

Farming with Remittances: Female Migration, Agricultural Investment, and Social Mobility in Rural Indramayu, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Low levels of farmer welfare remain prevalent in many agrarian communities. The international migration of women has emerged as a key strategy for farming households to cope with poverty and enhance their livelihoods. This study examines how remittances from female migrant workers are invested in agriculture and assesses their impact on the social mobility of farming households. The research was conducted in Kroya District, Indramayu Regency, a rural and agricultural area with persistently high poverty levels. This study uses a qualitative approach and case study method. The study involved a survey of 50 returnee female migrant and in-depth interviews with various stakeholders, including village officials, community leaders, and labor brokers. Data were analyzed thematically. The findings show that land is a crucial asset for households of female migrant workers. Accordingly, remittances are primarily used to purchase land, which enhances household food security and elevates their social standing within the village. However, the use of remittances to modernize agricultural production remains limited. This suggests that while remittances strengthen livelihood assets, particularly natural, physical, and social capital, they do not automatically translate into increased agricultural productivity. These findings highlight the need for supportive policies that promote the productive and sustainable use of remittances in agriculture. This study also contributes to the literature on remittance utilization in rural Indonesia by revealing the gender dimension. It shows that female migration diversifies household income sources and reshapes access to productive assets and social recognition in agrarian communities

Keywords: *farmers' households, international migration of women, remittances, agricultural investment, social mobility*

BACKGROUND

In recent decades, international labor migration has played an increasingly important role in shaping the development trajectories of rural communities. Migration is not only a response to economic hardship, but also a strategy employed by households to diversify income sources, build resilience, and pursue upward social mobility (Porumbescu, 2015; Salam & Bauer, 2022). In Indonesia, international labor migration has become an important strategy for households to overcome economic constraints and expand livelihood opportunities. This is reflected in the steady

increase in the number of Indonesian migrant workers (BP2MI, 2024). A distinctive characteristic of international labor migration dynamics in Indonesia is the significant participation of women as migrants. In 2024, women accounted for 64.56% of all Indonesian migrant workers (BP2MI, 2024). This trend, commonly referred to as the feminization of migration (Pufaa & Apusigah, 2021; Yazid, 2018), has had profound implications for family structures and rural economic dynamics (Cooray, 2017; Kuépié, 2018; Li, 2018; Yeoh et al., 2022).

The feminization of migration is also becoming increasingly prominent in agriculture-based regions. Recent studies show that female migration significantly contributes to the economic diversification and resilience of rural households (Tran et al., 2025; Xiong & Joshi, 2025). In Indonesia, land ownership inequality has prompted many household members, particularly women, to seek alternative livelihoods outside agriculture (Faqihuddin & Bunda, 2025; Griffin et al., 2024; Kawarazuka et al., 2020; Ngadi et al., 2023; D. L. Nguyen et al., 2017). Thus, female migration is a form of economic adaptation and part of the social change dynamics affecting the agrarian structure in rural areas.

Indramayu Regency exemplifies this phenomenon. Since the 1980s, it has been known as one of the main sources of female migrant workers in Indonesia. The migration of women from Indramayu is not merely an individual phenomenon; it has become a collective strategy for households to escape poverty and diversify income sources. Each year, more than one hundred thousand women from Indramayu migrate abroad, primarily to work in the informal sector as domestic workers and caregivers (BP2MI, 2024). Despite being employed in low-skilled and informal occupations, their earnings often surpass those of men remaining in the village (Elizabeth et al., 2020; Xiong & Joshi, 2025). Consequently, female migration has become a rational choice for farming households facing economic constraints and limited access to productive resources.

A significant outcome of this migration is the transfer of remittances to the areas of origin. The remittances sent by female migrant workers constitute a significant economic resource for households and communities in their areas of origin. These remittances are not only utilized for basic needs such as consumption and education, but also as potential productive capital within the agricultural sector. In the Indonesian context, the majority of research on remittances continues to prioritize consumptive aspects and the enhancement of household welfare (Basrowi, 2019; Hamdi, 2021; Khuriyah & Purnomo, 2023; Ma'arif, 2018; Nopus, 2024). Currently, literature addressing the relationship between international mobility undertaken by women and agrarian transformation or changes in the rural economic structure remains limited.

In agricultural areas such as Kroya District, Indramayu Regency, agriculture serves as the backbone of the local economy. Although the region is known as one of Indonesia's national rice granaries, it continues to experience high poverty rates and low levels of farmer welfare constitutes the foundation of the local economy (BPS Kabupaten Indramayu, 2022). In this context, female migration can be regarded as a livelihood strategy that enables households to accumulate assets through remittances. Within the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), migration and remittances can be conceptualized as a form of livelihood diversification that strengthens various household assets, including financial, natural, physical, and social resources (Ellis, 2003; Kolog et al., 2024; Sagynbekova, 2017).

This study proposes a novel perspective on the role of remittances in economic and social transformation, particularly in agrarian contexts. It posits that remittances function not only as a financial instrument but also as a catalyst for social and agrarian change, influencing resource distribution and the social status of farming households in rural communities. The objective of this study is to address the existing research gap by conducting a comprehensive analysis of the investment patterns of remittances from female migrant workers in the agricultural sector. This analysis will examine the impact of these investments on the social mobility of farming households in the Kroya Subdistrict of Indramayu Regency.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative design and case study techniques. The purpose of case studies is to gain an understanding of the object being studied. Using the case study method is not merely about describing what the research object is like; it is also about explaining how it exists and why the case occurred. In other words, case study research is not just about answering research questions about "what" the research object is; it is also about "how" and "why" the object occurred and formed as a case and can be viewed as such. (Tight, 2024).

This study uses both primary and secondary data. Primary data are obtained directly from primary sources through in-depth interviews with informants, while secondary data was obtained in the form of research findings, records, reports, and written documents. For this study, secondary data were obtained from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI), the Labor Department (*Dinas Tenaga Kerja*), the Agriculture Department (*Dinas Pertanian*), and the Kroya District Office, Indramayu Regency.

The informants in this study were deliberately selected. First, village heads or other community leaders were approached to find out the general conditions of female migrant workers in the study location. Several key informants were identified from the initial discussions, including: village officials, community leaders, and female migrant worker leaders, as well as brokers, agents, and sponsors of female migrant workers

This study uses migrant households as its unit of analysis, specifically focusing on farming households in which at least one member has worked as a female migrant laborer. Participants were selected using snowball sampling, a method in which participants are recruited through referrals from initial informants (Wan Rosli & Rosalili, 2025). The study began with village heads and community leaders, who provided an overview of the general conditions of female migrant workers in the study area. From these initial contacts, referrals were obtained for other relevant participants.

To reduce the risk of bias inherent in snowball sampling, such as the overrepresentation of participants from closely connected social networks, researcher employed multiple entry points through different community leaders and officials. Variation in participants was also considered based on age, migration destinations, and household economic status. A total of 50 participants, all former female migrant workers from farming households, were interviewed, consistent with the recommended sample range of 20–50 participants in case study research (Bekele & Ago, 2022; Wutich et al., 2024)

Interviews continued until no new information or themes emerged from the data, indicating that data saturation had been reached. Monitoring was carried out systematically by reviewing field notes and coding results after every five interviews to determine if new findings had emerged. In addition, interviews with other household members, particularly the spouses or parents of former female migrant workers, provided additional perspectives that strengthened the completeness of the data and enabled cross-verification of the main narratives.

Data triangulation was conducted by comparing narratives from various informants and participants, including former migrant workers, family members, community leaders, brokers, and village government officials. Additionally, source triangulation was carried out by combining primary data from interviews with secondary data from government agencies, local institutions, and other documents. These methods strengthened the credibility of the findings by ensuring that individual narratives were consistent with other data sources.

The obtained data were analyzed using thematic analysis. This method is used to identify, analyze, and report patterns (themes) in qualitative data (Buser et al., 2023; Naeem et al., 2023; Sandhiya & Bhuvanewari, 2024). Thematic analysis involves the following stages: 1) understanding the data, 2) developing initial codes to identify meaningful data, 3) searching for themes by combining codes into potential themes, and 4) reviewing themes to ensure they accurately represent the data. The final stage is preparing a report on the analysis results (Naeem et al., 2023). In this study, the themes analyzed were the use of remittances, changes in land ownership, and the significance of land for farming households in rural areas.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Kroya District, Indramayu Regency

The majority of residents in Kroya District, Indramayu Regency, depend on agriculture as their primary source of livelihood. While there is no official data available on the number of farmers categorized by land ownership status, interviews with village officials, agricultural extension workers, and community leaders indicate that more than 60% of farmers are either tenant farmers or agricultural laborers.

Table 1. Socio-Geographic Profile of Kroya District, Indramayu Regency

Aspect	Description
Total area	13,555 Ha
Population	66,773 people
Distance from Regency Capital	48 Km
Land use:	
- Agricultural	12,300 Ha (90,74%)
- Non agricultural	1,255 Ha (9,26 %)
Number of people working in the agricultural Sector	16,461 people (52,20 % of the working age population)

Source : BPS Kabupaten Indramayu (2022); Monographic data of Kroya District

The Kroya District of Indramayu regency is located 24 meters above sea level and receives an average annual rainfall of 2,202 millimetres (BPS Kabupaten Indramayu, 2022). The primary crop cultivated in the study area is rice. Kroya is one of the subdistricts with the largest rice field area in Indramayu Regency. Most of the rice fields in the study area are rain-fed, and most farmers rely on the availability of water during the rainy season for their farming activities (BPS Kabupaten Indramayu, 2022). During the dry season, only a few farmers use water from boreholes or wells. The limited water supply means that farmers in Kroya Subdistrict can only plant rice twice a year at most.

For lower-income farmers, limited capital prevents them from renting water pumps during the dry season. When rainfall is insufficient, they often choose not to engage in farming activities during this period to minimize the risk of crop failure. For these farmers, the main motivation to continue farming is the sense of security it provides in meeting their families' food needs. During the dry season, some farmers plant secondary crops such as cucumbers, long beans, and corn; however, the majority prefer to seek employment outside the agricultural sector. This behavior appears to be common among smallholder farming households in Indonesia. Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) indicate that agriculture is no longer the primary source of income for most farming households, particularly for small-scale farmers, whose main livelihoods now come from outside the agricultural sector (BPS Kabupaten Indramayu, 2023).

According to Departement for International Development (2001); Kayal & Choedhury, (2025), three important factors related to livelihood strategies are the availability of opportunities, the existence of capabilities, and the diversity of livelihood options. The quality of human resources determines the livelihood pursued. The population in Kroya Subdistrict, Indramayu Regency, still has a relatively low education level. On average, both men and women have completed fewer than nine years of education, meaning they did not finish primary school (BPS Kabupaten Indramayu, 2022). This limits their access to the job market. Most of the population can only pursue education in the informal sector, both inside and outside the village.

Women's international migration has emerged as a response to both economic pressures faced by households and the availability of opportunities. Since the 1980s, the proportion of female migrant workers has increased significantly. This trend is largely driven by the higher demand for female labor, particularly in the informal sector, such as domestic work, childcare, and elderly care. In addition, the structural costs associated with migrating for informal sector jobs are generally lower compared to those in the formal sector, which men more commonly occupy (Elizabeth et al., 2020; Hidrobo & Mueller, 2022).

In the early stages of women's international mobility, information about overseas job opportunities was introduced to villages by labor recruitment agencies. These first-generation migrants were generally unmarried and had only completed primary education. They were offered jobs in domestic work. A strong determination to improve their families' economic conditions served as the main motivation for these women to migrate abroad. Many of these pioneering female migrants were considered "successful" upon returning to their villages.

Their success became word-of-mouth "promotion" that encouraged other women, including married women, to work as domestic helpers abroad. According to community leaders in Kroya subdistrict in the Indramayu regency, migrant workers were predominantly women from the

beginning. In 2022, the Indramayu Regency Labor Office reported that 82% of migrant workers were women. Every year, over 200 women from the Kroya District leave to work abroad. Their main destinations include Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and Saudi Arabia.

Remittances, Land, and Social Mobility

The link between women's international mobility and agriculture is evident in the investment of remittances in agricultural activities (Mack et al., 2023; T. M. K. Nguyen et al., 2018). Remittances allocated towards agriculture are mostly used for land acquisition. A key finding is that remittances have enabled many households, particularly those without prior land ownership, to purchase land, albeit on a small scale.

Table 2 shows how female migrant worker (FMW) households use remittances in agriculture, grouped by land area: small (less than 0.5 hectares), medium (between 0.5 and 1 hectares), and large (more than 1 hectares). Of the 50 households analyzed, 29 households (58%) used part of their remittances to purchase agricultural land, including farmer-owners, tenant farmers, and farm laborers. Meanwhile, four households (8%) used remittances to rent or mortgage land. Only one household used remittances for agricultural modernization. These results show the high orientation of farming households in using remittances as the main form of agricultural investment.

For farming households, land has both rational and emotional significance. As a factor of agricultural production, land has economic value. In its non-productive function, land ownership can be associated with social status. For farming households in the lowest socioeconomic stratum, land plays a crucial role. Owning agricultural land, especially rice fields, even in small quantities, ensures the household's food needs are met and improves social status. As one informant (Ms. R, age 49) stated:

"I saved money from my earnings so that I could buy a rice field, even if it was only half an acre. Owning a rice field makes a difference. People in the village respect you more and consider you better off."

These findings are consistent with studies by Kaur & Kaur (2022); and Meyer & Ströhle (2023) that explains how land ownership, particularly of rice fields, is the basis for social stratification in rural communities. Aguilar-Støen et al.'s (2016) research also confirms that remittances improve the economic conditions of households and change social relationships and economic institutions in migrants' places of origin. Remittances can strengthen recipients' social positions in their communities. A community leader (Mr. N, 67 years old) also confirmed:

"If a child works abroad but does not own farmland, villagers tend to say he or she is not successful. However, if they have purchased farmland, even a small plot, it is seen as a sign that their hard work has paid off."

Table 2. Use of Remittances in Agriculture

Use of Remittances Related to Farming	Land Tenure Category					
	Smallholder landowner (n=3)	Medium-scale landowner (n=1)	Large landowner (n=2)	Small-scale sharecropper (n=14)	Medium-scale sharecropper (n=2)	Farm Laborers (n=28)
Land purchase	2 HH		1 HH	12 HH	2 HH	12 HH
Land Area Purchased	0,14 - 0,28 Ha		0,28 Ha	0,28 - 0,42 Ha	0,28 – 0,5 Ha	0,14 - 0,35 Ha
Land Rental or Cultivation	-			1 HH		2 HH
Additional Area Cultivated (Ha)	-			0,3 Ha		0,42 – 0,56 Ha
Land Mortgaging			1 HH (0,7 Ha)			
Other Use of Remittances		Purchased a hand tractor				

Note : HH (Household)

Land is also a valuable investment that can be sold when migrant households need money. Rice fields, in particular, have high economic value because they can be quickly transferred through selling, leasing, or mortgaging when cash is needed. It's no surprise that some FMWs use the proceeds from their work abroad to buy or mortgage rice fields. Most of the land controlled by migrant worker households is cultivated by household members themselves. This indicates that the agricultural sector remains the primary source of livelihood for rural households. Even when migrant households do not cultivate the land directly, it is typically managed by others through rental or sharecropping arrangements.

Table 2 also shows that the average increase in landholding size is relatively small, ranging from 0.14 to 0.5 hectares. In many cases of FMW households, particularly those engaged in agricultural activities as farm workers and cultivators, there was no alteration in land ownership. Of the 28 farmworker households, only a small number were able to expand their cultivation or mortgage their land on a limited scale. This finding underscores the inherent limitations of remittances in fostering the accumulation of productive assets.

The constraints faced by migrant households in accumulating productive assets, particularly land, are influenced by numerous factors. The majority of households utilize remittances for consumption and basic needs, including home renovations, children's education, and debt repayment. These findings suggest that remittances function primarily as a means of supporting livelihoods. Furthermore, structural and economic factors, including rising land prices, have a significant impact on the declining ability of remittances to be converted into agrarian assets.

For female migrant workers who went abroad after 2015, it generally takes three contract periods, or about five to six years of work, before they can purchase land. This is largely due to the rising cost of living, as well as the steadily increasing price of land, which makes it more difficult for PMWs to acquire farmland. One of the earliest returnee migrants in Kroya Subdistrict, Mrs. Bdrh (65 years old), shared her story:

“I went to Saudi Arabia in 1982 and worked there for about three years. I earned around IDR 300,000 per month. While working there, Alhamdulillah, I was able to save money. When I returned home, I brought back around IDR 6 to 7 million—a large sum at the time. I was able to renovate my parents’ house, share some money with my siblings, and still had enough left to buy three plots of rice fields (one plot is equivalent to about 100 tumbak). *Alhamdulillah*, the fields are still there and now being cultivated by a neighbor, because I’m no longer strong enough to work the land myself. Nowadays, even if you go to Saudi Arabia to work, it’s uncertain whether you can still afford to buy land. Land prices here have become expensive, and very few people are willing to sell their land.”

Many returnee migrants can only afford to rent or mortgage rice fields. One returnee migrant, Mrs. Y (43 years old), shared her experience:

“Since more people started going abroad (as migrant workers), land prices here have increased very quickly. I remember when I left in 2006, and by the time I returned, the price of rice fields was still around IDR 75 million per *bahu* (1 *bahu* = 0.7 Ha). Those who had just returned from working abroad were willing to pay more just to own land. For example, if I offered Mr. A IDR 50 million per *bahu* today, the next day someone else might offer IDR 60 million because they brought a lot of money from overseas. Now, good-quality fields with proper irrigation can cost around IDR 250–300 million per *bahu*. Those who don’t own land usually plant on *alas* (a term for forest land owned by PT Perhutani in Kroya Subdistrict, which has increasingly been cultivated by local residents under informal rental arrangements at much lower rates than irrigated rice fields).”

As illustrated in Figure 1, the price of land in rural areas exhibited a greater increase than the rate of FMW income. This calculation was derived from the assumed wages of PMWs working in Saudi Arabia, which were then compared with rice field prices during the same period. The findings indicate a substantial decline in the ratio of wages to land prices, from 1:2.38 in 1983 to 1:7.44 in 2023. This phenomenon suggests that, despite the increase in migrant incomes, the purchasing power of wages relative to land has undergone a substantial decline, thereby rendering the acquisition of land, even if only symbolic in nature, increasingly contingent on long-term accumulation or substantial remittances. Consequently, the accumulation of land has become increasingly challenging for migrant families. This phenomenon aligns with the findings of a study conducted by the World Bank (2023), which indicated that inflationary pressure on the real value of remittances has implications for the purchasing power of migrant households.

Land prices exhibit an increase that can be attributed, at least in part, to an increase in demand for land. Meanwhile, the amount of land will always remain the same or even decrease. According to economic law, this will increase land prices. People often sell their land due to economic necessity. In addition to rising land prices, limited information about available land hinders former FMW members from acquiring it. Information about land for sale is usually shared by word of mouth and tends to be kept within a closed network, meaning land offers are not first made to those closest to the seller.

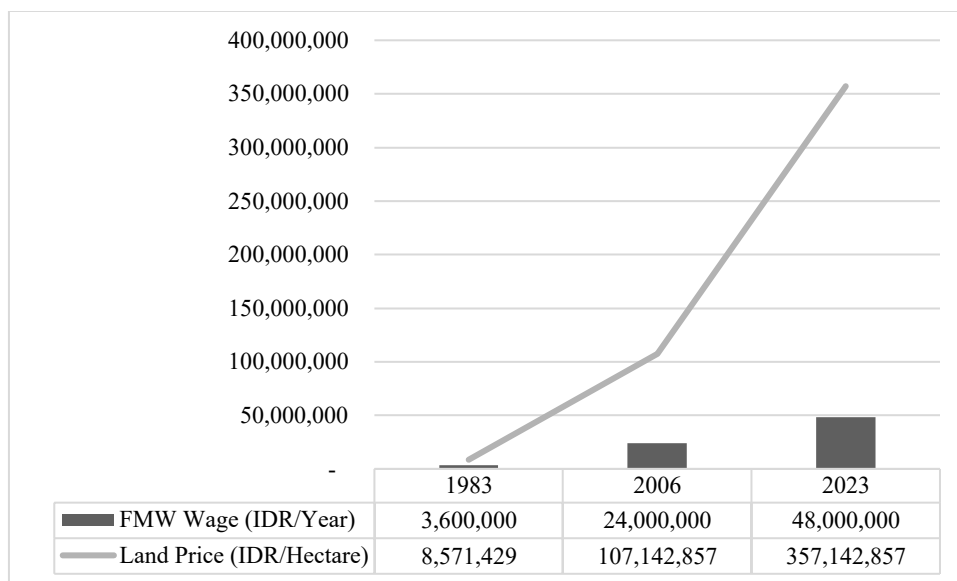


Figure 1. Comparison of Wages Earned by Female Migrant Workers and Land Prices in Kroya Subdistrict, Indramayu Regency

Several cases show that an increase in land tenure, even on a small scale, can lead to changes in other livelihood resources. One example is informant Y, a 26-year-old former migrant from Kroya District, Indramayu Regency.

“...During the four years I worked in Japan, I regularly sent money to my parents every month. Part of the money was used to support their daily needs, and the rest was saved by my father to buy land (rice fields). Now, he cultivates approximately 300 *tumbak* (0.4 Ha) of land. In addition to growing rice, during the dry season he often plants red chili peppers. If the market price is good, *alhamdulillah*, he can earn some extra income, but of course, sometimes the price drops at harvest time. From the farming profits, my father was also able to save enough to buy a hand tractor, which helps a lot because we no longer need to rent one. Sometimes, when neighbors need it, he also rents it out to them.”

Another returnee migrant, Mrs. An (47 years old), shared that before working abroad, her family did not own any agricultural land and relied on sharecropping (*maro* system) to farm. The remittances she earned were used to purchase approximately 300 *tumbak* of rice fields. A small profit from the farming activities was saved and used as initial capital for her husband's mobile household goods business. Over time, the business grew, and eventually, Mrs. An's household was able to open a household goods shop at the village market. Part of the profit from this business was reinvested by Mrs. An in the form of additional rice fields and a small garden. Today, the land owned by Mrs. An's household is managed by her son. Bohme (2015); Damon (2020); and Mack et al. (2023) explains that remittances from family members working abroad can have a positive effect by relaxing production and investment constraints. In line with this view, the two cases above illustrate how women's international mobility can reduce barriers to accessing land resources, ultimately enabling the accumulation of livelihood assets.

In contrast to the previous case study, this study shows that, in most households, remittances are only used to improve access to land. According to the Sustainable Livelihood framework, Farming with Remittances: Female Migration, Agricultural Investment, and Social Mobility in Rural Indramayu, 534 Indonesia (Kusumo et al., 2026)

remittances can strengthen the livelihood assets of farming households, particularly natural, physical, and social assets, by enabling the purchase of land. However, this does not automatically increase agricultural productivity. Nearly all informants stated that they did not use remittances to improve farm management practices, such as increasing production inputs, adopting modern technology, or diversifying crops. These findings differ from those of Sarkar & Reshmi (2024) in India and Qin & Liao (2016) in China, where remittances were used to purchase tools and adopt technology, making farming more efficient.

This finding indicates that remittances promote limited and context-specific agricultural modernization. In the context of rural Indramayu, land ownership is regarded as the safest, lowest-risk, and most easily transferable form of investment. Conversely, investments in agricultural modernization, such as the purchase of agricultural machinery, are often considered risky due to the technical skills required, the additional capital needed, and the dependence on external factors, including weather and fluctuations in crop prices. Most FMW households behave in a manner consistent with James Scott's description of subsistence ethics. Specifically, smallholder households tend to avoid risk and prefer short-term stability by securing basic resources, such as land. In this context, increased access to resources (in this case, land) is driven more by a desire for household food security and a motivation to improve one's status within the community than by an orientation toward long-term productive capital accumulation.

Within the framework of sustainable livelihoods, remittances have the potential to increase households' room for maneuver in responding to shocks, but for remittances to become transformative capital (e.g., triggering intensification, mechanization, or diversification of medium-scale agribusiness), institutional intervention is needed. Several studies show that access to appropriate credit, sustainable extension services, market facilities, and collective mechanisms to reduce investment risk play a significant role in promoting transformative capital (Mack et al., 2023; Mubangizi, 2025). Without institutional support and policies that encourage the integration of remittances into the agricultural production system, remittance tend to “stop” at the level of consumption and passive asset accumulation.

In addition to institutional support, the capacity of households to manage remittances productively is a key factor in determining the extent to which remittances can contribute to transformative capital. Based on two case studies (Mrs. Y and An) and research conducted by Peluso & Purwanto (2018) on the Magersaren community in the Malang Regency of East Java, as well as Pan et al. (2020) study in China, it can be concluded that remittances promote the sustainability of livelihood resources by increasing access to land. Thus, the most notable characteristics of former migrants who develop agricultural resources are the ability to recognize opportunities and the courage to take risks.

The decision made by Mrs. Y's family to cultivate red chili peppers and purchase a hand tractor, as well as the decision by Mrs. An's family to start a household goods business, were based on careful assessments of potential risks and the ability to recognize market opportunities. These families viewed land ownership not merely as a means to ensure food security, but as a stepping stone toward achieving a better livelihood. This aligns with the views of Dwumah et al. (2024); and Pulka

et al. (2021), who argue that individuals with entrepreneurial orientation are typically characterized by their willingness to take risks, their innovativeness, and their proactive approach to decision-making.

Informants Y and An did not acquire entrepreneurial skills directly while working abroad. Y was employed at a food processing factory in Japan, while Mrs. An worked as a housemaid in Saudi Arabia. Although neither job provided technical experience in entrepreneurship, their environments in which they worked offered space for developing self-confidence, discipline, and motivation to pursue a better life. They used these skills to start a business when they returned to their village. Their businesses did not develop quickly, but they were able to gradually accumulate capital from remittances. This illustrates that the potential of remittances to support improved livelihoods at the micro level is significantly influenced by human capital, particularly the capacity of returnees to manage and convert remittances productively.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

In Kroya Subdistrict, Indramayu Regency, women's international mobility is closely intertwined with agricultural dynamics and shifts in the social status of farming households. Remittances sent by female migrants are frequently used to expand land ownership, although typically on a modest scale. Access to land enhances household food security and contributes to improved social status, as land ownership is locally recognized as a marker of prestige and stability. These findings underscore that in agrarian rural contexts, land ownership remains a key indicator of social mobility. While migration and remittances can partially overcome barriers to land access, the ability to do so varies widely depending on individual household circumstances, remittance size, market conditions, and the household's capacity to manage risk and recognize investment opportunities. Many households continue to face constraints in transforming their livelihood assets into more productive and sustainable strategies.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the extant literature on the relationship between migration and agrarian change by demonstrating how women's migration functions as a livelihood diversification strategy that reshapes access to agrarian resources and the configuration of social strata in rural areas. This study expands the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) by emphasizing the gender dimension in livelihood asset accumulation. It demonstrates that remittances generated by women can strengthen natural, physical, and social capital. However, these remittances do not automatically imply agricultural modernization or increased agricultural productivity. Consequently, this study enhances our comprehension of the association between migration and agrarian structures, particularly in regions where land ownership is a determinant of welfare and social status.

From a policy perspective, the findings of this study underscore the importance of institutional collaboration in promoting the productive and sustainable use of remittances for enhancing rural livelihoods. At the village level, village governments, agricultural cooperatives, and farmer groups can be encouraged to develop joint programs based on remittances and land consolidation. Furthermore, local institutions must be empowered to function as collective spaces, leveraging

remittances to enhance agricultural productivity through initiatives such as mechanization and irrigation channel improvements. At the district and provincial levels, relevant agencies such as *Dinas Tenaga Kerja*, *BP2MI*, and *Dinas Pertanian* can collaborate to enhance the reintegration process for former migrants by developing programs to bolster the capacity of households to manage remittances productively and sustainably. These programs may include initiatives to improve financial literacy, training in farm management, and entrepreneurial assistance for female migrant workers and their families. A community-based participatory approach constitutes a foundational element in the promotion of awareness regarding the significance of converting assets into adaptive livelihood strategies.

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