

THE IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION ON DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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Abstract

Remittance often becomes a central point in an analysis of the relationship of migration and development because it is viewed as bringing a positive contribution to development. However, the impact of international migration on development is not reducible to the contribution of remittances. This paper maps the impacts of migration to development, particularly in the Indonesian context. The impacts are categorized into eight different dimensions of development, following the framework by (Chappell & Sriskandarajah, 2007). Moreover, the paper explores the level of migration impacts, namely the individual, household, community, and country-level. From the impacts mapping, the paper then critically analyses about how to strengthen the impact of migration to development by proposing three main ideas, those are: (1) understanding the complexity of migration flows, (2) acknowledging other forms of remittances and value exchange, and (3) analyzing the institutions surrounding migration-development nexus in addition to simply encouraging migrant workers and their families to sustain themselves. Through the analysis, it is known that, even though migration and development are highly complex, the nexus also has potentials that can be explored in the further research agenda.

Keywords: development, international migration, remittances

JEL Classification: O15, F22, F24

1. INTRODUCTION

International migration-development nexus is often seen in a positive light (Bailey, 2010) and has become an important discussion. The world's high number of migration flow between countries contributes to the rising prominence of the study. Globally, there are 164 million migrant workers worldwide in 2017, more than half of total international migrants in the same year which at 258 million (ILO, 2018). Besides the number, the significance of international migration is also related to the implication of migration to development, which is often viewed through the lenses of remittances. Economic remittance is called a good source of development for the country of origin (de Haas, 2005) and its contribution is apparent in some countries. For instance, in 2009, remittances contributed as much as 35.1% of Tajikistan's GDP, while in Nepal in the same year; remit-

ances made up 22.9% of GDP (World Bank, 2011). This means that remittances become one of the major income sources in these countries, which in turn, are used by the respective government to fund the development of the countries. As (Chappell & Sriskandarajah, 2007) assert, remittances contribute not only to GDP, but also economic growth, labor market, and trade. Migration and remittances are also closely linked with poverty reduction (Adams & Page, 2005), such as in the case of Ghana (Cuecuecha & Adams Jr., 2016) and Indonesia (Nahar & Arshad, 2017).

The discussion about migration and development nexus is also prevalent in many countries, including Indonesia. Located in Southeast Asia, Indonesia is one of the countries with the biggest number of migrant workers overseas. In 2014-2019, there are 1,763,154 Indonesians who leave the country to work overseas (BNP2TKI,

2019, 2020). In 2013-2017, the total of remittance sent to Indonesia is up to US\$ 65,074 million (Bank Indonesia, 2020) and the amount becomes the source of income of migrant workers and their families. The statistics show that Indonesia is one of the countries with a significant number of migrant workers and remittances in the last decade. In Indonesian mainstream media, migrant workers are often addressed as the "heroes of foreign exchanges" concerning their remittances every year. This paper tries to map the impacts of migration to development concerning the researches undertaken in Indonesia and overseas, with the latter is for reference purposes.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

In discussions about migration, there is debate as to whether migration is good or bad for development. The argument against migration is regularly related to issues regarding crime and security (Lindley, 2011), in which destination countries tighten border security to reduce the number of migrants crossing over their borders. Additional challenges concerning migration are that it causes migrants to lose their skills during the migration process, as their skills are not acknowledged in destinations (Piper, 2008). A further criticism of migration is the possibility of a "brain-drain" (Gamlen, 2014), which refers to the country of origin losing skilled people due to migration. However, given that migration issues are complex and different case by case, migration cannot be generalized as only having negative impacts. Conversely, migration is considered as labor supply to various destinations (Ruhs & Vargas-Silva, 2015) and promote development.

How migration promotes development is frequently explained through remittances. Economic remittance can be seen from different perspecti-

ves, for instance as household income, macroeconomic flow, opportunities for entrepreneurship, or even the source of development (Lindley, 2011). They are not limited to cash flows but can be goods sent to countries of origin, such as medicines, equipment, and gifts (Chimhowu, *et al.*, 2003). However, remittance statistics are regularly limited to cash flows, which confirm that remittances are commonly seen as a source of income. From this perspective, it seems that remittances demonstrate an increasing trend. Inward remittances in all developing countries increased from US\$ 81.5 billion in 2000 to US\$ 325.5 billion in 2010, while outward remittances increased from US\$ 10.4 billion in 2000 to US\$ 58.7 billion in 2009 (World Bank, 2011). It is believed that undocumented remittances total more than the documented data (Chimhowu *et al.*, 2003; World Bank, 2011).

Given the increasing trend in the Global South, it is unsurprising that the impact of migration and remittances for development has become an important topic in development studies. There is a wide range of impacts found in researches or argued by scholars. In the studies conducted in 71 countries, Adams & Page (2005) assert that international migration and remittances "significantly reduce the level, depth, and severity of poverty in the developing world" (Adams & Page, 2005). Migrants can also promote development by doing financial participation in development initiatives held in their countries of origin (Raghuram, 2009) and make collective remittances for community initiatives purposes, such as undertaken by North African, North Indian, and Mexico migrants (Bada, 2016; Lacroix, 2013). In El Salvador, migrants are encouraged to remit for education provision in their places of origin (Ambler, *et al.*, 2015), while in Mexico from 1995 to 2000, remittances contributed to improving community access

to public services in 2,438 municipalities (Adida & Girod, 2011). The changing of gender norms and roles is also linked closely with migration. For instance, Indonesia migrant workers from West Java who worked in Saudi Arabia became the attention of migrant activists and were involved in gender development (Silvey, 2004). Migrant workers also participate in transnational political activism which eventually contributes to shaping the landscape of labor advocacy and social movement such as the case of Singapore and Malaysia (Piper, 2006).

The studies above show that the impacts of migration to development across the globe highly vary depending

on the level and type of impact. The level of impact can be categorized into the development of personal, household, communities, and country levels. While the type of impact can be seen from the perspective of development dimensions affected by migration. Chappell & Sriskandarajah (2007) map the relationship between migration and development by categorizing the impacts into eight different development dimensions. Using the synthesis of the capability approach and the sustainable livelihoods approach as the reference, Chappell & Sriskandarajah (2007) categorization of the impacts of migration on development can be viewed in the following Table 1.

Table 1. The Impacts of Migration to Development

Development Dimension	Type of Impact
Economic	Material poverty of migrant Material poverty of household Household risk Economic growth Inequality Financial system Demography Labor market Inflation Trade Foreign exchange Fiscal balance 'Dependency'
Education	Education of migrant Education of household Education quality and provision
Health	Health of migrant The health of the migrant household Public health Health quality and provision
Gender	Impacts on female migrants Gender roles in the household Women's status in society
Wider Social	Traditional culture and norms Family structure and social networks
Governance	Confidence in the home society State capacity Governance standard Balance of power Personal security
Environment	Individual environmental behavior State environmental policy Environmental technologies
Relief	Disaster relief

Source: (Chappell & Sriskandarajah, 2007)

The connection of migration and development as shown in Table 1 is chosen as the analysis framework in this paper because it is comprehensive in its approach to development. The eight dimensions of development in the synthesis can be considered as major dimensions of development and are significant to people's livelihoods and capabilities. A review of the impacts of migration to either of these eight dimensions of development in the Indonesian context is then presented in the data and analysis section.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

In presenting this paper, the author explores relevant literature and official documents from the government and non-governmental organizations. Working through data from the literature and documents, the author maps the impacts of migration to development from the selected researches, then proposes a critical analysis on how to strengthen the impacts. The papers reviewed here are written in English or Indonesian, either published in an international or accredited national journal. To ensure that this review uses the most up-to-date studies, the selected papers reviewed are only those which were published in the last ten years, from 2011 to 2020.

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Impacts of International Migration to Development in Indonesia

The relationship of migration and development are complicated, beyond a simple causal relation where the former affects the latter. For instance, using a study in Bolivia, Bastia (2011) argues that gender, ethnicity, and class shape the places and migration flows as much as they have resulted from migration. In other words, migration and development may affect each other. Why this paper uses the term "the impacts of mi-

gration on development", therefore, is a choice to highlight the significance of migration in development studies and practices. In Indonesia, a country of origin with a significant number of migrant workers and remittances, migration is viewed as something important. It is shown through how the mainstream media in the country gives a nickname "the heroes of foreign exchanges" to Indonesian migrant workers overseas.

In mapping the impacts of international migration to development in Indonesia, the authors present several selected research papers that investigate the relations of international migration and development. The summary of the selected papers can be seen in Table 2.

Most of the studies above are focused on remittances rather than migration in general. Nahar & Arshad (2017), Sari (2018), and Romdiati (2012) work separately to research about the impact of remittances on economic development. Using Ordinary Least Square (OLS) method, Nahar & Arshad (2017) assert that the increase of remittances reduces poverty in Indonesia by 2.56% from 1983 to 2015. However, they note that the magnitude of the effect is small due to the low educational level of the 98% of Indonesian migrant workers and the expensive cost to remit. In Romdiati (2012), the locus of the study is Tulungagung Regency in East Java, in which the author finds that economic remittances are utilized for a variety of family needs to improve the household living condition, most notably to build a better house and buy a private vehicle. In the more recent publication, Sari (2018) presents the result of the analysis of the relations of remittances and poverty headcount in Indonesia from 2007 to 2016. Using the same OLS method as Nahar & Arshad (2017; Sari (2018), indicates the negative effect of remittance increase to poverty headcount in Indonesia by 22%. It means that if the remittances increase by US\$ 1 million, the po-

verty headcount in Indonesia decreases by 2,200 people (Sari, 2018). Moreover, in a study about Filipino and Indonesian migrant workers, Spitzer (2016) explores the relationship of migrant entrepreneurship and development agenda. Migrant workers tend to venture into entrepreneurship and are viewed as responsible for generating income for their families even after returning home (Spitzer, 2016). Besides the economic remittances, Spitzer (2016) also notices how the migrant workers gain social remittances, such as the ability to speak a foreign language, but this form of remittances often "failed to translate into remunerative rewards" (Spitzer, 2016). These studies show that migration is lin-

ked closely with economic development, with economic remittances tend to be the focus of analysis.

The research by Sukesni (2018) takes a different route as it scrutinizes the migration-development nexus in a wider sense, as her research aims to analyze the social condition and gender relations of women migrant workers at their workplace and household. Using two villages in East Java as case studies, Sukesni (2018) assert that the working condition of women migrant workers is prone to violence, but by taking the works, the women can contribute to their household and surrounding communities.

Table 2. Summary of The Impacts of Migration on Development in Indonesia

Author	Focus of Analysis	Dimensions of Impact	Level of Analysis	Key Findings
Nahar & Arshad (2017)	Remittances	Economic (poverty reduction)	Country-level	An increase in remittances leads to poverty reduction by 2.56%. Inflation and exchange rate have positive and negative effects on poverty, respectively.
Sari (2018)	Remittances	Economic (poverty reduction)	Country-level	There is a negative effect of remittance increase to poverty headcount by 22%. If remittance increases by 1 million US\$, the poverty headcounts decrease by 2,200 people.
Sukesni (2018)	Migration	Gender and economic	Community and household	Women migrant workers face difficult working conditions and prone to violence, but they contribute to household financial conditions and communities by creating home industries and funding communal facilities.
Spitzer (2016)	Migration	Economic (entrepreneurship)	Individual and household level	Migrant workers are expected to supply remittances for economic activities. After returning home, they are encouraged to contribute to economic growth through entrepreneurship and held responsible when the ventures fail.
Romdiati (2012)	Remittances	Economic (Material poverty)	Household-level	Remittances are utilized for a variety of family needs to improve household living conditions and children's education. Some migrant families also use remittances to develop small-scale businesses.
Lu (2013)	Migration and remittances	Health	Household-level	The household of emigrants has an increase in nutritional status. Adults in migrant households are less susceptible to underweight than those of non-migrant ones, but there is no increase in overweight risk.
Hapsari (2019)	Remittances	Education	Household-level	Remittances have a negative and significant effect on children of migrant households in terms of their probability to get higher education.

The contribution, however, is emphasized less on gender development. In the household-level, the contribution is mostly to economic development in which their salaries become a source of income for the household. As for the contribution to the surrounding communities, the migrant workers contribute to building a mosque and faith-based boarding school. However, how migration changes the gender relations in the migrant workers' household and communities still needs further exploration. The author only asserts that women migrant workers in the locus villages have become "the agent of change" in their villages (Sukei, 2018).

Separately, Lu (2013) studies the effect of international migration on health development. Using longitudinal data from the Indonesian Family Life Survey and fixed effect regressions, the study indicates that emigrant households in Indonesia "significantly less susceptible to being underweight than those in a non-migrant household" (Lu, 2013). Economic remittances sent by migrant family members increase the nutritional status of the household and reduce the undernutrition problems in the rural area of migrant origins (Lu, 2013). Different from Lu, Hapsari, (2019) research is focused on the relationship between remittances and education of children. Using longitudinal data from the Indonesian Family Life Survey collected in 2014, the study reveals "remittance has a negative and significant effect on the probability of having higher education on children in migrant households" (Hapsari, 2019). However, the probability of children from migrant households pursues higher education increases depending on the age and education of the head of migrant families. When the head of migrant families is in productive age, the probability of them sending the children to higher education increases. The same case applies when a family head whose

education is higher than in secondary school, they are more likely to provide the children assistance to pursue higher education (Hapsari, 2019). These two separate studies by Lu and Hapsari provide a different perspective from the previously mentioned works with a heavy focus on remittances and economic development researches.

From the studies reviewed earlier, it is known that most of the studies emphasize on remittances as the focus of analysis. The remittances are also restricted to economic remittances, while other forms of remittances such as social and knowledge are still underexplored. The impacts of migration scrutinized in those researches are also still limited to economic, education, health, and gender development. Consequently, in the context of Indonesia, there are relationship between migration and several dimensions of development which can be analyzed, those are environment, governance, wider social impacts, and disaster relief. The relationship between migration and those dimensions of development can become further research agenda which complement the current studies of migration-development nexus in Indonesia.

Strengthening the Impacts

The impacts of migration to development shall not be restricted to the issues of remittances, economic, education, health, and gender development. To strengthen the impacts of international migration to development in Indonesia, whether it is country, community, household, or individual level, more attention to other dimensions of migration development nexus is necessary. It is because migration can contribute to wider social impact, which includes changing customs and culture and familial relations (Chappell & Sriskandara-jah, 2007). The wider social impacts are often in line with development goals, which is to bring meaningful change, therefore: it is important to pay attention

to this dimension of development.

To ensure that international migration brings about more meaningful development, which is referring to wider social impacts, firstly, one shall understand the nature of migration and development nexus. The analysis shall move beyond the impact of remittances on development, but more about how migration as a whole process may affect development (Chappell & Srisikandarajah, 2007). Further, Chappell & Srisikandarajah (2007) highlight the complexity of migration-development nexus has several layers, including: (1) migration itself is complex in nature. The flow of migrants is not homogenous and sometimes difficult to capture, (2) there is the complexity of the variety and scale of with whom migration has relationship with, for example, who benefits or not from migration are varied highly, and (3) the link of migration and development can be viewed differently depending on the lenses used to analyze the matter. For instance, remittances, on one hand, can be considered as a good source of development as explored in this paper. However, on the other hand, remittances may cause migrant workers' dependency, in which, these workers find it difficult to sustain their living conditions once they return to their country of origin (Chimhowu *et al.*, 2003). When decision-makers or development practitioners aim to strengthen the impacts of migration on development, they need to understand this complexity. This point is important because, by understanding the complexity of migration and development nexus, the research and policy undertaken concerning the issue consider a variety of factors that may contribute to the better outcome. Migration studies often emphasize on macroeconomic, by considering other factors such as gender and access to resources, migration studies can be more social (Piper, 2008).

Secondly, as remittances remain

an essential part of development, strengthening the impact of migration on development still needs analysis of remittances. However, one thing to consider is that the research shall pay more attention to a variety of remittances. There are many forms of remittances besides economic, such as social, technology, goods and medicine, skill, and knowledge. Other forms of remittances can also bring a contribution, for instance, social remittances affect local-level organizational culture and the impact can scale up to regional and national levels (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2013). Not only scaling up, Levitt & Lamba-Nieves (2013) also reveal that the impact can scale out to affect other domains of practice such as religion and economics. The term "social remittances" here are used to refer to the notion that "...in addition to money, migration also entails the circulation of ideas, practices, skills, identities, and social capital also circulate between sending and receiving communities" (Lacroix, *et al.*, 2016). During migration, migrant workers can circulate and absorb ideas, skills, and practices that can be useful to be implemented in their place of origin.

After taking a variety of remittances, it has come to a discussion on how to manage and use those remittances in a way that they benefit the targeted groups the most. In other words, it comes to an exploration of how to manage remittances to bring the impacts to development as meaningful as possible. The researches about the impacts of remittances on sustaining the livelihood and promoting development tend to analyze the weakness and problems coming from the migrant workers and their families (Spitzer, 2016). However, it is also important to note that the failure of remittances in bringing about the expected impacts may lie in the "persistent structure inequities" (Lacroix, 2013), which is the next point in strengthening the impacts of migration on develop-

ment.

Thirdly, it takes equal structures and inclusive institutions to promote and sustain migration impacts on development. The two-way strategies need to be implemented at the same time. The first one, which is more often scrutinized, is building the capability of migrant workers, while the second one relates to changing the structure and institutionalizing remittance uses. Migrant workers must be given adequate training and understanding about remittance management and sustaining their living conditions post-migration. To do this, changes or improvement to recruitment and outbound orientation system is necessary to make. Moreover, migrant workers can also organize collective remittances. Unlike personal one, collective remittance is generated with the purpose to fund collective development in the migrants' community of origin. The success of collective remittances, for example, those sent by North Africans and Indians to their communities, depends on the effectiveness of the social system and integration (Bada, 2016). Without a support system and effective integration, collective remittances are barely translated to social development. There is an even worse possibility that collective remittances will increase inequality in accessing resources (Chappell & Sriskandarajah, 2007). Consequently, collective remittances only work when migrant workers have a willingness to join hands in promoting development in their respective communities.

Through understanding the complex nature of migration-development nexus, paying more attention to other than economic remittances, and promoting changes in structure and institution surrounding migration likely contribute to strengthening migration impacts. In practice, it is challenging to bring this concept to reality. Besides its complex nature, strengthening the impact also in-

cludes so many stakeholders and individuals, therefore: the respective stakeholders and individuals must work together in promoting a variety of development dimensions through the experiences of on-going and post-migration.

5. CONCLUSION,IMPLICATION, SUGGESTION, AND LIMITATIONS

Migration-development nexus is an important debate in the current globalized world. Even though the state of development in the country of origin tends to encourage people to migrate and work overseas, migration also contributes to development. In this two-way relationship, this paper is focused on the latter, specifically review the literature about the impacts of migration to development. In Indonesia, the relationship between migration and development is important, particularly when it takes remittances into account. The researches in Indonesia have paid attention to the impact of remittances on development, but it is still limited to mostly economic, gender, health, and education. In the impacts mapping by Chappell & Sriskandarajah (2007), there are other dimensions of development that may be affected by migration, but less explored in Indonesia, those are governance, environment, disaster relief, and wider social impacts. The further research agenda can be focused on this dimension, with the level analysis in individual, household, community, or country level. Moreover, to strengthen the impacts of migration to development, an understanding of the complexity of migration-development nexus is necessary. Remittances shall not be seen only in terms of economic, but also social, technology, skill, and knowledge. The task to strengthen the impacts of migration to development is not the responsibility of the migrant workers alone, therefore: an analysis of institutions surrounding migration-de-

velopment is necessary. A focus to strengthen the impacts of migration on development shall be not only on the skills and experience of migrant workers but also the institutions in community and country which enable them to sustain themselves during and post-migration.

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