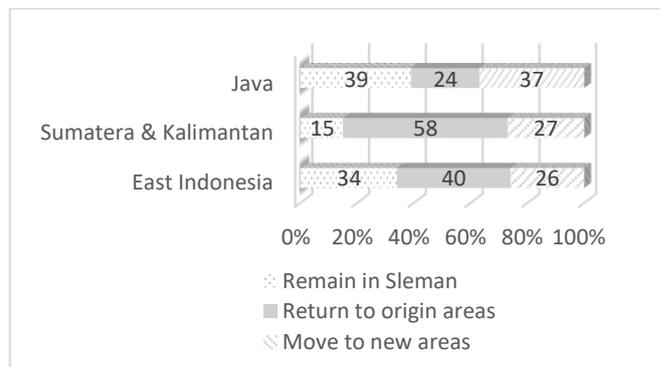
It can be said that the majority of female respondents may put more consideration on the existence of strong social ties in determining their subsequent movements. As expressed by many female respondents in the survey, they prefer to stay near to their family members and closest friends. Besides that, the familiarity with the local communities also affects the migrants' choices of staying places in the future. Therefore, most of them choose to remain in the current district or return to their hometowns. However, more male respondents might be eager to experience new living environments. They are willing to take the risk of moving into a new place with different environments and cultural backgrounds. Thus, nearly 40 percent of them express their intentions to move elsewhere.

The cultural backgrounds of the young migrants are also associated with their preferences for future migration. The survey found a vast cultural diversity of the young migrants who study in Sleman. Although about a half of them are Javanese, the rest varies from Batak, Melayu, Sunda, Betawi, Flores, Bugis, to Papua. Thus, this study categorized the respondents' ethnic backgrounds into three major categories, i.e. Java, Sumatera and Kalimantan, as well as East Indonesia.

As the chi-square tests in Table 1 show the significant relationship between ethnicity and the future aspirations of the young migrants, Figure 3 illustrates the various

patterns of future staying locations among the young migrants from the three different ethnic groups.

Figure 3. Distribution of respondents by ethnicity and future staying preferences, Sleman District, 2016 (%)



Source: Survey by P2K-LIPI, 2016

Nearly 40 percent of respondents of Java ethnic prefer to remain in Sleman after they graduate from their current academic degrees. This situation could be attributed to the assumption that this district shares similar cultural background and living environment with their hometowns. As suggested by Magnan, Gauthier, & Cote (2007) and Venhorst (2013), the youth migrants' familiarity to an area would affect their choices of migration destinations. In addition, about 37 percent of Javanese respondents also express their intentions to move to new areas. However, their choices of new destination areas are more likely to be to other areas in Java Island. Therefore, they might encounter similar living environments with their current residence as well as their areas of origin when they decide to move out to new regions.

The reason of regional familiarity could also explain a considerable proportion of those of Sumatera and Kalimantan ethnics' background as well as those of East Indonesia ethnics' background who plan to return to their areas of origin, nearly 60 percent and 40 percent respectively. For them, their movements for pursuing higher educational degrees could be a response solely to the lack of educational opportunities in their areas of origin. Once they graduate and earn their degree, they choose to go back to their hometowns, where most of all their family members and relatives have stayed.

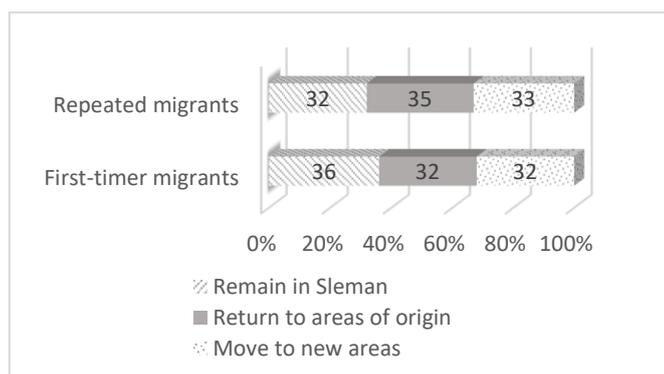
Interestingly, while only 15 percent of the respondents with Sumatera & Kalimantan ethnics' backgrounds prefer to stay permanently in Sleman, about a third of the respondents with East Indonesia ethnics' backgrounds choose to remain in their current city in the next five years. A substantial proportion of those from East Indonesia areas that chose to stay in a long period

in Sleman could indicate the existence of strong social networks with local people in Sleman that retain them to remain in the area. Alternatively, their aspirations to remain in Sleman may also depict the situation of the availability of life opportunities in this city that can support these migrants' aspirations. As suggested by the respondents, some of them plan to take a further education as well as look for work in this city after they finished their current study.

It is also important to notice that more than a fourth of non-Javanese respondents would like to move to new areas. This situation could reflect the characteristics of young people from specific ethnic groups who eager to explore new areas and can easily adapt to different living environments. They may also equip themselves with sufficient information about the new areas. Thus, their decisions on the new migration destinations have already considered the economic opportunities or lifestyles that suit their future needs and aspirations.

Previous studies on the issue of youth migration's dynamics have shown the relationships between previous migration behaviour and the tendency to re-migrate, either to return to hometowns or to move to new areas. However, as seen in Figure 4, in terms of previous migration experience, the chi-square test shows an insignificant relationship ($p\text{-value} > 0.05$) between previous migration experiences with the migrants' staying options in the future.

Figure 4. Distribution of respondents by previous migration experience and future staying preferences, Sleman District, 2016 (%)

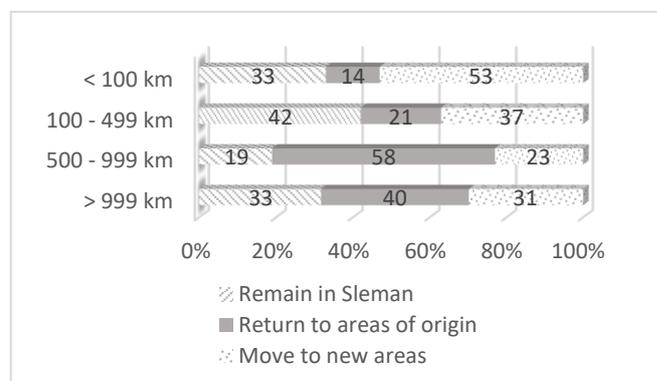


Source: Survey by P2K-LIPI, 2016

Alternatively, some earlier studies on youth migration emphasized the importance of preceding migration experience on the higher propensity and the further distance of subsequent movements of the educated young migrants (Faggian, McCann, & Sheppard, 2007; Easthope & Gabriel, 2008). However, in this study, the relationship is weak since a majority of the respondents (about 70 percent) are first-time migrants.

Furthermore, this study found a significant relationship ($p\text{-value} \leq 0.05$) between distances from the previous locations to the current residences and the young migrants' future staying preferences, as can be seen in Figure 5. As argued by Faggian et al. (2007), the subsequent movements by the young migrants are profoundly affected by the distances of their previous spatial movements. They suggest that the geographical distances between the current and future residential of the young migrants is a function of geographical distance between the current and previous residential city. Also, Faggian et al. (2007) reveal that the higher the geographical distance of the earlier migration, the higher the elasticity of the subsequent spatial movements in the future.

Figure 5. Distribution of respondents by distance to previous residential and future staying preferences, Sleman District, 2016 (%)

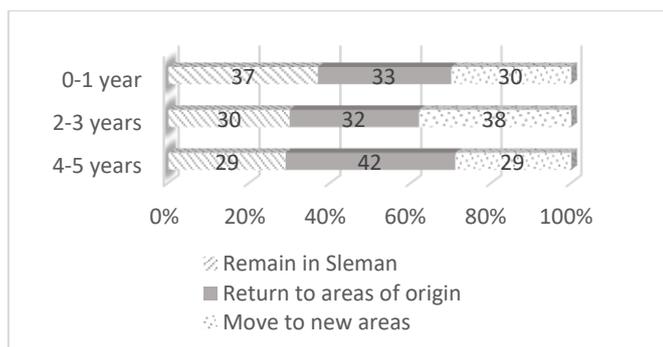


Source: Survey by P2K-LIPI, 2016

Findings of the study reveal that about a half of the respondents who originate from areas surrounding Sleman would prefer to move to new areas. In addition, a further examination shows that most of their future residential preferences are also in near distances with their current residences and areas of origin. The different situation can be found from the groups of those from farther areas (>500 kilometers) since most of them choose to return to their home regions. However, a nearly similar proportion of those who express their intentions to move to new areas can be seen from all distance groups.

Moreover, Busch & Weigert (2010) suggest that the migrants' staying duration in their current regions have a positive correlation to the intention to remain permanently in the regions. However, the chi-square test showed no significant relationship between the length of stay in Sleman and their future residential preferences ($p\text{-value} > 0.05$). As seen in Figure 6, this study found similar patterns of future residential choices among those who just lived in Sleman for less than a year, for 1 to 3 years, and for more than three years.

Figure 6. Distribution of respondents by length of stay in current residence and future staying preferences, Sleman District, 2016 (%)



Source: Survey by P2K-LIPI, 2016

It is assumed that the longer the staying duration in current city, the stronger social attachment of the migrants to the local communities as well as to the region itself. However, the findings of the study imply that this situation may not have a prominent role in differentiating subsequent movements of graduate migrants.

TYOLOGY OF FUTURE RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES

The young migrants would encounter several pathways such as entering the labor force, continuing to higher education degree, changing marital status, or combination of those paths once they finish their graduate degree. As explained in the previous section, about a third of the respondents in the survey express their intentions to remain in Sleman, another third plan to move back to their areas of origin, and the rest prefer to migrate to new areas of destination.

The further examination of the reasons behind their choices of future staying preferences in the next five years reveals various consideration related to the young migrants' views on different pathways that they would like to take. As suggested by Echeverria (2011), the critical influences to their strategy include their general apprehensions toward some areas, the young migrants' life targets, and their social ties to particular regions or communities. Furthermore, based on the answers of the open-ended questions in the survey, this study comes up with four possible typologies of future residential patterns by the future graduate migrants, namely locally productive stayers, home returners, lifestyle migrants, and escalator migrants. In what follows, an elaboration about each typology is provided, accompanied by critical characteristics of each type.

Locally productive stayers

Among those who plan to remain in Sleman when they graduated within the next five years (34 percent of the respondents), a considerable proportion of them puts the main reasons for this option is they have built relationships with local employers and friends. They also have been quite familiar and enjoyed the facilities and services offered in the city. Such local knowledge will benefit the young migrants in supporting their future productive economic activities in this areas (Ramirez, Li & Chen, 2013). Similarly, as suggested by Winters (2011), these social capitals that they have gained during their migration periods can only be optimized if they remain to stay in their current location.

It is also found that some of those who prefer to stay in Sleman are the migrants who have thought about the possibility to become entrepreneurs. As indicated by several respondents in the survey who intend to remain in Sleman, they plan to run small or medium scale businesses in this city. According to Berry & Glaeser (2005), the young entrepreneur migrants have the lowest propensity to re-migrate. This situation could be attributed to the migrants' familiarity with the potential local markets for their future ventures. Besides that, their social integration to the local communities in current residence enables them to support their productive economic activities in the area.

Home returner

As discussed before, about 33 percent of respondents in this study intends to return to their previous staying locations. Those in this group are mainly the migrants who still maintain strong ties with their origin communities by visiting hometowns in regular basis (weekly or monthly) as well as developing frequent interactions with their left-behinds through phone/video calls and online social networking platforms. With the development of communication technology and transportation means nowadays, many migrants can still have high-intensity interaction with their left-behinds.

As suggested by Eacott & Sonn (2006), young migrants who have secure attachments to their hometowns and positive views on rural living express intentions to return to their areas of origin. Correspondingly, Marinelli (2011) argues that social networks have strong influence on the choices of destination areas by the graduate migrants rather than regional characteristics of both areas of origin and destination.

These prospective return migrants will play vital roles in the development processes of their areas of origin. As suggested by Pollard, O'Hare, & Berg (1990), it is

essential to get the graduate migrants to return to their areas of origin since the loss of well-educated inhabitants may slow down economic development in those areas. Thus, their return will enhance the human capital development in their hometowns. Although Gabriel (2006) argues that these return movements may be seen as a setback for the young migrants' career development, such cases are not found in this study. Otherwise, their status as graduates from another region is considered as an advantage when entering their home labour markets. Gibbs (2000) finds that those who return might earn higher pays than their colleagues in areas of origin did. Similarly, Magnan et al. (2007) argue that graduate migrants will consider living in their origin areas if the economic situations in those places can advantage them.

Lifestyle migrants

Another option for future staying preferences of the youth migrants is moving to new areas. As explained in the earlier section, about a third of the respondents in this study aspires to stay in different regions in the next five years. About a half of those in this group choose to move into areas that offer urban amenities. The choices to live in such regions in which they never studied nor lived in due to the desire to experience living in a new environment. Besides that, the migrants also mention city facilities and urban lifestyle as their primary reasons to choose particular big cities in Indonesia, such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, and Denpasar. A small portion of them also suggests cities abroad as their preferences for future residential. As argued by McKenzie (2009), some graduate migrants attracted to the lifestyle that offered by the major cities or metropolitan areas. Similarly, King, Lulle, Conti, Muller, & Scotto (2014) suggest that the attractions of big cities are not only on their working opportunities, but also on their lifestyle and cosmopolitan atmosphere.

Interestingly, regarding their educational backgrounds, many of them are studying in art and graphic design, information technology, as well as tourism and hospitality. Correspondingly, Ball (2015) finds that the graduate migrants that move to the big cities are most likely those who worked in professional and managerial jobs as well as in science and technology fields, finance industry and arts. Also, Sweeney Research (2009) suggests that many graduates believe it is an obligation to work in the big city although they feel more convenient to live in the countryside. The migrants argue that the work experience in the big city will get a higher appreciation in their career development.

Escalator migrants

While a part of those who prefer to move to new areas opt to move to big cities that offered urban amenities, another half of this group indicate future migration to new areas which are small cities, towns or peripheral regions. Their prime considerations of planning to move to such areas are the promising working opportunities. For them, it is also essential to work in the fields that similar to their educational backgrounds. As explained by Kazakis & Faggian (2017), many graduates use migration as a job-matching mechanism to optimize their return of education.

Thus, these intentions could lead them to move to escalator regions. As suggested by Fielding (1992), the escalator regions are those areas with suitable employment opportunities as well as promising track records for their future career development. Martel et al. (2013) add that these regions are usually far from metropolitan areas or major cities in a country, and sometimes could be remote areas or borderlands.

In Indonesia, these escalator regions include cities and towns in East Indonesia regions as well as mining areas in Kalimantan Island. Some of these future graduates have already specified their intended work companies. Other also mentioned the intention to participate in a government program of 'Graduate Teaching' to frontier, borderlands, and less developed areas that initiated by Ministry of Education. Similarly, Corcoran et al. (2010) reveal that some recent graduates might willing to take any job opportunities only to enter the workforce, although they might need to move to peripheral or remote areas for recent graduates. This situation, in particular, applied to the graduates with specialized skills, such as nurses, teachers, or mining engineers, are more likely to move to periphery or rural areas since they may gain more income advantage from government incentives to work at such places (McKenzie, 2009).

CONCLUSION

This paper aims to understand the nature of graduate migration in Indonesia, particularly in Sleman district. Although graduate migration has not been a significant part of population migration in this country, it is still important to understand this phenomenon, since this type of population flow can indicate the flows of highly educated individuals across regions in the country. The flows of the educated ones depict the flows of human capital, thus their decision to move out from one region to another would have substantial effects not only on the individual's capability but also on the economic profiles of both areas of origin and destination.

The findings of this study demonstrate the equal distribution of future staying preferences by the prospective graduate migrants. Several respondents' attributes such as sex, ethnicity, and distance from previous residential regions have significant correlations with the young migrants' future aspirations. While the nature of their prospective spatial movements could be complicated and still uncertain, the further examination on the reasons behind their preferred future staying location implies diverse narratives by the young migrants in choosing their subsequent staying regions.

While migrants, in general, are attracted to large cities or metropolitan areas due to the availability of economic opportunities and urban facilities, this study finds that the young migrants' preference for their future residential areas will also consider their social attachments and familiarity to specific areas. Some respondents also show interests to migrate to small cities, remote, and frontier regions since they believe this spatial movement could bring advantages to their career developments in the future. It can be said that social networks, economic opportunities, and lifestyle are the key-driven factors that play major roles in the subsequent movements of the graduate migrants.

This situation suggests that the uneven distribution of highly educated individuals across regions within Indonesia could be avoided by formulating regional development policies that will be able to attract and retain graduate in-migrants from other regions. The policies should not only shed lights on the development of economic opportunities, but also consider the advancement of consumption opportunities in the forms of local living amenities.

Despite its shortcomings, findings of this study are expected to contribute to the enrichment of the knowledge on the flows of highly educated people in Indonesia. Since the limitation of the data may hinder the research to have a comprehensive analysis of graduate migration in Indonesia, it is still important to call for other research on this subject in the future.

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