
Remittances and Village Development in Indonesia: The Case of Former Migrant Workers in South Korea from Ngoro-oro Village in Yogyakarta Special Region Province

Ratih Pratiwi Anwar

Center for Asia and Pacific Studies (CAPS)
Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
Bulaksumur B-13, Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia
E-mail: ratihanwar@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

This essay addresses economic and social remittances impacts on development from Javanese migrant workers returning from South Korea by taking a small survey at one village in Yogyakarta Special Region province, Indonesia. In regard to the influence of Confucianism in South Korean companies, the essay also identifies social remittance types acquired by the Javanese former migrants in their workplace. Finally, it elaborates remittances utilization in the former migrants' household and community. It suggests that migration of Javanese workers to South Korea gives some positive effects on development in the village of origin.

Key words: *International migration, Development, Social Remittances, Javanese, South Korea*

INTRODUCTION

Since the past two decades the number of Indonesians in South Korea as migrant workers is increasing. According to data of the National Body for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers (BNP2TKI), Indonesia initially deployed 3,294 workers to South Korea in 1994 and it increased to 11,078 workers in 1999 (BNP2TKI, 2008). Recent data of the Indonesia Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration shows 13,546 workers departed to South Korea in 2008 or about 12.7 percent of 106,916 deployments to East Asia region (Pusdatinaker, 2012). Even though the number of Indonesian migrant workers in South Korea are relatively small compared to those who are in Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, but Indonesia is the fourth largest country, with about 13%, after Vietnam, Thailand, and the Philippines, sending a workforce to South Korea as of August 2009 (The Korea

Times, 2009). Earlier research by Anwar (2011a) has shown that the increasing demand of Indonesian workers is due to South Korean companies' manager recognize the good qualities of Indonesian workers.

According to figure of Korean Ministry of Justice, in 2008 the majority (87.9 percent) of Indonesian migrant workers in South Korea is male (Korean Ministry of Justice, 2008, cited in Sarjiyati, Riskianingrum, and Anwar, 2012) and data of Pusdatinaker (2012) shows they are employed in the formal sector. A large part of them are employed in manufacturing industry and the rests are working in agriculture, livestock, fishery, service, and construction industries. The distinctive characteristic of Indonesian migrant workers is they come from various ethnics and religions, however, many belong to Javanese ethnic and embrace Islam. On the other hand, South Korea is regarded as one ethnic nation influenced by Confucianism. Thanks to this cultural difference, thus it could be expected that despite economic remittance, Javanese migrant workers would also be able to acquire social remittances in South Korea. Levitt (1998, pp.926) wrote that 'social remittances are ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving-to sending-country community'. Social remittance merit attention since they bring the social impacts of migration to the fore and they are potential community development aid (Levitt, 1998).

In Indonesia there are still limited studies on economic and social remittances impacts from Indonesian labour migration to South Korea. Therefore, this essay aims to provide the empirical evidence – based on a field study – on economic and social remittances gained in South Korea and their impacts on cultural, economic, and social changes of Javanese former migrant workers and their community in Ngoro-oro village, Yogyakarta Special Region province, Indonesia.

The particular social remittances Indonesian migrants were most likely to be received during working in South Korean manufacturing companies are those that derived from Confucianism. According to Song (2003), Confucianism was the state religion or philosophy of Korea for over five hundred years – beginning with the foundation of the Yi Dynasty in 1392 and continuing until the end of the dynasty when Korea was annexed by Japan. Confucian teachings still affect the present-day South Koreans on the values, ways of thinking, and modes of conduct. Song (2003, pp. 220-221) states that 'the profound influence of Confucianism has also spilled over to the fundamental foundations of South Korean management system and human relationship as well as work behaviors within South Korean business organizations'.

For the purpose to present the current study outcomes, this essay is organized into six parts as follows. First, a brief of study methodology is presented. The second part provides a short profile of the economic and social situations of Yogyakarta Special Region province (hereafter, 'DIY province') and Gunungkidul district where

the field work took place. The third part explains the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. The fourth part reports the survey results and discussions on: (a) the understanding of surveyed Javanese former migrant workers concerning Confucian human relationships rules and work behaviors at their workplace; (b) cultural change that focused on new work behaviors of former migrants; (c) the pattern of economic remittance utilization and the economic remittance impacts to former migrants' household economy level, current income, and livelihood change after they returned; (d) social changes that emphasized on the former migrants' position change in social stratification and their participation change in village social institutions. The fifth part discusses government programs for returned migrant workers, and the sixth part is the conclusion.

Study Methodology

The current study is a part of the author's study (Anwar, 2011b) on the cultural, social, and economic transformation from Indonesian labour migration to South Korea in DIY province. The author analyzed the data of one village from the larger study. Applied quantitative approach, the primary data was mostly gathered through questionnaire survey and interview. The survey was conducted in the house of former migrant workers. Secondary data was collected from village and sub-district government and other government institutions. The field work started with a multi-layered consultation with sub-district and village government officials, as well as with some former migrant workers, to determine the studied village and to find the prospective respondents. The data gathered in the survey was analyzed with descriptive statistics. The qualitative information and secondary data were used to support the analysis.

The particular location of survey was Ngoro-oro village at Patuk sub-district in Gunungkidul district which is located in DIY province. The total number of former migrants in Ngoro-oro village who had worked in South Korea during 1999 – 2008 was 14 persons and 13 persons agreed to be surveyed. Despite its shortcoming that this study has yet to reflect the whole condition of Javanese workers who migrated to South Korea due to limited number of samples, however, this study's attempt to step into the current debate on the relationship between migration and development by presenting the depiction of the impacts of economic and social remittances on development in the village level, can be a significant contribution not only for migration research, but also for policy formulation that promoting migration-development relationship in Indonesia.

A brief overview of DIY province and Gunungkidul district

The DIY province is one of the 33 provinces in Indonesia and it lies in middle-southern part of Java Island. According to data of the Statistics-Indonesia (BPS) of DIY province, it has an area around 3,185.80 km² and its population were about 3.51 million persons in 2008. Administratively the province is divided into four districts and one capital city: Kulon Progo, Sleman, Bantul, Gunungkidul, and Yogyakarta city. Majority of working population in the province is depended on agricultural sector. However, the main contributors of Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) in 2007 were the hotel and restaurant sector (19.2 percent), services sector (16,8 percent), agricultural sector (15 percent) and manufacturing industry (13.6 percent). Among the four districts, GRDP per capita of Gunungkidul was the lowest during 2005-2007 and agricultural sector remains the largest contributor to economy of this district (BPS-DIY, 2005; 2008).

Poverty is one of the important social problems in DIY province. The data base of BPS-DIY (2003; 2008) showed that in 2003 number of the poor were 636,800 persons or about 20 percent of DIY province population. It dropped to 633,500 persons or around 19 percent in 2007. The poor were mainly concentrated in following districts: Gunungkidul (28.9 percent); Kulonprogo (28.6 percent); and Bantul (19.4 percent). The difficulty of people to make a decent living can be seen from the substantial gap between the provincial minimum wage and the decent living needs costs (*Kebutuhan Hidup Layak* or KHL) in DIY province. The provincial minimum wage (*Upah Minimum Propinsi*) was only Rp. 586,000 (around US\$ 54) a month in 2008, while the people's decent living needs costs reached Rp. 724,416 that was equivalent with US\$ 66 (Bank Indonesia, 2008). Because of these social and economic situations, it has no doubts that many people of DIY province left for other countries for searching better earnings.

There were top five destination countries of overseas workers from DIY province during 1999 – 2007. Based on the data of BPS-DIY on recorded deployment, in term of number on the top is Malaysia (89.9 percent), then followed by South Korea (3.9 percent), Singapore (2.6 percent), Taiwan (1.2 percent), and Hong Kong (1.1 percent) (BPS-DIY, 2003; 2005; 2008). Recently the Government of DIY province encourages migration for formal sector i.e. construction, agriculture, tourism, mining, health, transportation, and services, following the enactment of a moratorium to ban migration for informal sector (mostly domestic workers) to Malaysia in June 2009. However, outflow migration to Malaysia continues after Indonesian Government lifted the ban on 1 December 2009 (Noorastuti, 2011).

Recorded remittance inflows through formal channel that dominated by banks amounted to US\$ 39.86 million in 2008 and sharply increased to US\$ 81.09 million in

2009 (BP3TKI-DIY, 2010). Remittance share to GRDP of DIY province was still low at 0.2 percent in 2009, but in term of value was higher than the total revenues of DIY province from local taxes, retributions and other sources which only reached US\$ 63.5 million in 2009 (Government of DIY province, 2009).

Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

Theoretical framework

A review on international migration theories (Sukamdi and Haris, 2000) stated that the neoclassical perspective and the structuralist perspective are dominant theories. Another review (Brettel and Hollified, 2000) showed that these theories are also prominent in migration studies and applied to understand the causes of migration and its implications to sending society. Previous works (Todaro, 1995; Mantra, 1988; Hugo, 1996; Bach, 1982) as cited in Sukamdi and Haris (2000) suggest that the neoclassical perspective explains the relationship between migration and productivity. Migration activity can be seen as a mechanism of production intended to increase income, which is a consequence of a rational choice of the migrant. In addition, the two authors wrote that in connection with the consequences of migration, neoclassical theorists hold the view that emigration that occurs in large numbers will have a positive influence on the area of origin because of its large contribution to the economic welfare of the place.

Within structuralists point of view international migration is seen as the consequence of existing inequalities in sending countries and at the same time it will produce further inequalities, such as human capital deficit and underdevelopment in sending areas (Goss and Lindqvist, 1995 cited in Cortes, 2008, p.6). Brettel and Hollifield (2000) in their paper pointed out that the structuralists also concern with how does migration affect social and cultural change at the sending society. Regarding ability of migration to affect change in areas of origin Portes (2008) suggests that it may depend on the number of migrants, the duration of migration, and class composition of migrants. The ability of overseas movement to cause changes will be weak if the number migrating people is relatively small compared to those who do not migrate, type of migration is not permanent or the duration is short, and migrants are people that has low ability to adapt socially and culturally in destination countries, for example less skilled migrants.

A leading organization concerned with development (UNDP, 2009) reported that migration can have profound consequences for social, class, and ethnic hierarchies in origin communities if lower status groups gain access to substantially higher income streams. Migrant workers also accumulate the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital in host countries and they flow them back to families and communities at origin Peggy Levitt (1998) states that these new ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital are social remittances.

Levitt (1998) has defined three types of social remittances: normative structures; system of practices; and social capital. Normative structures are ideas, values, and beliefs. They include norms for interpersonal behavior, notions of intra-family responsibility, standard of age and gender appropriateness, principles of neighborliness and community participation, and aspirations for social mobility. They also include expectations about organizational performance such as how the church, state, or the courts should function and norms about the role of clergy, judges, and politicians.

The system of practice is the actions shaped by normative structures. For individuals, these include household labor, religious practices, and patterns of civil and political participations. Within organizations, they include modes of membership recruitment and socialization, strategies, leadership style, forms of intra-organizational contact, and patterns of organizational behavior. The social capital is both the values and norms on which social capital is based (Levitt, 1998). While Olse (2002, pp.11) defines that ‘the social capital is, in its simplest form, what an individual acquires through participating in informal networks, registered organizations, associations of different kinds and social movements’.

Owing to the potentially wide coverage of social remittances, the discussions in this essay are confined to normative structures of social remittances. The analysis focused on particular normative structures namely interpersonal relations rules and the expectation of organizational performance that is in the current study defined as how the migrant workers should behave at the workplace to support the performance of organization. For this purpose, a brief review on the normative structures belong to Javanese-Indonesia and South Korea societies will be meaningful to be presented as follows.

The influence of Confucianism on human relationships and work behaviors in South Korea’s work organization

Song (2003, pp.221) wrote that ‘Confucian ethics concerning human relationships are started in terms of basic moral rules and principles governing the five main human relationships: father and son, king and subject, husband and wife, elder and younger, and friend to friend’. Chung, Kae and Jung (1997) described that these relationships are to be governed by five appropriate rules: filial piety to parents, loyalty to the king, respect for the elder, obedience to husband and warmth toward wife, and trust among friends. Confucianism also emphasized value of harmony-oriented group culture. Harmony is to be maintained by observing the five main human relationships, which stress authoritarianism and paternalism. That means people with lower social status respect the authority of people with higher status. In return, people with higher status have an obligation to take care of people with lower status. Confucian values permeate every aspect of a South Korean’s behavior in the society: family, work

organization, and social interactions. In the family, father plays the decisive role in maintaining harmony among family members. In work organization, Confucian values are reflected in a subordinate's loyalty to the superior, and in the latter's benevolence and paternalism toward the former. Trust among friends is reflected in peer relations and in informal interactions.

Furthermore, the influence of Confucianism values on employee working behaviors is diligence and hard working. Corporate transformation in South Korea in the past decades has caused changes in organization culture that affect employee behaviors. A spectacular development of South Korean business since the 1960's has developed a strong corporate culture which favored company's growth through products diversification and emphasized on economies of scale and efficient production in large quantities. Thus, value orientation that then many South Korean workers referred to was most needed in their business was volume or quantity, and this led to the lack of concern for quality. As the South Korean business moved into high tech industries in the 1990s, South Korean workers began to shift their new value orientation to quality (Chung, Kae and Jung, 1997). Beside that transformation, however, another nature of Korean employees i.e. hard working remains in South Korea society nowadays. This is also confirmed by recent data on working hours comparisons based on the Organization for Economic and Development (OECD) index that revealed South Koreans worked 2,256 hours a year in 2010, much higher than the OECD average of 1,739 hours (Kim, 2012).

A brief description on values, human relationships rules and work behaviors of Javanese people

Javanese people is distinguished from other ethnic groups in Indonesia by their different historical background, language and culture. The so-called Javanese or *orang Jawa* is a person whose native language is the Javanese language, i.e. language that is spoken in the Central Java, DIY and East Java provinces (Suseno, 1993). As of 2008, the total population in these three provinces were 73.18 million persons or 32.02 percent of Indonesia's population, making it the sole largest ethnic group in Indonesia (BPS-Indonesia, 2008). In addition, it is widely known that DIY province is referred as one of the centers of Javanese culture in Indonesia because of Javanese Kingdom existed.

Javanese people can be differentiated in two broad social groups, ordinary people who consists of most of the mass of peasants and low-income people, and aristocracy which includes the government employees and the intellectuals, and there are also nobles (royal's descendants) who have lifestyle and world view not different from the aristocracy (Suseno, 1993). A study undertaken in DIY province (Mulyadi, Sumintarsih, and Widyaningsih, 1990) found that in general, the elements that

distinguish the social level of people in Javanese community in DIY province are the royal line, the holders of formal and informal power, and education.

Suseno (1993) stated many Javanese aristocrats refer to an ethics, traditions and lifestyles inspired by the Javanism (Javanese) system of thought. Javanism is used as reference to explain and rationalize the people behavior of everyday life. This system element was derived from the Hindu - Buddhist period in the history of Java. Mulder (1996) noted that even though the aristocrats are considered to be more understanding towards Javanism because they studied it in depth, awareness of the Javanese culture itself is a widespread phenomenon among Javanese people and it is often a source of cultural identity.

Previous studies on Javanese individual and society (Geertz, 1961; Bdk Jay, 1969; Willner, 1970; Mulder, 1978 as cited in Suseno, 1993, pp. 60-66) showed that Javanese holds the principles of harmony (*rukun*) and respect (*hormat*) as their 'ideal pattern' in their daily interactions within community. The first principle says that in every situation people should behave in such a way so as not to cause conflict. The second principle demands that people always show respect for others when they speak to and present themselves to others, according to the age, degree and position. This respectful attitude is the most clearly developed in communities where daily life is strongly influenced by hierarchical structures, namely the aristocracy and the nobles. However, the same attitude does not play such a huge role among the working class and the villages which have more egalitarian structure (Suseno, 1993).

In Javanese traditional family, the position of husband is as head of the family and the guardian for his wife and children while wife submits to husband, takes care of the children and does domestic work. There is, however, often found that many wives in rural community also play economic role (Mulder, 1983 cited in Mulyadi, Sumintarsih, and Widyaningsih, 1990, pp.40-41). The research of Mulyadi, Sumintarsih and Widyaningsih (1990) in DIY province found that in the Javanese aristocratic family, the obligations of parents are nurture, protect, and educate their children with the parents' love and affection. Javanese children treat their mother with love and their father with respect. On the other hand, in many farming families in rural area, sons are educated in order to help their parents in productive activities, not on how they should behave to their parents as in the aristocratic families, and the relationship pattern between sons and father in the farming families is not as formal as in aristocrat's. The general rule in the relationship between children is that older children must protect and follow the wishes of their younger siblings whereas the younger children must comply and respect to older children.

There are also patterns of interaction between Javanese leader and subordinates in the corporate environment. The leader is a central figure in the Javanese

company. The employees are economically dependent on their leader and are respectful to the company's leader. The employees expect from the leader protection and moral guidance, while the leader may take into account the service and loyalty from the employees. The interaction among employees in the corporate environment is almost not different from the interaction among community members. In general, differences in age and social status of individuals are important factors in influencing the behavior in interpersonal relations. In some cases due to the relatively high frequency of attendance at the company, respecting behavior patterns among junior employees to senior employees may lead to the relationship as fellow employees (Mulyadi, Sumintarsih and Widyaningsih, 1990).

Due to the limited study concerning Javanese work behaviors, Javanese way of work is derived from common assumptions in the society of DIY province. Javanese work behaviors at the workplace include working carefully and diligently since many of them engaged in crafts industries. Although the respondents participated in the current study mentioned that emphasizing quantity and quality of work are not a widespread practices of Javanese people in rural areas, but it seems that the background of agricultural society has somewhat formed a Javanese's discipline work behavior, as the opinion of a migrant workers-turned-farmer in DIY province (Anwar, 2011b, pp.25),

"Farmers should also have a disciplined behavior in managing the farm. At planting time, he/she must also plant the seeds. In time to cultivate, he/she must also give the plant fertilizer. At certain times, he/she had to pull out grass that may disrupt the growth of the plant. If he or she does not work with discipline, then the harvest will not be good". (Mrs. Suparsih, a former migrant worker from DIY province).

Field Study Findings and Discussions

A short profile of Ngoro-oro village

To provide the community background of surveyed Javanese former migrant workers in South Korea, a short profile of Ngoro-oro village is presented. According to the data of Ngoro-oro village government (2010), the village total area is 753.8 hectares and is administratively divided into nine hamlets. The number of village population in 2008 was 3,693 persons and composed of 932 households. Ngoro-oro village is still deeply in agricultural society. A high 76.9 percent of the working population is farmer and most of them own a piece of farm land which is less than a hectare, indicating majority were small farmers. About seven percent were employees or labourers and less than 3 percent were owner of small businesses.

Social indicators show that 177 households or a fifth of total households in Ngoro-oro village falls into category of poor household in 2010. Compared to most villages in the sub district, Ngoro-oro owned the smallest number of poor household (Patuk sub district government, 2010). Regarding education attainment, a significant portion (44 percent) of working population only completed primary education, 26.4 percent finished junior secondary school and 20.2 percent were senior secondary school graduates. Culturally, population of Ngoro-oro village is mostly Javanese and embraces Islam as their religion (BPS-Gunungkidul, 2008).

One interview with Mrs. Rukmini (2010) – a former migrant workers in Saudi Arabia-turned-Sepat hamlet’s chief of the village – revealed that the migration in Ngoro-oro was initiated with urbanization to nearby towns or to the country’s capital, then followed by the state-sponsored transmigration program, and finally overseas migration. While single men tended to migrate than married ones, both single and married female migrated to work to Saudi Arabia or Malaysia as domestic workers at the initial wave of international migration. Recently, when many single female seek a gainful employment in Taiwan, only a small number of single female relatively to single male look for jobs to South Korea.

Based on the result of survey, majority of respondents (69.2 percent) admitted they wanted to work in South Korea because of the wage was higher than that of other destination countries, 30.8 percent said there were job opportunities, and less than eight percent opined that job types were attractive such as jobs in factory. On the other hand, the internal factors that affected the decision to leave the village included: the observation that those who returned from South Korea were financially successful (38.5 percent); requirements needed to work overseas were easy to obtain (15.8 percent); and deployment costs were affordable (15.4 percent). Less than eight percent of respondents replied that they were persuaded to work to South Korea by friends and relatives. In fact, “the demonstration effect” caused by former migrants and then recruitment and placement system (that was a prospective migrant paid placement costs by wage cuttings to private recruiting agents) were quite important factors that pushed out migration.

Background of surveyed Javanese former migrant workers

Among those who surveyed there were eleven men and two women. This gender composition confirmed with gender composition in the national statistical database of Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration on labour migration to South Korea (Pusdatinaker, 2012). Their marital status in pre-migration were mostly never married. Almost all have a quite high education (senior secondary school) and one person completed junior secondary school. At the first arrival in South Korea, over 90 percent of surveyed former migrants were in the 20 to 30 year-old range or quite young

while one person in the 30 to 40 year-old range. This relatively youthful age structure may reflect the strenuous nature of work they were engaged in South Korea. All respondents in the study were hired as the operator in small-and medium-sized companies of manufacturing industry. They were employed in broad spectrum of manufacturing industry, ranging from automotive parts, electronics, plastics, household appliances, toys, to foods. Six respondents stayed in South Korea for three years, two respondents stayed for two years, and the rests stayed from three to six years. Only four out of thirteen respondents said they have had a job before migrating.

In regard to the channel of migration, all the surveyed went prior to the fully implementation of the South Korea's Employment Permit System (EPS) scheme in August 2004, thus they were deployed by the private recruiting agents (*Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia or PJTKI*) through a formal channel. The PJTKI gave them two weeks-long pre-departure orientation training on South Korean culture, basic Korean language, and physical exercise. However, there was a common complaint that placement costs charged by the PJTKI were too high. Following the enactment of Act No. 39 of 2004 concerning the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers, the authority to recruit and deploy Indonesian migrant workers to South Korea shifted from PJTKI to the National Body for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers (BNP2TKI). The BNP2TKI has a branch at every province i.e. Office for the Placement and Protection Service of Indonesian Overseas Workers (BP3TKI). The Government intends to reducing costs of placement and improving protection of Indonesian workers through the existing BNP2TKI.

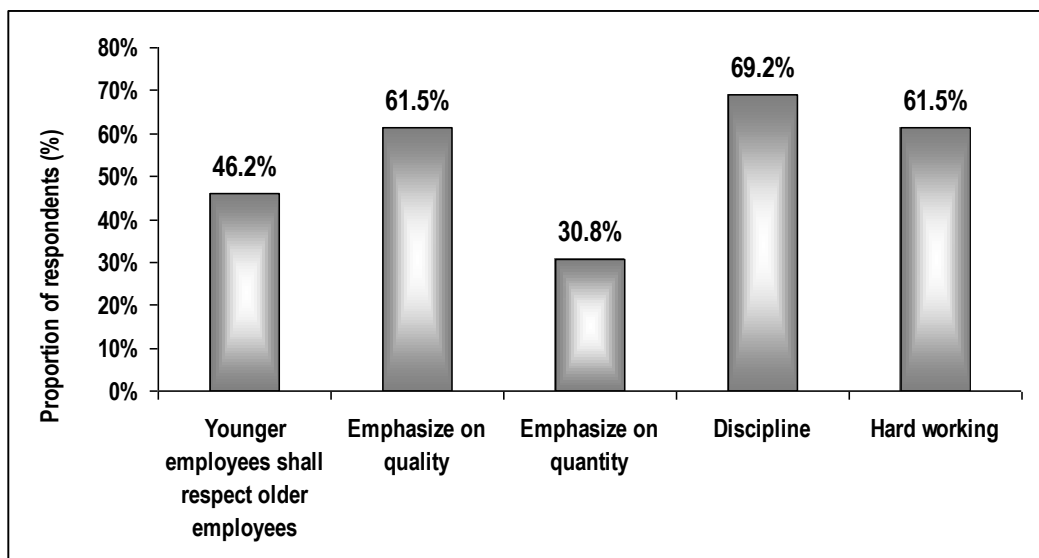
Social remittances received by Javanese former migrant workers

The study found that during overseas assignment that was probably the first exposure to another culture, the respondents acquired an ample knowledge on Confucian human relationships rules at the workplace. The most respondent (84.6 percent) observed that South Korean employees obeyed their employer, while slightly than a half appreciated that South Korean younger employees respected older employees. Many respondents had the notion that South Korean employees can trust each other (30.8 percent) and older employees gave attention to younger employees (30.8 percent). Meanwhile only 23.1 percent revealed that the owner of the company paid less attention to their employees.

Another result of the current survey showed that many surveyed Javanese former migrant workers highly appreciated South Korean workers' traits, in particular, discipline (76.9 percent). In addition, 76.9 percent of the surveyed praised that South Korean workers are hard working. Slightly than a half or 53 percent were impressed due to South Korean workers were diligent and the same portions appreciated South Korean workers which emphasized the value of the time, whereas 15.4 percent of

respondents observed that their South Korean co-workers concerned with the quantity of work.

The study identified some patterns of interactions underlying exchanged social remittances from South Koreans to Javanese migrant workers. According to survey findings, some got it through their daily interactions with South Koreans at work, sports activities (such as soccer competition), and social works, for example, when they and South Koreans helped Indonesian migrants in needs. Other respondents might be a type of ‘instrumental adapters’ as described by Levitt (1998) or those who accumulated new knowledge and skills to be able to get along and to adjust with the challenges and constraints of migrant life. Finally, many surveyed Javanese migrants said that their company or South Korean co-workers demanded them to practice human relationships rules and work behaviors at the workplace like South Koreans, i.e. younger employees respected older employees; emphasized on quality and quantity, discipline, and hard working (see Figure 1).



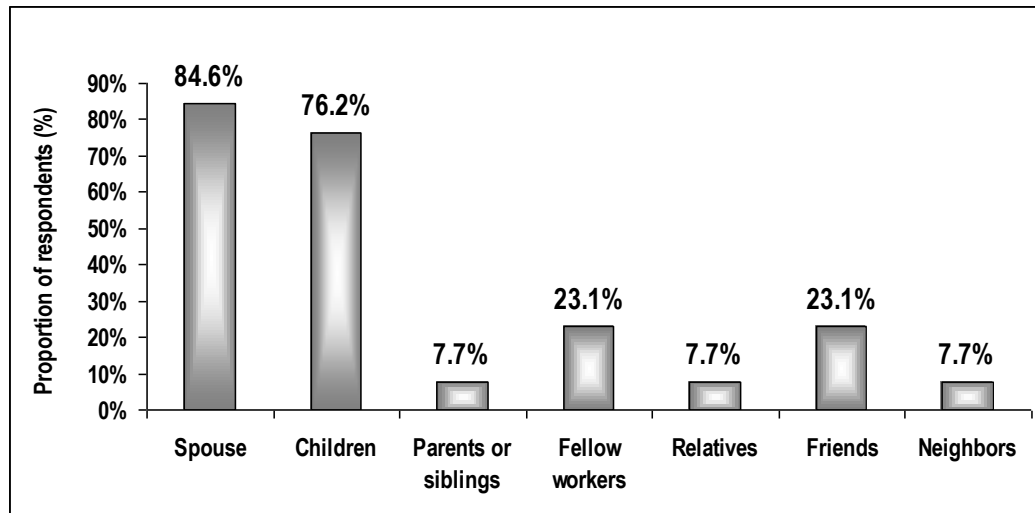
Source: Anwar, R.P., 2011b. Based on small survey at Ngoro-oro village, Indonesia.

Figure 1 Human relationships rules and work behaviors demanded by South Korean companies on Javanese migrant workers

Cultural change from migration to Korea

The current study found the evidences that many surveyed Javanese former migrants adopt some South Korean work behaviors in their current life and transmit these social remittances to their community. All of the surveyed are now hard working; and many of them practice Korean work behaviors of being discipline (69.2 percent) and diligent (61.5 percent). In fact, the respondents have communicated their new work behaviors to their community in their roles as family member, relative, friend, fellow worker or neighbor. For the most of respondents, they had persuaded their spouse (84.6 percent) and children (76.2 percent) to follow South Korean work behaviors, while

significant portion of them encouraged their friends (23.1 percent) and fellow workers (23.1 percent). Around seven percent of the respondents demanded, respectively, their family members, relatives, and neighbors to practice the new work behaviors (see Figure 2). This indicates that the transmission of social remittances from South Korea has been reaching outside former migrants' family.



Source: Anwar, R.P., 2011b. Based on small survey at Ngoro-oro village, Indonesia.

Figure 2 Recipients of social remittances of former migrant workers in South Korea from Ngoro-oro village

Economic changes from migration to Korea

Javanese former migrant workers from Ngoro-oro village had accumulated a substantial amount of economic remittance in South Korea that made them possible to pay various necessities. One respondent admitted that his wages in South Korea was equivalent with US\$ 831 a month in 2006, then increased to US\$ 934 a month in the following year, and at around US\$ 986 a month in 2008. His monthly wage in South Korea was approximately 18 times of provincial minimum wage level in DIY province in 2008. The wage differential between his province of origin and South Korea was very significant and this confirmed with motivation of many respondents to work in South Korea for higher incomes.

The survey result showed a pattern of economic remittance utilization within the respondents' household. A majority of the respondents used their remittance as savings (76.9 percent) and paid for the costs of house construction or renovation (61.5 percent). Slightly more than a half of the surveyed former migrants utilized remittance as working capital. Between 30-50 percent out of total respondents allocated remittance to pay off debts (46.2 percent), buy vehicle (46.2 percent), buy a piece of farm land (38.5 percent), and purchase livestock. Despite that, a quite substantial portion (38.5 percent)

earmarked remittance for their family education costs or it is regarded as human capital investment activity.

The remittance utilization in Ngoro-oro village also showed the contribution of Javanese former migrant workers in promoting their village economic development through productive activities such as rice farming, livestock farming, and trading that have created permanent employment. The establishment or improvement of former migrants' residential houses had provided temporary employment in the village. Hence as the consequence, this could help to resolve unemployment problem in the community.

It was found through the survey that the livelihood of the respondents has changed after they returned from South Korea. Compared to period before migration, the number of employees decreased and those who working in trading sector (i.e. manage construction material kiosk, plant seeds shops, and livestock trading) and services sector (such as transportation and rice milling) increased. Although trade and service sectors have been flourishing, agricultural sector predominates over trade and service, as the result they do not change the livelihood pattern in Ngoro-oro village.

In addition, the survey demonstrated that all respondents admitted their family income level has improved after migration. There are also 10 out of 13 respondents stated that their current income is enough to fulfill the living costs of their family. This is a remarkable economic change since majority of them were unemployed prior to working in South Korea. There are an indication that their new work behaviors may influence their current income status. A cross tabulation analysis result showed that majority of respondents who have their perception that their current income is enough to fulfill their family needs costs are now more discipline, diligent, and hard working.

Social changes from migration to Korea

Prior to their migration, most surveyed Javanese former migrants had a perception that the village head, village government staffs, and religious leaders are those who occupy the highest positions in the social stratification of their community. A small number of the surveyed said the leader of village youth organization and the teacher are people with high social position. In Javanese society, one from family of people with high social position in the community will also be respected. For the purpose to see social status change of the respondents, the author showed them the picture of a ladder of social stratification and asked them to point out their positions on the ladder before and after migration. This method could identify whether the social position of the respondents decreased or increased in pre-and post-migration.

Among the respondents, eleven persons did not have a family member who occupied high social positions in the community, thus it can be said they were people from the low social status group before they left for South Korea. Interestingly, the result of survey demonstrated that after returning from South Korea, all respondents opined that their position in social stratification increased, even though they do not have any affiliation with one from high social status group. In addition, even though Raharjo (1999, pp.117) stated that ‘land is often regarded as an important factor in creating social stratification in Javanese rural community’, all respondents both those who bought land and those who did not buy land with their remittance have expressed that their social position increased after migration. The respondents’ perception on their new social status was allegedly due to they gained access to higher income streams. This reason is backed by the facts that majority of respondents who have perception that their position in social stratification increased after migration revealed that their family economy level increased and their current income can fulfill their family living costs. These economy changes enabled themselves to experience upward economic mobility and acquired a higher social status. Moreover, according to one hamlet chief, the community praised the former migrants which were able to create their own jobs or open their own business in the village (Rukmini, 2010).

Sadly, the improvement of social and economic status is not followed by the increasing number of respondents who participate in village social institutions after migration. This is an important point thanks to village social institutions may channel former migrants’ social remittances and development aspirations. The proportion of respondents getting involved at social institutions remains 61.5 percent at before and after migration. At least two reasons may explain this condition: first, the former migrants are not interested to get involved in social institutions, and second, they prefer to focus on their current jobs to active in social institutions. The survey found that those who got involved in youth organization before migration were 58.5 percent but the figure declined to 30.7 percent after migration. On the other hand, those who participated in neighborhood association tend to increase from around seven percent in pre-migration to approximately 38.5 percent in post-migration. However, neighborhood association is not a formal and top social institution in the village. In addition, the survey also showed that the most of respondents do not occupy any strategic position in formal and top social institutions in the village as village head, hamlet chief, village government staffs, and village council leader or members. This condition may limit their participation in the strategic decisions concerning village development programs.

The role of village government

The Act No. 39 of 2004 concerning the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers does not clearly stipulate the roles of sub-district and village governments in facilitating social and economic re-integration of former migrant

workers. The Act, indirectly, only states the roles that must be undertaken by the local government at sub-district and village level in facilitating the placement and protection of prospective migrant worker. They shall provide and verify the documents required by a prospective migrant worker in recruitment and deployment process. These documents are residence identity card (KTP), birth certificate, marriage status certificate for married applicants, and letter of permission to work abroad from either one's husband or wife, parents or guardian (Act No. 39 of 2004, Article 51). Recently the BNP2TKI established four programs to increase the qualities of return migrants, e.g. Business Development Program; Banking Education Program; Rehabilitation Program for Return Migrants with Physical and Psycho-social Problems; and Seminar and Business Expo (BNP2TKI, 2011). Those programs, sadly, have yet to reach the surveyed Javanese former migrants in Ngoro-oro village.

Regarding the actual role of the village government, Ngoro-oro village government has an initiative to encourage the successful former migrant workers and the migrating ones to give dues for supporting village development programs. This persuasion received a positive response because not only the migrant workers, but also the whole community could receive the benefits from the dues (Rukmini, 2010). According to some respondents, they have contributed dues to pay the expenditures of village development programs such as constructing village mosque and hamlet hall; renovating village government office, repairing village roads; building fence of the residential houses; and conducting village ceremonies. The hamlet hall and village government office are places for community meeting to discuss the village development programs, while the village ceremony is a local tradition of mutual cooperation among villagers to improve village environment and preserve villagers' culture.

Conclusion

Indonesian migrant workers has been gaining a significant portion of employment in South Korean manufacturing industry for the last two decades. It is a worth to address their potential economic and social remittances to development in their village of origin. Based on a small survey in Ngoro-oro village, this essay is able to present the types of social remittance and provide evidences on some dimensions of cultural, economic and social changes resulted from economic and social remittances gained by migration of Javanese people of DIY province in Indonesia to South Korea.

The foundation of culture of Javanese migrant workers and South Korean is different, the former is Javanism derived from Hindu-Buddhist influences, while the latter is Confucianism. Social remittance types which the Javanese migrants received during their working period in South Korean manufacturing companies are Confucian human relationships rules and judgement behaviors, i.e. the younger workers shall respect the older workers, the employees shall obey their superior, discipline, diligent,

and hard working. Even though the two societies own similar interpersonal relationships and work behaviors, but in general the practices are considered stronger in South Korea relative to in Javanese society. That was why the surveyed Javanese former migrants appreciated and practiced some South Korean work behaviors in their current life. This points out an indication of a cultural change among Javanese former migrants due to their migration to South Korea. Another finding showed that these social remittances have been transmitted to their spouse, children, relatives, friends, neighbors, and fellow workers. It can be said that the social remittances from South Korea has been channeled to the former migrants' community.

In economic dimension, this essay shows that migration-for-better wages to South Korea opens an opportunity for Javanese migrant workers to accumulate a significant amount of economic remittance. Through analysis of remittance utilization within former migrants' household, this remittance has been used for various purposes including production, consumption, and human capital investment. The essay also presents the evidence that a part of economic remittance was collectively used for various village development programs which gave benefits to the whole community. It is worth mentioned that based on cross tabulation analysis, while economic remittance has improved the surveyed Javanese former migrants' family economy level and current income, many among those who current income increased also practiced South Korean work behaviors.

This economic change does not stop there. Compared to their pre-departure, their livelihood had changed and trade and service sectors have been emerging in the village due to some formers migrants engaged in. Another consequence of livelihood change is both permanent and temporary employment created in the community. However, further positive economic effect from international migration may be constrained by the lack of national and local government programs to support economic re-integration of former migrants. Another constraint that may hinder the ability of former migrants to give a wider effect is that the number of those who returned from South Korea is relatively small relative to population. The latter confirms with the work of Portes (2008).

In social dimension, a change is identified in the form of increased social position of Javanese former migrant workers in their community's social ladder. The accumulation of wealth from South Korea and their current income level seem to shift the previously dominant factors determining one's social status in their community: occupations as formal and informal leaders in the village.. The influence of social remittances to social status change of Javanese former migrant workers is allegedly from the application of new work behaviors gained from South Korean workplace. It increases current household income and then this affects their upward social mobility. However, the improved social status has yet to increase former migrants' participation

in village social institutions or to occupy strategic positions in formal and top village institutions. This situation may limit the roles of former migrants in village development planning, implementing, and evaluation process.

Based on the outcomes of the study, this essay suggests two policy implications that may can improve economic and social remittances impacts in promoting Ngoro-oro village's further development: first, the scale of the existing government programs for empowering return migrants shall be expanded to village level; and second, it is a need for village government to encourage former migrants to be more active in various village social institutions.

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