The concept of Brain drain in the city of Semarang, Indonesia

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Acknowledgement

During my Bachelor Geography, Planning and Environment I found out that Human Geography was the most interesting to me in comparison with planning and environment. The topics which interest me specifically are migration, mobility and globalisation. I find it interesting why people migrate and where they migrate to. After some investigation I found an earlier bachelor thesis from Laura Janssen, which caught my interest immediately. That research gave me the inspiration to design this research about brain drain.

This research is about the concept of brain drain in the context of Semarang, Indonesia. Brain drain is the migration of higher educated people to another city or country, mostly because of getting a better job or a better salary. This research will give an answer to whether brain drain is an issue in Semarang and which factors play an important role in the decision making. During my fieldwork in Semarang I met several people from Universitas Katolik Soegijapranata. They were very interested in helping me to get in contact with my respondents. Therefor I want to thank Oely Sidabalok for showing me around the university and helping me to get in contact with my respondents. Furthermore, I want to thank Lenny and Marcel from the career office at the university for helping me to get in contact with more respondents and specifically with respondents currently living in Jakarta. I really appreciate their efforts in helping me to find respondents, without them this research could not have been done.

I also want to thank my supervisor Lothar Smith for supporting me when I needed it and for helping me when I didn’t know what to do anymore. At last I want to thank Laura, who stayed with me during the fieldwork in Semarang, thanks to her my time in Semarang was unforgettable. It was an amazing experience to do fieldwork abroad and I am very grateful that I had that opportunity!

Nijmegen, 2018

Rowie van den Aker
Summary

Introduction
Brain drain is the concept of highly educated people migrating from a developing country towards a more developed country. This research will focus on the city of Semarang and will look at brain drain as the migration of higher educated people from the developing city of Semarang towards the more developed city of Jakarta. Semarang is a medium sized city on the island of Java in Indonesia.

Theory
Brain drain can be split up in several dimensions, an economic and social dimension. The economic dimension is about job and career opportunities and the salary. Those dimensions are stated as important decision-making factors, it is pull factors. The social dimension is about the current social life and the personal background. The current social life includes friends, communities and religious communities, those can be considered as reasons why respondents would want to stay in Semarang, it are keep factors. The personal background includes the influence of family and parents on the decision making. This is also seen as a keep factor, because respondents tend to stay in Semarang because of their family.

The decision has been made to use keep and repel factors instead of push and pull factors, because keep and repel factors are also about the personal motivation. This connects better with this research, because of the social focus.

The New Economic Labour Migration theory states that the main reason why people migrate is because of the shortage of possible investments, capital and social security. According to the NELM theory the decision to migrate is made, not by an individual, but by the entire household. This means that the decision to migrate is not an individual choice, but a choice from the entire household. When the decision is made, it is important that the migrant sends some of his earned money back to the household. So, the main reason is to migrate is for economic reasons, but the decision itself is made by the entire household and the benefits of migrating is also for the entire household.

Methodology
The strategy which is used in this research is the case study. There has been chosen for the case study, because this research fits all the requirements. In depth information has been gained from a relatively small amount of research objects. The research also involves studying the research objects in their natural setting to clarify a phenomenon. The phenomena which will be clarified with this research is brain drain and specifically in the city of Semarang.

The data for this research will be collected by doing in depth face to face interviews with multiple respondents. Most of the respondents should currently live in Semarang and are about to make the decision to stay or leave or Jakarta. The aim is to also interview a respondent who already made the decision to leave Semarang and migrate to Jakarta. The interview with the respondent from Jakarta will be held over skype, because face to face contact is not possible, because of the distance and the short amount of time which is spend in Semarang. After the data has been collected, the data has been analysed with the use of Atlas.ti. First the interviews were transcribed and afterwards they were coded in the Atlas.ti program.
Results

Every respondent agreed that the job and career opportunities in Jakarta are better than in Semarang. They also agreed that the salary in Jakarta is better than in Semarang. The ambiance of Semarang however is way better than in Jakarta. Semarang is stated as peaceful, safe and comfortable, while Jakarta is stated as unsafe and crowded. So, the choice that respondents must make is whether they chose for a better job and a better salary or for a more comfortable way of living. Besides that, another factor turned out to be important for the decision making. The social life and personal background of the respondents turned out to have a major impact on their decision making to migrate. They did not want to leave Semarang because they have their friends there, their social communities are there, and the religious communities turned out to be important.

The major reason why the respondents wanted to stay in Semarang is because of their parents. Their parents have influence on the decision made by their children. If the parents feel that Jakarta is not safe or if they just don’t want their child to go to Jakarta, the child also stays in Semarang most of the time. The children also feel a moral responsibility towards the parents, because they feel like they must take care of their parents. If the family agrees that the child can migrate to Semarang, the child wants to be back in Semarang after only a few years, because of the negative ambiance in Jakarta and they feel the need to take care of their parents.

Conclusion

The economical dimensions turned out to be important for the respondents, however the social dimensions turned out to be more important in their decision making. Especially the influence from the parents is a dimension which could be added to the brain drain discussion. The brain drain theory could therefore focus more on the social aspect instead of mostly on the economic aspect.

Brain drain is an issue for the alumni, because some of the respondents want to leave Semarang after graduation, but they are kept by their parents. So therefore, they chose the sub-optimal option to stay close by their parents and look for a job in Semarang.

The NELM theory mostly matches the results from this research, because most of the respondents feel that the decision to migrate is controlled by the household. The household determines whether someone from the household will migrate or not and part of the benefits from that decision also comes back to the household in the form of money which is send.

Another aspect which can be added to the brain drain theory is that the brain drain does not always have to be for a long amount of time. In this research it came forward that alumni are willing to migrate, but only for a few years. So, the duration of brain drain is in this case not so long and the issues of brain drain will then occur for a shorter amount of time.
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1. Introduction

1.1 Research objective

Brain drain is a concept which is known over the entire world. It means that higher educated people move from a developing country towards a more developed country. This research is about the concept of brain drain in the specific city of Semarang on the island of Java in Indonesia. Indonesia is a developing country with several important cities, with Jakarta as its capital. Figure 1 shows where Semarang is located on the island of Java in Indonesia.

![Map of Indonesia](https://www.worldatlas.com/mapdata/asia/indonesia.png)

*Figure 1 Map of Indonesia. Copyright 2018 Worldatlas.com*

What is specifically interesting about this case is that Semarang is a medium sized city in Indonesia with several universities, so there is a population of higher educated people living in Semarang. The question however is, is whether they want to stay in Semarang, which is currently developing, or whether they want to move to another city, for example Jakarta, which is more developed already, to find a job after graduation.

With this research I want to find out whether the concept of brain drain is an issue in the city of Semarang in Indonesia. In 2014 there has been a study about brain drain in Semarang, Indonesia and the purpose of that study was to show the local government that brain drain is an issue in Semarang and to give the local government insight on how to prevent brain drain in their city. This research will build upon that specific research. That research showed the most important migration decision factors, which are the economic and social aspects. This information is used as an inspiration for my research, which will dig deeper into the social aspects of the migration decision making factors and more specifically in the influence which family has on the decision making.

This research will give insight in whether brain drain is still an issue in Semarang and if so, why it is still an issue, or if not, why it is not an issue anymore. It will give insight in the keep and repel factors of the city of Semarang and that information will be compared with the keep and repel factors of other important cities on the Island of Java.
1.2 Research questions
The main question for this research is:

Is Brain Drain an issue in the city of Semarang?

By answering the main question there will be insight in whether brain drain is still an issue in Semarang and what the reasons are why student would want to stay or leave the city of Semarang. To find the answer to the main research question, the main research question is split up into several sub-questions. The answers of these sub-questions together will give an answer to the main research question. The first sub-question is:

1. What are the opportunities for higher educated people in the city of Semarang and how does it affect the decision making to migrate?

The answer to this sub-question gives more insight in the keep factors of the city of Semarang, related to this information, the keep factors of other cities on the island of Java will also be discussed. This sub-question will specifically focus on the dimensions ‘financial’ and ‘job/career opportunities’, earlier research found out that those dimensions are important for making the decision to migrate, this we be tested in this research. The second sub-question is:

2. What are the negative aspects regarding the economic position and the feelings towards the city of Semarang and how does it affect the decision making to migrate?

The answer to this sub-question gives insight in the reasons why student would want to leave after they graduate. These are the repel factors of cities and those factors are about the economic position of Semarang and the feelings which respondents have towards the city. This information will be used to make a comparison between Semarang and other cities on Java, which will also be discussed shortly in this research. The negative aspects, which will come forward, are also used to look at whether those aspects play a role in the decision to migrate or not. The third sub-question is:

3. How does the social life and personal background of the alumni play a role in the decision to stay or leave Semarang after graduation?

This sub-question will provide an answer specifically on the dimensions ‘social life’ and ‘personal background’. These dimensions are proven crucial when people think about migrating, see theoretical framework. This includes for example the influence of parents and the influence on the current lifestyle which the respondents have.

1.3 Relevance

1.3.1 Societal Relevance
Brain drain is an issue which takes place in countries all over the world. Brain drain is mostly an issue in developing countries (Carrington & Detragiache, 1998). Higher educated people migrate from a developing country towards a more developed country, because they believe that the salary will be higher there and that there are better career and job opportunities for them. They are looking for a better future in another country. So, the developing countries lose their brains and the more developed countries will gain brains. Brain drain is specifically an issue in the Caribbean, parts of Asia, parts of Africa and in Central America (Carrington & Detragiache, 1998).
This research can contribute to more knowledge for those cities about the concept of brain drain. So, cities in developing countries know what the issues are which can develop when a lot of brains migrate to a more developed country. It can be an issue for the migrants, because they want to stay in their city, but they can’t find a job there or it can be an issue for the country or city itself, because they lose valuable high educated citizens, which they would like to keep. It is useful as a city or to know this information regarding the kind of issue which plays a role in that city.

There are multiple forms of brain drain, higher educated people can migrate for only a few years and after that come back or they migrate to a developed country or city and stay there for the rest of their lives. It is useful information to know what kind of brain drain is occurring in the city, to find a solution and to prevent it in the future.

Furthermore, this research is also relevant for the future of the city of Semarang specifically, because this research will give insight in the keep and repel factors of Semarang. The local government could use this research to improve their city and to find a way to prevent the issue of brain drain in the future. Because not only Semarang will be investigated, but also other cities on the island of Java will shortly be discussed. This research can also be relevant for those cities to get insight in the keep and repel factors of those cities. That information could also be used for improving the city or for keeping the city attractive for higher educated people.

1.3.2 Scientific Relevance

There has been a lot of research on the concept of Brain Drain on cities all over the world. This research will give specific information about the concept of brain drain in the context of Semarang, Indonesia.

Brain drain is multidimensional and therefore it is interesting to look at what type of brain drain is occurring in Semarang, do higher educated people migrate for a short or long amount of time, and for who that will be an issue, will it be an issue for the higher educated people or for the city itself. The focus of this research is on a medium sized city, while earlier research has mostly been done about large cities. This new information gives insights in whether brain drain can also occur in medium sized cities and this adds new information to the brain drain discussion.

This research will also specifically focus on the social dimensions, while other studies mostly focused on the economic aspects of brain drain, for example the research of Laura Janssen (2014). New information will be collected about the influences of parents and family on the decision making to migrate from higher educated people. This focus will gain new information to add to the brain drain discussion.

Another aspect which makes this research so interesting is that the focus of this research will not be on the brain drain from one country to another, but from one city to another city in the same country. The focus will be on the possible migration from Semarang towards Jakarta, this will give specific insights which will be useful for Indonesia and which could inspire for more research about brain drain between cities in the same country instead of brain drain between countries.
2. Theory about Brain drain and related concepts

2.1 Introduction
Brain drain is considered being an issue for developing countries, because they lose their brains to more developed countries. Brain drain is however also a concept which occurs between cities within a country. This could also be the case for the city of Semarang, because the city is less developed than the competing city Jakarta, which is more developed than Semarang. Semarang is a medium sized city which is particularly interesting because most research has been done about larger cities. This research will discuss the keep and repel factors of Semarang and Jakarta and show how these factors play a role in the decision making of migration. This research will also focus on the multiple issues of brain drain, the length of the brain drain, and the specific brain drain in the city Semarang.

This chapter will discuss the theory around brain drain and the possible factors which could play a role in the decision making. The first paragraph will define brain drain and defines when brain drain is an issue. The next paragraph explains the keep and repel factors and after that the four dimensions are described and explained. In the next paragraph The New Economics of Labour Migration Theory will be discussed and in the last paragraph the conceptual framework is shown and explained.

2.2 Defining the concept of brain drain
Brain drain is a concept which has been defined in many articles. Zweig (2006) states that brain drain is an act of developed countries robbing the brightest people from underdeveloped countries. Brain drain is also phrased as ‘The loss to the less developed countries of some of their best-trained citizens’ (Bhagwati, 1976 p.34-38). The concept of Brain drain became known around the late 1960’s when many skilled people migrated from developing to developed countries (Commander, Kangasniemi & Winters, 2004).

However, brain drain is not only an issue on a nationwide base, brain drain can also occur in specific cities in a country or in a city (Zweig, 2006). Schiff (2015) defines brain drain as migration of skilled and educated people from underdeveloped countries to more developed countries. For this research the definition of Schiff (2006) will be used, however in this research the focus will not be on Indonesia as a whole, but on several cities on the island of Java. Indonesia is a developing country which has multiple larger cities which compete. Brain drain is not only occurring between countries, but also between cities in the same country. This research will focus on the migration from higher educated people from Semarang towards Jakarta, where Semarang is less developed than Jakarta.

Migrating is an important decision with a lot of impact, so people have reasons why they want to leave a country or a city (Beine, Docquier, & Rapoport, 2008). Before anyone makes the decision to migrate, they must think about it, for example about the pros and cons of both cities or countries. Making the decision to migrate is not an easy one, it has a lot of impact on your social life and your life. Therefore Beine et al. (2008) states that to make that decision to migrate, which will have a major impact on your life, people must think about it and define reasons why they want to migrate. Reasons that are proven important for migrants are for example: training possibilities, salary and stability (Beine, Docquier, & Rapoport, 2008). In the third paragraph four reasons, further named dimensions, will be defined and explained further.
2.2.1 Brain drain being an issue

Brain drain is the concept of higher educated people migrating from an underdeveloped city towards a more developed city. Brain gain is the opposite, it is the concept of gaining higher educated people, which will be the case for the more developed countries or cities (Boeri, Brücker, Docquier & Rapoport, 2012). When a city has a brain drain issue, another city will have a brain gain (Boeri, Brücker, Docquier & Rapoport, 2012).

But when is brain drain really an issue? There can be economic consequences for a city when brain drain occurs. A possible economic consequence is when brain drain develops a serious loss in income for the people who decide to stay in the country of emigration (Miyagiwa, 1991). It will not always be a problem, but if there is a finite level of emigration, then it can reduce the prosperity for those who stay in their country or city (Miyagiwa, 1991). This is an issue for the city itself, it is not an issue for the migrants, because they don’t have to deal with this anymore.

Furthermore, Brain drain can be considered an issue when too many graduated students leave the city, while there is enough work in the city itself. For example when Semarang wants to keep the graduated students and there is enough work for them in the city, but instead they leave for Jakarta because they can have a better job and a better salary there. This could again be an issue for the city.

Another brain drain issue is an issue for the higher educated people. It can occur when the higher educated people want to migrate to another city, but they tend to stay in Semarang, for example because of their family. If this situation occurs, the length of the brain drain is most of the time only for a few years, because the higher educated people want to return to Semarang after earning enough money.

2.3 Keep and repel vs. push and pull factors

In this research there will be looked at the keep and repel factors of a city, which are linked to the reasons why people would like to migrate or not. They look like push and pull factors; the push factors are the negative factors of a city which pushes the people away. The pull factors are the more positive sights of the city which pulls people in. Push and pull factors can for example be economical, political or social reasons. (Schoorl et al, 2010). ‘Combinations of push and pull factors would then determine the size and direction of flows’ (Schoorl et al, 2010, p 3). The difference between push and pull and keep and repel is that keep and repel factors also involve the personal motivations of the possible migrants, which is missing in the push and pull factors (van der Velde & van Naerssens, 2010). The personal motivation is specifically interesting for this research, because the focus will be on social influences from family or parents, this has an impact on the personal motivations of higher educated people. Therefore, the choice is made to use keep and repel factors instead of push and pull factors.

Keep factors are the features of a place or city which keeps people, mostly with an economic value attached to it (van der Velde & van Naerssens, 2010). Repel factors are features of a place or city which are less attractive and helps people to decide not to go or stay there (van der Velde, & van Naerssens, 2009). All the positive and negative sights will be thought through before making the decision to stay or leave. People can rationally decide about such a decision; however, they do not have all the information about those factors. This is called bounded-rationality and it means that people make rational decisions, but only with the information they have, their knowledge is limited (Smith, Velde, & Naerssens, 2009).
2.4 Dimensions of Brain drain

Migration is the replacement of human capital from one place to another. Much research has been done about this concept. When people think about migrating to another place, there are always reasons why (Beine, Docquier, & Rapoport, 2008). Those reasons can be very diverse and personal. In 2003 Dixon researched the concept of migration in Great Britain. She investigated the reasons why people moved to another place, this could be within the same city or to another city (Dixon, 2003). The dimensions which are chosen for this research are based on the research from Dixon in 2003. Some of the reasons why people migrate which came out of that research will be investigated in this research, but then in the context of Semarang, Indonesia.

2.4.1 Defining dimension: Financial

The first dimension which will be discussed is the financial reason to migrate. An important reason why people move from an underdeveloped city towards a more developed city is the possibility to get a better job and get paid more (Pang, Lansang & Haines, 2002). Hansen, Ban & Huggins (2003) state that as well: Low salaries, especially for women, minorities, and two-career couples, is one of the primary reasons why people migrated to another city. People believe that in another city a better life is waiting for them, where they can live in a more prosperous way (Dixon, 2003). So, for this research there will be looked at the differences in salary between Semarang and Jakarta. If there is a substantial difference, then that could be a reason to make the decision to migrate from Semarang towards Jakarta.

2.4.2 Defining dimension: Job and career opportunities

Another dimension which is mentioned in earlier research is better job and career opportunities in another city. People want to migrate to another city to get a better or more challenging job (Dixon, 2003). Besides that, there can be more career opportunities in another city, for example change of a higher rank or more educational possibilities to grow in their field (Dixon, 2013). One of the reasons why people want to get away from a city is the lack of advancement opportunities (Hansen, Ban & Huggins, 2003). So, in this research there will be looked at the job and career opportunities in Semarang and Jakarta. Again, if there is an essential difference between those two, then it could be a possible reason to migrate from Semarang to Jakarta.

2.4.3 Defining dimension: Social life

Another possible reason to migrate or not is the current social life. If someone has a great social life in their current city, then it can be a reason for them to stay in the city. Even despite the repel factors of that city, so social life is a possible keep factor. It can however also be a possible repel factor if social life is lacking in the current city. In this research social life is defined as having (close) friends and participation in different societies, for example religious groups. Social life can have an impact on the decision making of migration, friends and family in the city of Semarang can be a reason for higher educated people to stay in Semarang instead of migrating towards Jakarta.

Furthermore, for most of the respondents this is the perfect time to explore the world and have new experiences. They do not have a family of their own yet, so they do not have any moral responsibilities. After graduation most, higher educated people have the possibility to go on an adventure, before starting to get a job, a family and having the responsibilities of an adult.
2.4.4 Defining dimension: Personal background
The personal background can also play a role in the decision whether to stay or leave. This research defines personal background as the influence of parents and family. Personal background can be a repel factor if your family migrates to another city and you migrate towards them (Dixon, 2013). It can also be that family or friends try to keep the person in Semarang. They can have an influence on the higher educated person and his or her decision to migrate or not, for example if they expect that the children take care of their parents. If this would be the case, then the respondents feel a moral responsibility towards their parents, instead of feeling the opportunity of going on an adventure at this point in their life.

2.5 New Economics of Labour Migration Theory
To understand the choice of possible migration, you need to understand their means of livelihood (De Haas, 2010, p. 244-246). A livelihood is defined as social activities, access to resources, intra-household mechanisms and relations and activities to generate income (De Haas, 2010, p. 251-253). People tend to construct a livelihood strategy, which means a conjunction of activities done by households to rectify, uphold and protect their livelihoods and the members of the households (De Haas, 2010, p. 244-246). According to De Haas livelihood theories can also be focussing on international migration while in the past they have mostly focussed on rural-urban migration (De Haas, 2007).

The New Economics of Labour Migration Theory (NELM) came up around the 1980’s and evolved as a revolutionary migration theory. The New Economics of Labour Migration Theory (NELM) is different from the brain drain theory, whereby the causes of migration are linked to the financial aspect of getting a better job and a better salary. The NELM states that the main reason why people migrate is because of the shortage of possible investments, capital and social security (Lucas & Stark, 1985, Stark & Bloom, 1985). According to NELM the decision to migrate is made, not by an individual, but by the entire household (Lucas & Stark, 1985, Stark & Bloom, 1985). If the household decides that an individual from the household will migrate to another city or country, the main goal of the migrant is to find a job and send a part of the money that has been earned back to the household (De Haas & Rodriguez, 2010). That money can be used to fill up the shortages in investments and capital, it will create a feeling of safety, especially economic safety (De Haas & Rodriguez, 2010, p. 177-184). Without the migrant sending money to the household, those investments and the growth of capital would probably not be possible (De Haas & Rodriguez, 2010, p. 177-184). That is why the NELM states that sending back the money to the household is one of the main reasons why people migrate (De Haas & Rodriguez, 2010, p. 177-184).

The concept of brain drains states that the reasons why people migrate are economic, but most of all egocentric. This is the main difference between the brain drain theory and NELM, because NELM is based on a decision which is made within a household and the advantages of migrating is also meant for the household instead of the individual migrant.

2.6 Conceptual framework of the concept of Brain drain
Brain drain is the migration of skilled professionals from underdeveloped cities to more developed cities. The main question of this research is whether this is an issue in the city of Semarang, Indonesia or not. However, such a decision is not made easily, people need to reflect on the pros and cons of their current situation and of the possible new situation. Those pros and cons are the keep and repel
factors of a city. If the repel factors weigh stronger than the keep factor than there is a strong possibility that people migrate to another city and therefore brain drain can occur. After the literature research four dimensions are shaped as they are the most known and common reasons to migrate. Those dimensions can be merged into two main dimensions named ‘economic’ and ‘social’. The economic dimension is split up into ‘Job & career opportunities’ and ‘Financial’ and the social dimension is split up into ‘Personal background’ and ‘Current social life’. The social dimension is related to the NELM theory, because the decision to migrate is made by an entire household, therefore it is a socially made decision. The conceptual framework is shown in figure 2.

Figure 2 Conceptual Framework of the concept of Brain drain
3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction
This chapter will discuss the methodology of this research. In the first paragraph the choice for the case study will be explained. After that the research objects, so called respondents, are described. Furthermore, the way of data collection and data analysis will be described in paragraph 3.3.2 and 3.3.3., this will also include a table with the research questions and the belonging research method. The final paragraph will reflect on the way the data collection has been during my time in Semarang, positive and negative points will be discussed and explained.

3.2 Case Study
The correct and applicable information is collected to form an answer on the main question and the sub-question (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Several strategies can be used to gain this information. The five key research strategies are: experiment, survey, desk research, grounded theory and case study (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). For this research in depth information has been gained from a relatively small amount of research objects. This way of gaining information fits the profile of a qualitative empirical research (Vennix, 2011). Qualitative research also involves studying the research objects in their natural setting to clarify a phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This also fits the way in which the data will be collected for this research. The information will be attained by face to face interviews with empirical research in and around the city of Semarang. The phenomena which will be clarified with this research is brain drain and specifically in the city of Semarang.

Yin defines a case study as:

‘A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clear; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used’ (Yin, 1989, p.23).

This research investigates a contemporary phenomenon: brain drain in the context of Semarang. The boundaries are not clear and multiple research objects will be used to gain information. Yin (1989) furthermore states that to use a case study there must be specific conditions. The first condition is that there must be a why in the research question (Yin, 1989). This research is looking for the reason why people migrate to another city or why not. Another condition is that the researcher must not have control or just a little control over the situation (Yin, 1989). For this research that is the case, because the research will be held in Indonesia, which is unknown to the researcher and the phenomenon will not be isolated from its natural context (Yin, 1989).

3.3 Research Material

3.3.1 Respondents
The research objects in this research are graduated or almost graduated students from Universitas Katolik Soegijapranata, further named UNIKA, in the city of Semarang. Those alumni are about to decide to migrate to another city or to stay in Semarang. There has been chosen for alumni only from UNIKA, because during the fieldwork in Semarang contact have been made with that university. Besides that, there will also be interviews with alumni who already made the decision to leave Semarang and migrated to another city, in this case Jakarta. The aim of these interviews will be to get
information about the reasons why those alumni would want to migrate to another or why they would want to stay in Semarang.

### 3.3.2 Data collection

The data is collected from multiple interviews with graduated students from the university UNIKA in Semarang. To get enough information to form an answer to the main question and sub-question, a minimum of 10 students living in Semarang needed to be interviewed. Furthermore, the aim is to interview some students from UNIKA who already made the decision to leave Semarang and to go to another city on the island of Java. It is however unsure whether this will be possible during the 4 weeks in Semarang. Hopefully contact can be made with 2 graduated students from UNIKA who leaved Semarang and who are willing to do the interview. The focus of this research will be on the motives to stay or leave Semarang and to go to another city on Java.

To find these respondents, I got in contact with staff from UNIKA university and they helped me to get in contact with alumni from the university. When contact has been made with several alumni via them new contacts has been made with other alumni. Via these contacts there also has been the possibility to contact alumni students who already live in another city after graduation. When contact has been made, the interview needs to be over skype, because meeting face to face will be impossible, because I will only be in Semarang for 4 weeks. When this is not possible the interview could also be held over a text application, but this is a plan B.

### 3.3.3 Data analysis

After all the interviews have been done, the data is analysed. At first all the interviews have been transcribed and analysed via the program Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti helps coding the transcriptions, these codes were based on the theoretical framework and the main question and sub-questions. Furthermore, codes have been based on information from the interviews which did not came forward in the theoretical framework or the main question and the sub-questions.

The aim of this research is to find the reasons why alumni want to stay in Semarang or why they want to leave Semarang. Furthermore, information about the positive and negative sights of Semarang and other cities on the island of Java has been gained to get a full picture of the situation.

To get an answer to the main question the sub-questions need to be answered. Table 1 shows with which research method each sub-question is answered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research question</th>
<th>Research method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What are the opportunities for higher educated people in the city of Semarang and how does it affect the decision making to migrate?</td>
<td>Case study → face to face interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What are the negative aspects regarding the economic position and the feelings towards the</td>
<td>Case study → face to face interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>city of Semarang and how does it affect the decision making to migrate?</strong></td>
<td>Case study → face to face interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. How does the social life and personal background of the alumni play a role in the decision to stay or leave Semarang after graduation?

**3.3.4 Reflection on data collection**

For this research almost graduated and graduated students from UNIKA university have been interviewed. The respondents should live in Semarang and hopefully contact could be made with alumni who already live in Jakarta. Thanks to my contacts at the university and specifically the career office I could contact alumni very easily. Interviews were held in a room at the university and luckily almost all the respondents could speak understandable English. Because I had such good help from the university the data collection went pretty good and almost without setbacks. It was a benefit that my respondents were students, so their English was good, and no translator was needed. All the respondents were happy to help me and that really shows the kindness of the Indonesian people.

12 interviews have been held with different respondents, one of them currently lives in Jakarta for a job, three were born in Jakarta, but came to Semarang specifically for the University and eight respondents currently live in Semarang and are about to make the decision to stay or leave. When I was back in the Netherlands I had a meeting with my supervisor in the Netherlands and he advised me to leave out the two respondents who were born in Jakarta and just went to Semarang for their education. Mostly because they had no doubt about going back to Jakarta, because of the salary. I left out those three respondents in the next chapter about the results, because they could affect the reliability of this research.

The contact with the respondents who live in Jakarta was a bit hard at the beginning, because they were very busy and internet connection was not that good. Several attempts have been made to skype, however that did not work out because of the bad internet connection, so the decision had been made that those interviews will be via WhatsApp. Both respondents also felt more comfortable behind their telephone screen, because they were insecure about their English.

The first interviews were arranged by people from the career office at the university, they could easily get in contact with (almost) graduated students. With some of the respondents I kept in contact, so I could ask them for new respondents. This worked out perfectly and in a short amount of time I had planned most of my interviews. Most of the contact was over the phone via WhatsApp and I quickly noticed that most of the communication in Indonesia goes via this text application. This was a quick and easy way to get in contact with my respondents.

During making appointments with my respondents I found out that almost all my respondents so far were female, so therefore I asked my contacts at the university if they knew possible male respondents. This turned out a bit of a problem, because males turned out to be insecure about their
English. However, some males did want to help me out and their English turned out to be good enough.

Furthermore, halfway through I found out that most of my respondents were students who would graduate in April 2018. I stayed in Semarang in March 2018, so I figured it was not a problem, because they would graduate in a month. I discussed this possible issue with my supervisor from the university in Semarang and he confirmed that it would not be an issue, because during that time they were looking for a job and thinking about possibly leaving Semarang.
4. Context about the city of Semarang

4.1 Introduction
This chapter will state more about the context of the city of Semarang. This context is necessary to understand the results of this research better. At first the presence or absence of the concept of brain drain in the policies from the local government and UNIKA university will be discussed. Next the concept of UMP will be explained, the UMP is the, by the government decided, minimum wage, which influences the salary which you can earn in different parts of Indonesia.

4.2 Brain drain in policies
Universitas Katolik Soegijapranata in Semarang does not have a policy towards keeping the graduated students in the area. However, the career office at the university organises events to let the graduated students get in contact with companies in the area who are looking for high educated workers. So, the university is trying to help the alumni get a job after graduation, but this is not specifically because they want to prevent a brain drain. This came forward after personal communication with Lenny who works at the career office at the university on the 22nd of March 2018.

The local government of Semarang is not aware of brain drain being an issue in their city (Janssen, 2014). They do not have a policy to try to keep graduated students in Semarang or to get them back after they migrated (Janssen, 2014). But on the other hand, the local government believes that the graduated students are the future of the city which could help to let Semarang grow (Janssen, 2014). The local government states that the newly graduated students could be used in every working sector, however they do not actively try to keep the alumni in the city of Semarang (Janssen, 2014).

4.3 UMP
UMP stands for Upah Minimum Propinsi which means the regional minimum wage (Expat Indo, 2017). In 2001 the minimum wage setting was decentralised in Indonesia (Comola & De Mello, 2011). This meant that the minimum wage was no longer determined by the national government, but by the local government. The provinces could now decide what the minimum wage was in their province, however there are specific rules which the provinces and their governors must follow. The province for example must take the economic growth, the local conditions and the inflation in consideration before determining the minimum wage (Comola & De Mello, 2011).

Because of this decentralisation the minimum wages between provinces can largely differ. The city of Semarang is part of the province Jawa Tengah, which is the central part of the island of Java. The minimum wage of Jawa Tengah is set for 1,367,000 Rupiah in 2017, this is about 83 euros (Expat Indo, 2011). After talking to several respondents about the possibility to migrate the main city where they wanted to migrate to was Jakarta, which is also situated on the island of Java. The minimum wage of Jakarta is set for 3,335,750 Rupiah in 2017, this is about 203 euros (Expat Indo, 2011). This means that for a job in Jakarta you can almost get 3 times as much paid than for the exact same job in the city of Semarang. A note hereby is that the life standard in Jakarta is also much higher than in Semarang, so the question is whether it is worth it to leave Semarang and find a job in Jakarta just for the better salary. The differences between the minimum wage of Semarang and Jakarta are however big and therefore this can be a very reasonable reason for leaving Semarang and going to Jakarta for a better job with a much higher salary.
5. Portraits of respondents

5.1 Introduction
This chapter will show the portraits of the respondents, which are formed after the interviews. All the interviews have been transcribed and analysed with Atlas.ti to get a clear portrait of each respondent. First a table will show the differences and similarities between the respondents and after that a short summary of each respondent is given, which will also include the arguments for some of the statements, shown in table 3.

5.2 Portraits
From the 12 interviews that had been held, 9 turned out to be useful for this research. In this paragraph a description of the respondents and the results will be given. An overview of their, name, gender, age, what they studied, how many siblings they have, whether they are thinking about migrating and whether they feel pressure or influence from their parents, will be given. The last column has been put in this overview, because during the analysis it came forward that the influence which the parents have on their children is important in the decision making of migrating.

Table 2 Table of portraits of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Siblings</th>
<th>Thinking about migrating</th>
<th>Influence or pressure parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hanna</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Computer Engineering</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagus</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Food Technology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Food Technology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes, but only for a few years</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lola</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Doubting</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amor</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes, but only for a few years</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alviera</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Civil Engineering</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Doubting</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anggit</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Food Technology</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Already migrated to Jakarta</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nico</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Computer Science</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hanna is 21 years old and lives in Semarang together with her parents and 3 siblings. She studies info systems for computers at UNIKA. She did not decide herself to study at UNIKA, her parents wanted her to stay close and study at UNIKA, while she wanted to study in Jakarta. However now she is happy she studied at UNIKA. After her graduation she wants to migrate to Jakarta. She seeks new experiences, although she will miss her family. Her older brother now has a job in Jakarta and lives there for about 2 years.

Bagus is 21 years old and lives in Semarang together with his parents and brother and sister. He graduated in December 2017 at UNIKA, where he studied food technology. He is a strong catholic with lots of friends from church. He likes Semarang very much; however, he would like to migrate to Jakarta. His parents are dominant, and they do not agree with his choice to possibly move to Jakarta. After a few years he wants to have his own business as a private teacher.

Cindy is 22 years old and studied food technology at UNIKA. She graduated in December 2017 and lived in Semarang all her life together with her parents and two brothers. Her parents have a lot of influence on her. She thinks about going abroad to Australia for a year. She currently has a job in the insurance business and she have a strong connection with her church, where she is a radio announcer. She likes Semarang very much and she would always want to return to Semarang.

Lola is almost graduated from her Law studies, she is 22 years old and has 1 older brother. She lives in Semarang with her parents and her brother currently live in Jakarta. She is doubting about staying or leaving Semarang after graduation. She made a pro's and con's list of Semarang and Jakarta. Her parents are very supportive, and she has a busy social life in Semarang.

Amor is 22 years old and studied psychology at UNIKA. She lives in Semarang together with her parents, her brother lives in Jakarta. She likes Semarang, but she also thinks about possibly moving to Jakarta. She doubts about Jakarta, because there are advantages and disadvantages compared with Semarang. Whatever happens, after 4 or 5 years she wants to live in Semarang again.

Alviera is a 23-year-old student at UNIKA who studies civil engineering. She lives in Semarang with her parents and without any siblings. She likes UNIKA and Semarang very much. She also thinks about moving to Jakarta, but she is still doubting. Jakarta and Semarang both have positive and negative points. She is already orienting for a job, she is searching in both Jakarta and Semarang.

Anggit is 22 years old and graduated last year from UNIKA. She studied food technology, but she currently works at a television station in Jakarta. She grew up in Semarang but decided to migrate to Jakarta. Anggit did not choose herself to study at UNIKA, she was forced by her parents. It was hard for her to make the decision to go to Jakarta, but she does not regret it and she would not want to leave Jakarta any time soon.

Nico is a 24-year-old computer science student at UNIKA. He lives in Semarang with his parents and would never want to leave Semarang. He chose specifically for UNIKA and decided that together with his parents. He has a good relationship with them and he wants to keep it that way. He dreams about traveling the world, but just on vacations. In the future he wants to have a job in Semarang.

Anthony is the last respondent, he is 22 years old and lives with his parents in Semarang. He studied architecture at UNIKA and has no siblings. He likes the way that Semarang has improved over the last few years. He really notices a difference between now and when he was just a young child. His father
chose this study and university for him. He never thought about leaving Semarang, he likes the way it is now. He has a job in Semarang which he got via his contacts at his church.
6. Discussion of the themes

6.1 Introduction
In this chapter the different themes which are mentioned in this research, the opportunities for higher educated people in Semarang and Jakarta, the feelings towards the city of Semarang and the social life and personal background, will be discussed according to the results from the interviews. With the discussion of the different themes indirectly an answer to the sub-questions will be formed. At last a final summary of all the results will be given.

6.1 Opportunities for higher educated people in Semarang and Jakarta
This paragraph will state the opportunities for higher educated people in Semarang and Jakarta. According to the respondents, there are differences between those opportunities. Specifically, in job and career opportunities and in the amount of income. Every respondent has been asked about the job and career opportunities in Semarang and in possible competing cities on the island of Java. Soon it became clear that the only competing city on Java is Jakarta, therefor that will be the only other city which will be discussed in this paragraph. Those differences are shown in table 3.

Table 3 Semarang vs. Jakarta: an overview of the comparison of the economic aspects of the city of Semarang and Jakarta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semarang</th>
<th>Jakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower income</td>
<td>Higher income, but also more expensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less career opportunities</td>
<td>More career opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less job opportunities</td>
<td>More job opportunities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jakarta is promising for many respondents, because of the UMP. In Indonesia the minimum wage is set per province, so there can be a big difference between the provinces. Jakarta has the highest UMP, while the province where Semarang belongs to is one of the last on the list. The respondents confirmed the differences in salary between a job in Semarang and Jakarta. Lola states: ‘The salary in Semarang is average 2.3 million in a month’, her brother now lives in Jakarta: ‘once he moved to Jakarta he got like 8 million.’ Amor agrees with Lola and says: ‘The salary is higher in Jakarta’.

On the other hand, it is also more expensive to live in Jakarta than in Semarang, Anggit lives in Jakarta and states: ‘Higher costs than Semarang’, when I asked her about how it was to find a place to live she answered: ‘Too difficult, because that environment: There is a dirty place and good place, but good place, of course high cost’. Bagus agrees with Anggit: ‘It will be very hard and the price for getting a house is really really expensive. And you will get a small house for a high price, but I think you will get used to it.’ But the difference is that he thinks that he will get used to that situation.

Semarang has opportunities for higher educated people and the University of Semarang plays an active role in providing possible contact between the alumni and businesses in Semarang. The have a job fair for over 3000 students and 80% of the business which are represented are in and around
Some respondents also found a suitable job in Semarang thanks to their church. Anthony says about the career opportunities in Semarang: ‘In Semarang there are good job opportunities for me because people in Semarang spend more money on the design of their houses’. However, another respondent named Anggit states: ‘I want to work in the television business and there are no possibilities for me in Semarang, all the television stations are in Jakarta’. Bagus also states: ‘there are many big companies and every decision will be made in Jakarta’.

Some industries are almost only represented in Jakarta, so if you want a job in such an industry, then you have no choice. Jakarta is promising for most of the respondents, almost all of them at least thought about the possibility to leave Semarang and go to Jakarta, because of the job and career opportunities.

So, there are diverse opinions about this matter, the thing which stands out is that the respondents state that there are more career and job opportunities in Jakarta and the salary is much higher in Jakarta compared to Semarang. However, the question is whether this is the romantic image which respondents have about Jakarta, while they do not know all the information, so it is only perceived. Anggit lives in Jakarta for about a year, so she will have a real image about Jakarta and some respondents have brothers currently living in Jakarta who tell them about the city, so they could also have a real image about Jakarta. It is however the question whether this is also a real image or whether that image is made better to comfort the family back home in Semarang.

6.2 Feelings towards Semarang and Jakarta

This paragraph will state the feelings of the respondents towards Semarang and Jakarta. Every respondent has been asked about how they feel about Semarang and Jakarta. According to the respondents, there are differences between those two cities. Those differences are shown in table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semarang</th>
<th>Jakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comfortable, but also boring</td>
<td>Entertainment, Adventure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaceful and safe</td>
<td>Unsafe &amp; crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good access to everywhere</td>
<td>Traffic &amp; very crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind people</td>
<td>Arrogant people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The positive feelings towards Semarang are mostly based on the ambiance in the city, Bagus states: ‘you can live in a comfortable environment’. Anthony also says: ‘Semarang is the safety place in Java’. The opposite is said about Jakarta, Amor states: ‘People there are different, many bad guys and crime’, she doesn’t feel safe in Jakarta. So, Semarang is described as comfortable and safe. Hanna on the other hand says: ‘it is so boring here’. She says that it is nice in Semarang but sometimes it can be boring, ‘I want to have a new experience in Jakarta’, because she thinks that life is better in Jakarta ‘In Jakarta there are great malls and many attractive places, entertainment’.
Furthermore, the social aspect is also a positive side to the city of Semarang for most of the respondents. They like Semarang because that is the place where their friends and family lives and the place where they have their church for example. Besides that, Amor stated: ‘It is comfortable, nice beach. The traffic is not as bad as Jakarta’. About the traffic in Jakarta, almost everyone agrees, Bagus states: ‘Jakarta is not really enjoyable to live, because they are having problems with traffic’. Opposite to that Lola states: ‘the transportation in Jakarta is easier, they have trains, the electrical train, which is really cheap’, she does not worry about the amount of traffic in Jakarta.

Also, the city of Semarang is growing: Hanna says: ‘Semarang has improved, many many many bigger and better technology’. Cindy agrees with Hanna and says: ‘I just want to stay here because of the growing facilities and the easy access to everywhere’. But Hanna also states: ‘Semarang has improved, so it is better, although it is not as good as Jakarta or other cities’. In comparison with Jakarta, Semarang has a long way to go according to Hanna.

Furthermore, the people in Jakarta are stated way more arrogant, Cindy says: ‘When you go to Jakarta mostly the people are arrogant’. Also, the tolerance in the city of Jakarta is considered less than in Semarang: ‘I feel Semarang have a high tolerance among the others city’, this is said by Nico. Lola also states: ‘the people are more open-minded’.

So, the respondents have positive and negative feelings about Semarang and Jakarta. The ambiance of the city of Semarang is safe, peaceful and a bit boring, while Jakarta is seen as crowded and unsafe, but on the other hand Jakarta is also seen as an adventure and a new experience.

6.3 Social life and personal background

This paragraph will state the differences between their current social life in Semarang and their perception of social life in Jakarta. Furthermore, the influence of the parents in Semarang and the feeling of independence in Jakarta will be discussed. Every respondent has been asked about their current social life and their perception of social life in Jakarta. Those differences between Semarang and Jakarta are shown in table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semarang</th>
<th>Jakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends, family &amp; Influence from parents</td>
<td>Independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion &amp; communities</td>
<td>Better social life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the interviews it became very clear that family and especially the parents of the alumni have a major influence on the decision to migrate or not. It already starts with the fact that the parents of some respondents forced them to study at UNIKA while the respondents maybe preferred another university. Hanna says: ‘actually my parents wanted me to stay at Semarang, I already applied to Jakarta, one of the Universities over there’. So, because of the influence of her parents she stayed in Semarang instead of studying in Jakarta. Anthony also mentioned: ‘My father chooses that university
for me. I am so confused to choose which university I must study and what I must study. So, my father gives me some advice to choose’. So, his father chose to which university he would go and which study he would do. Bagus also feels the influence his parents have on him and he wants to be more independent: ‘I really like to live with my parents, but we also have some arguments sometimes and sometimes I want to be independent’.

The parents don’t only have influence on the decision of what their kids would study and where, but also on the choice of migrating or not. Bagus tells about his parents: ‘After high school I wanted to go to Jakarta for studies, but my parents are very afraid of what happens in Jakarta, Jakarta is dangerous for me according to my parents’. Anggit already lives in Jakarta and her parents are not content with the situation right now: ‘My parents are really sad, if my father called me, he always asked me “are u happy there?”, my father want me to come back to Semarang. He thinks it better than Jakarta’. Her parents are also trying to get her back to Semarang. Alviera also feels the pressure from her family not to leave Semarang, but she also wants to stay in Semarang herself: ‘My parents keep me here and I want to stay with my mom’. Lola’s parents on the other hand are totally supportive: ‘They are really supportive, and they also are supportive about wherever I want to go to work’. Cindy’s parents were very protective of her a few years ago, but that has changed: ‘In the start of my study, my mom gave me no permission to live outside the city. For now, I asked my mom and she is okay now, because she believes I need to dream about the future’. Bagus is in a similar situation: ‘My parents right now will probably allow me to follow my dream because I already staid in Semarang at UNIKA for them’. So, some parents want to keep their children close and some parents want their children to follow their dreams, even if they must migrate to do so.

Anthony told me that he did not want to leave Semarang, because: ‘I want to stay close to parents and take care of them’. He feels that he must take care of his parents and therefore he does not want to migrate. Lola also stated an interesting idea about his matter: ‘Indonesian people tend to say that if you are a girl you have to stay with your parents, but I don’t have to’. So according to Lola you are supposed to stay with your parents, especially if you are a girl.

Another aspect which stood out was the fact that a few of the female respondents had older brothers who currently live in Jakarta and have a job there. Amor states: ‘He tells me all his stories about Jakarta, some good, some bad, he also is in Jakarta because he could get a good job there, he also sends us some money sometimes.’ One of their goals is to find a good job there and send money to the family in Semarang, this matches the New Economics of Labour Migration Theory. This theory states that the decision to migrate is made by the entire household and the migrant needs to find a job and send money back to the household. Another goal for those brothers is to gain information about how life is in the city of Jakarta, if it is safe enough for the other children to go there to find a better job.

Almost all the respondents had only a few or even no siblings, this means that the household is relatively small. Small households mostly have a strong bond with each other. This also came forward during the interview with Bagus: ‘I really like to live with my parents’. If the bond within a household is close, it is more likely to stay close to your family. Because of that more alumni would look for a job near Semarang instead of migrating to another city.
When the parents invest in their children by paying the money to go to a university, the parents could expect a direct return of investment. This means that the parents expect their children to stay close to provide and take care of them. There may have been made appointments, which was the case for one respondent. If she would study in Jakarta, she would have to pay it for herself, while if she stayed in Semarang, her parents would pay it for her. This also shows the influence the parents can have on their children in Semarang.

Furthermore, Anggit, who currently lives in Jakarta says about that: ‘I have many friends here in Jakarta, social life is easy around here’. Hanna also says that in Semarang it is hard to get more friends, while it would be easier in Jakarta: ‘If I live in Jakarta I could have more friends’. On the other hand, religion is also a part of the current social life of some of the respondents in Semarang. Cindy states: ‘I stay in Semarang first. I am also comfortable with my recent church and I really like that. It is comfortable, and I have connections here. The church feels like home.’ So, because of her connection with the church she wants to stay in Semarang for now. Religion is possibly an important aspect for some of these respondents specifically, because they studied at a catholic university in an overall Muslim country. Lola also has other communities for which she wants to stay in Semarang: ‘in Semarang I have my communities here. I have to start again from 0 when I leave’. She does not want to start over and look for new communities to join in for example Jakarta.

So, especially the parents of the alumni have a major influence on keeping their children in Semarang. They want them to take care of them or to send money when they found a job in Jakarta. However, some respondents stated that they just wanted to stay for a few years and after that come back to Semarang. When I asked Amor is she wanted to stay in Jakarta her whole life she said: ‘No! For 4 or 5 years...after that I want to go back to Semarang, it is my home, it is my hometown with all my family here’. So, she does not want to stay in Jakarta for a long time, her brain drain will only be for a couple of years.

6.4 Summary of discussion
According to the data which has been collected via this research brain drain is not an issue in Semarang. Brain drain is considered an issue when too many alumni leave Semarang, while there are also enough opportunities in Semarang. The first theme states that Semarang had enough job and career opportunities, but a bigger city like Jakarta has way more opportunities than Semarang. So, it is more attractive for alumni to go to Jakarta, also because the salary is much better than in Semarang. From the 9 respondents which were part of this research, only one made the decision to migrate from Semarang to Jakarta. From the other 8 respondents, 6 of them have thought about leaving Semarang, so they could get a better job and a better salary in Jakarta. But there is a big difference in thinking about it and doing it. Looking at the results, there are strong reasons why the respondents would want to stay in Semarang. Also, the local government does not make policies to try to keep the alumni, so they do not consider brain drain as an issue. So, looking at just those 9 respondents and the local government, then brain drain is not an issue in the city of Semarang, Indonesia.

Looking at the decision-making factors, a few aspects stand out. First, all the respondents confirmed that Jakarta has more job and career opportunities and a higher salary than in Semarang. But on the other hand, Jakarta’s ambiance is worse than in Semarang. Jakarta has been described as very busy,
unsafe and with arrogant people. While Semarang has been described as peaceful, safe and comfortable. The alumni must decide between the nice ambiance of Semarang against the promising opportunities in Jakarta. Looking at the conceptual framework of this research the economic factors can be seen as the keep/pull factors of the city of Jakarta.

The social factors from the conceptual framework can be seen as the keep/pull factors of the city of Semarang. A part of this social network which keeps the alumni in Semarang is the aspect of Religion. Religion is important for most of the respondents and that is also partly why they have chosen for a catholic university. Several respondents did not want to migrate because of the contacts they have via the church or the communities to which they belong to. They feel a close bond with their communities, which feels like home to them.

The major reason why alumni do not want to migrate from Semarang to Jakarta is the influence of their family and especially of the parents. They want their children to stay close by, so that they can take care of the parents. The parents have had influence on the choice of study from some respondents and they sometimes do not agree if their child wants to migrate to another city to find a better job. This decision should be made within the family, it is not an individual choice. If the parents let you go to another city, the aim is to find a good job and send money back to the family to provide them. Some of the respondents already had an older brother who currently lived in Jakarta to gain information about the city and to get a better job and a higher salary. Parents sometimes have the idea that Jakarta is scary and unsafe, and the older brother can figure out how the situation is there. The negative ideas which some parents have can legitimize the choice which the alumni make. It is the unsafe and busy city of Jakarta versus the safe and peaceful city of Semarang.

Most of the respondents did not have many siblings, the household is relatively small. The fact that the household is small ensures that the bond within the members of the household very strong is. All my respondents had a good relationship with their parents.

If the household decides that migration to another city is possible, then the migrant wants to go to another city to get a good job and a higher salary. After they have earned enough money, they want to go back to Semarang to take care of their parents. Alumni feel the need to take care of their parents and to help them to stay provided.

One of the respondents decided to migrate from Semarang to Jakarta for a job and her parents are always worried about her and ask her if she is happy over there. Her parents did not agree with her decision, they are very worried and want her to come back to Semarang.

For most of the respondents the decision of migrating was between their family and the ambiance in Semarang and the job and career opportunities in Jakarta. So far brain drain has been explained through egocentric and economic reasons, but in this research a moral aspect is add to the reasons. There is a controlling migration where the decision is made by the parents and the family.
7. Conclusion

7.1 Introduction
Brain drain is the migration of higher educated people from developing countries towards more developed countries. Brain drain can have consequences for the developing countries, because they will lose their brains and the more developed countries will gain brains. This research is about brain drain in the specific case of Semarang. Brain drain has earlier been described as the flow of higher educated people from one country to another, but this research is about the flow of higher educated people from one city towards another city within a country. Another interesting aspect of Semarang is that it is a medium sized city, while research mostly have been done about larger cities. Indonesia has several important and larger cities. In this case it is about the flow of people from the developing city Semarang towards the more developed city of Jakarta. Furthermore, earlier research has mostly been done about the economic aspects of brain drain, salary and job and career opportunities. These aspects will also be discussed in this research, but the focus will be on the social aspect of brain drain. It is about the influence of friends and family on the decision making to migrate.

Through a conceptual approach an answer to the main question: Is brain drain an issue in Semarang? will be formed. A comparison between the theoretical framework and the conceptual model and the results from this research will be made. In this way limitations from the theory can be exposed and the theory can be nuanced.

7.2 The conclusion
Looking at the different dimensions which are described in the theory and the results of this research, economic decision-making factors are indeed important. Alumni know about the job and career opportunities in Semarang and Jakarta and they have an idea about what to expect in that specific city. They also know about the differences in salary between Semarang and Jakarta, because of the UMP. All the respondents are aware of the situation and those dimensions are also stated as very important for the decision making to migrate. The main reason to migrate to Jakarta are indeed the job and career possibilities and the higher salary which they can get in Jakarta, this matches the theory about brain drain.

The social dimension is discussed less in the brain drain theory. According to the theory about brain drain, the main decision-making factor are the economic factors. This research however shows otherwise, because for the respondents from this research, the social factors are important for their decision. Most of the respondents feel stimulated to stay in Semarang according to these social factors. So, the social factors are opposite from the economic factors, which tends to make them migrate to Jakarta. Communities and religion are examples of those social factors, they are stated as important reasons why respondents wanted to stay in Semarang. However, the most important reason why they wanted to stay in Semarang is because of the influence of their parents. Parents still have a major role in the decision making of the alumni, not only about the decision to migrate, but also about the choice of university. It is also common to stay at your parents’ house after graduation to take care of the parents. So therefore, they chose the sub-optimal option to stay close by their parents and look for a job in Semarang. This new information should be added to the brain drain theory, because in the case of Semarang the social keep factors are even stronger than the economic repel factors.
Another dimension which could be added to the theory is the duration of the brain drain. The respondents who would want to make the decision to migrate from Semarang to Jakarta, stated that they would only want to stay in Jakarta for a few years. The ambiance and crowdedness in Jakarta is one of the reasons why alumni don’t want to stay in Jakarta. Another major reason is that alumni want to come back to take care of their parents. This shows that the respondents feel a moral responsibility towards their parents, while this would be the perfect time for them to discover the world, because they do not have their own family yet. However, the influence of the parents is that big, that the respondents already feel moral responsibilities which keeps them in Semarang. So, in this case it will only be a temporary brain drain and this is an interesting addition to the theory. It is not only economic and egocentric reasons, but a moral aspect is added to the decision-making factors.

The aspects of The New Economic Labour Migration Theory only came forward with one respondent. She stated that her brother is living in Jakarta and that he sends some money back to the family. So, this aspect of the NELM theory has not came forward in this research. However, the idea that there is a controlling migration from the family, came forward several times by several respondents. The parents have an influence on the decisions of their children and therefore they also decide the household strategy. Alumni have no individual say in this decision, this is however not the case for every respondent, but most of the respondents stated that the decisions are made together with their parents. This matches the ideas of the New Economic Labour Migration that decisions, so also migration decisions, are made by the entire household.

According to the theory of Brain drain, it can be an issue for the city itself or for the higher educated people. It is an issue for the city when Semarang tries to keep the alumni, but nevertheless the alumni move to Jakarta to find a job. It can also be an issue for the alumni, because they want to stay leave Semarang, but it is hard for them to leave their social life in Semarang. Looking at this research, brain drain is not an issue for the city itself, because according to interviews with the local government, the government is not aware of the problem and it is also not working on it. Brain drain in this case is more a problem for the alumni, because most of the respondents thought about leaving Semarang to get a better career and a better salary. But only one of the respondents made that decision and the other respondents think about it, but don’t have actual plans. The main reason why they stay in Semarang is because of the influence of their parents. They want their children to stay close and to take care of them. Even the one respondent who made the decision to migrate to Jakarta feels resistance from her parents and her parents still want her to come back to Semarang. Because of this influence alumni think about migrating to Jakarta only for a few years to gain that experience and to earn money. After that period, they want to come back to take care of their parents.

7.3 Reflection and Recommendations

In this paragraph a reflection on this research will be given and recommendations for further research will be suggested. These recommendations can be helpful for further research and will probably give new insights in the NELM and brain drain discussion.

The amount of research objects was minimal for this research, therefore no generalizations for the entire population, alumni from UNIKA, is possible. The results of this research and the data should be handled with care. Some findings can apply for more people than just these research objects, for example the difference in salary between Semarang and Jakarta and that you have more opportunities in Jakarta than in Semarang, because these were mentioned many times by almost all
the respondents. Furthermore, it is impossible to generalize the population who have already made the decision to migrate from Semarang towards Jakarta for a better job, because in this research there has only been one interview with someone who already migrated. It could be very interesting to investigate this matter further and to interview more migrants to get a better picture of their reasons.

In this research one respondent came forward with the fact that she made a deal with her parents about who paid for her study and in return she had to stay in Semarang and study there. It is interesting to investigate if this is the case for more alumni and if the parents pay for the study, do they expect a direct return of their investment? This is a possible question for further research.

Another recommendation is to research why families in Semarang, Indonesia find the physical nearness so important. Nowadays we live in a transnational world where you can keep in contact with people from all over the world via internet. But why is this physical nearness so important for Indonesian families? This might be a question which is interesting to investigate further.

Furthermore, I would recommend UNIKA university to keep on organising the job events to promote alumni to stay in Semarang and to help to find a job in Semarang. I would recommend the local government of Semarang to stay updated on the brain drain situation. Now brain drain is not a big issue in Semarang, but this can always change if family patterns change or if the economic situation of Semarang changes. Brain drain can have consequences for the city and for her inhabitants, therefore awareness of brain drain in important for the city.
References


Appendix

Interview guide Brain Drain

Thank you very much for having this interview with me. This interview is going to be about the concept ‘Brain drain’. This is the concept of higher educated people going to other cities or countries to find a better job after they graduate. In this case I will focus on alumni from Unika, Semarang. If you feel uncomfortable with any of the questions, please let me know. Before we start with the interview, do you mind if I record this conversation, it will only be used for the purposes of this research.

**Introduction**

1. What is your first name?
2. How old are you?
3. What did you study?
4. In which city or town do you currently live?

**Social**

5. Where did you grow up?
6. How did you experience growing up there?
7. How did your social life looks like back then?
8. Why did you choose for Unika in Semarang?
9. How do you experience the place where you live now compared to when you were a kid?
10. How does your social life looks like rights now?

**Economic**

**Semarang**

11. What are your feelings towards the city of Semarang?
12. Why did you want to leave?/ Why did you want to stay?
13. How did you experience finding a job in Semarang?
14. How is the salary?
15. What are the possibilities for your career during this job?
16. How was it to get a place to live in Semarang?

**Other cities on Java**

17. What makes another city so attractive for you?
18. How did your parents feel about you leaving to another city?

19. How did you experience finding a job elsewhere?

20. How is the salary compared to your possibilities in Semarang?

21. What are the possibilities for your career during this job compared to the possibilities in Semarang?

22. How was it to get a place to live elsewhere?

23. Is there any other reason why you left or why you stayed?

The end

Thank you very much for answering the questions! If you want I can send you a copy of my research after I finished it.