

Migrant workers and socio-economic changes

Buruh migran dan perubahan sosial ekonomi

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Abstract

This study was conducted based on the socio-economic changes among South Malang's residents due to the recognition of a new job opportunity, namely the role of migrant worker. The objective of this study is to describe the socio-economic changes in South Malang from a historical standpoint from the 1980s to 2015. In the 1980s, being a migrant worker as a job opportunity was popular, but in 2015, the number of migrant workers started to decrease drastically due to the changing of the economic direction. This study was conducted in eleven sub-districts in South Malang, which is known as the origin place of migrants, and where many of the residents have worked as migrant workers. The data used in this study was collected by interviewing and tracking the archives of the social economic development of the Malang District by way of various institutions. The results of this study indicate that the South Malang residents chose to work as migrant workers based on three main factors. First, are the internal factors that consist of the economic and infrastructure limitations. The external factor consist of the Oil Boom and Asian Miracle's impact. Second, are the unproductive and costly environmental conditions which forced the residents to move out and find better life prospects. Third, is the socio-cultural context, where the society has only known about monetisation since the colonial era. The combination of these factors motivates the rural community of South Malang to work as migrant workers and this changed the socio-economic landscape of the region from plantations and subsistence agriculture to having a capitalist focus in the period 1980 to 2015. The positive impacts brought about by the presence of migrant workers in South Malang include economic progress, socio-economic welfare, and area improvement. On the other hand, the negative impacts include the increasing number of divorce cases, the cases of child abandonment, and the increase in the number of juvenile delinquency cases.

Keywords: migrant workers; socio-economic change; South Malang

Abstrak

Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh perubahan sosial ekonomi masyarakat Malang Selatan sebagai akibat dari dikenalnya jenis pekerjaan baru yaitu buruh migran. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan perubahan sosial ekonomi masyarakat Malang Selatan dari sudut pandang kajian sejarah dalam kurun waktu 1980 yaitu sejak mulai populernya pekerjaan sebagai buruh migran sampai 2015 dimana pada tahun tersebut jumlah buruh migran turun drastis akibat berubahnya haluan ekonomi masyarakat. Penelitian ini dilakukan di sebelas kecamatan di Malang Selatan yang dikenal sebagai daerah kantong-kantong buruh migran. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara dan penelusuran arsip-arsip perkembangan sosial ekonomi Kabupaten Malang dari berbagai instansi. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pekerjaan sebagai buruh migran dikenal masyarakat Malang Selatan karena tiga faktor yaitu (1) faktor dalam negeri dan luar negeri, faktor dalam negeri yang dimaksud adalah keterbatasan ekonomi dan infrastruktur sedangkan faktor luar negeri berasal dari dampak Oil Boom dan Asian Miracle; (2) kondisi lingkungan yang kurang produktif dan membutuhkan biaya besar untuk pengelolannya sehingga memaksa mereka keluar daerah untuk kehidupan yang lebih baik; dan (3) konteks sosio kultural masyarakat yang telah mengenal monetisasi sejak masa pemerintah kolonial. Kombinasi ketiga faktor tersebut mampu memotivasi masyarakat pedesaan Malang Selatan untuk bekerja sebagai buruh migran dan merubah lansekap sosial ekonomi wilayah ini dari perkebunan dan pertanian subsisten menjadi kapitalis dalam kurun waktu 1980 sampai 2015. Dampak positif yang ditimbulkan akibat keberadaan buruh migran di Malang Selatan adalah kemajuan ekonomi, kesejahteraan dan pembangunan sedangkan dampak negatifnya adalah meningkatnya perceraian, anak-anak terabaikan, dan kenakalan remaja.

Kata kunci: buruh migran; perubahan sosial-ekonomi; Malang Selatan

Introduction

For decades, the number of migrant workers worldwide has reached hundreds of millions of people. In Southeast Asia, around 20 million people work outside their respective home countries. This number has more than doubled since 1975 (Benach et al. 2011, Hugo 2012). According to Hugo (2012), there are about six million migrant workers who come from Indonesia. Being a migrant worker is a profession that became known to Indonesian people during the 1970s, due to the official regulations issued by the government on the Inter-regional Labour Force (*AKAD*) and Inter-State Intervention (*AKAN*) placement program. This regulation opened up opportunities for private sector involvement in the employment and recruitment industry. This situation is in line with the opinion of Zlotnik (1998:429-430), which states that the liberalisation of migration policies in some developing countries has contributed to the increasing number of international migrants, both men and women. Ever since the number of international migrants has increased, private firms have started to sell placement services for the potential migrants. In addition to these internal factors, there are two events which became the external factors for the emergence of the migrant worker as a profession, namely the Oil Boom in Saudi Arabia and the Asian Miracle.

There are some researchers who have focused on migrant workers in Malang before. The first was Afrindo (2014), who reviewed the advocacy strategy in place for Malang's migrant workers written by the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union. Second, was the research on the life of migrant workers conducted by Latifah et al. (2016), focused on empowering former migrant workers through the development of local potential-based business. Third, Rohmah & Sari (2017) researched about the economic life of migrant workers, particularly the level of the changes in the economic welfare of the migrant workers' families, in a village located in the Gondanglegi Sub-District.

Since the 1980s, South Malang has been known as the origin place of the migrant workers in the Malang District. At least 74% of the total migrant workers in Malang come from South Malang. The migrants who have returned not only carried money and valuable goods, but they had also adopted cultural values and lifestyles from their working place. The rapid flow of information and the development of technology that they could access due to the economic capacity present also contributed to the process of socio-economic change in the region between 1980 and 2015. These indicators of change include material ownership, lifestyle changes, and traditional values. In general, the existence of migrant workers has both positive and negative economic and social impacts (IOM 2009, McKenzie 2011, UNICEF 2011, GFMD 2015, Agasty 2016). This article seeks to photograph the changes of South Malang residents historically, where society featuring a plantation economy and subsistence agriculture turned into a capitalist economic society based on environmental conditions and the present socio-cultural context. This study aims to add a scientific insight to Indonesian microeconomic history.

Research Method

This research was conducted with several steps involved; the selection of topics, source collecting, verification (historical criticism and source validity), interpretation (analysis and synthesis), and the historiography (Kuntowijoyo 2005:90). The selection of topics was done by referring to the previous literature and field studies, which resulted in the conclusion that there has been no study of the changes in microeconomic history in South Malang. The context of the research remains within the field of contemporary history, which provides an opportunity for the actors in this research to be the primary source, especially the migrant workers who departed to work during that period. The reports from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Religious Courts, and the Department of Labour and Transmigration also become the additional primary source in this research. The government agency reports such as those by *Kabupaten Malang Dalam Angka (KMDA)*, UNICEF, World Bank, International Labour Organization, and the International Organisation for Migration become the secondary sources of this research. These sources were verified by checking the authenticity, originality and integrity using the cross-referencing method, for both the written and oral sources.

The data collected was analysed using Karl Marx's concept of capital and funds to observe the motivation and economic concept shift that was adopted by the residents of South Malang. By using this method, we can analyse how a person's perspective on capital and funds determines their economic action (Engels 2007). Analysing the historical data by using other social science approaches is expected to illustrate the causes of an event based on the environmental conditions and socio-cultural context. In other words, the analysis was done to know the causal, conditional, and contextual factors about the elements involved, which are the components and exponents of the process of studied history (Kartodirdjo 1988:2).

Results and Discussion

The socio-geography of South Malang

Malang District is an area located in the southern central part of the East Java Province. It is adjacent to six districts and the Indonesian Ocean. The North-East side is adjacent to the Pasuruan and Probolinggo Districts, the Eastside is adjacent to the Lumajang District, the Southside is adjacent to the Indonesian Ocean, the Westside is adjacent to Blitar District, and the North West is adjacent to the Kediri and Mojokerto Districts (KMDA 2013). In general, the topographic condition of Malang District is mountains and lowland, with a valley area at an altitude of 250-500 meters above sea level (asl).

Based on these conditions, the region is able to produce plantation crops such as tea, coffee, cloves, sugarcane, cocoa and food crops such as rice, corn, tubers, and vegetables. During the colonial government period, Malang was known as the producer of sugarcane and coffee since the Governor-General Du Bus de Gesigns issued a policy to maximise the use of unexplored land. He changed it into productive land to increase the financial income of the colonial government (Hudiyanto 2015, Utami 2015). Prior to the implementation of Du Bus's policy, the local residents had already cultivated coffee but only on a small scale. Afterward, in 1826, the European private entrepreneurs, especially the Dutch, cultivated coffee on a large scale by way of land clearance in the fertile area of Amsterdam. It is similar to the phrase said by Saimin, the grandson of a coffee plantation foremen in Kalibakar, living in the area:

"Formerly in this area (Ampelgading), there was a Kalibakar plantation coffee that wide enough and it had a special place for seedling in Ramian HO area. This plantation was at its peak in the colonial era of the Dutch. After Indonesia gained its independence, there were many coffee plantations dismantled, including my plantation. After the dismantlement, the plantations turned into a field for planting timber and the other crops such as beans, corn, and cassava. The plantations were dismantled by the owners because the wood price was higher than the coffee price. It was also because the other agricultural crops were sold faster and the agricultural product can be consumed by themselves" (Saimin 2017).

In addition, the fertility of the region was known based on an 1818 report. It stated that the production of coffee from Malang was 8.600 piculs, while in 1826, the coffee production increased to 22.500 piculs. The increase in production almost doubled in 1827 and continued to increase to 56.900 piculs by the time that van den Bosch began applying the Dutch cultivation system, or *cultuurstelsel* (Lakeman 1934, Domis 1936). The areas mentioned were Ampelgading, Sumbermanjing, Turen, and Dampit (Amsterdam Coffee). Although these areas were able to reach a peak, the economic glory of the plantations started to decline when the Great Depression happened around the 1930s. In this era, the Indonesian plantation crops were not selling well in the world market. Williamson (2011) called it bankruptcy, because of the falling prices of the plantation commodities from Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. The trading index of Indonesia fell by about 48% between 1896 to 1932. The plantation's economic collapse was getting worse, more so since the Japan colonisation in 1942. Within 110 years since 1832, the plantation changed South Malang socio-economically. The existence of plantations in South Malang became the entrance for monetisation and a capitalist economy, and two economic bases emerged; the traditional economy and modern economy respectively. Both of these economies went on to later influence the South Malang people's perspective on wealth. They prefer to work as migrant workers rather than managing the land that they have.

In addition to plantations, the fields in South Malang also become rice fields to grow ordinary rice, gaga rice, tubers, corn and wood. Not only that, but some areas in South Malang are still forested. On the other hand, unproductive or barren lands diverge in the Dampit, Sumbermanjing, Pagak, and Kalipare Sub-districts. The area of Gondanglegi has the largest rice fields because the fields are vast and do not have rocky contours. In addition, the existence of water resources in the area supports the rice field system. In comparison to Gondanglegi Sub-district, the other area has rocky ground contours that consist of various rock types. For instance, the ground in Sumbermanjing and Pagak is very rocky and consists of sand, stone, limestone, and ceramic materials. These natural resources were not considered in the 1980s. Out of the eleven sub-districts that were the focus of this study, there were five sub-districts where the land was unproductive and barren, namely the Bantur, Kalipare, Dampit, Pagak, and Sumbermanjing Districts. The limited exploitable natural resources were believed to be one of the causes of the region's economic downturn, which also made the welfare of the society low.

The sub-districts were located far from the central government until the transfer of the central government from Malang to Kepanjen in 2008. The distance from the central government to the sub-districts is 22 to 57 kilometres. In 1970 up to the 1980s, this distance was psychologically far because of the road conditions and inadequate transportation facilities. Inadequate infrastructure facilities made South Malang an underdeveloped region, so access to education and health was also limited. The level of education in South Malang during the 1980s was, on average, only primary school. The government did not record in detail the number of schools per level. Among the eight sub-districts, the only sub-districts that had schools were Gondanglegi, Dampit, Pagak, Donomulyo, and Bantur, while Ampelgading, Kalipare, and Sumbermanjing Sub-districts did not have any education facility. High-school level only existed around 1990 and was located in only a few sub-districts. Moreover, health problems that emerged in South Malang around the 1980s was associated with poor environmental hygiene. The people suffered from diseases such as scabies, ulcers, diarrhoea, dysentery, respiratory tuberculosis and influenza. Even in this situation, the treatment for health problems is still less than the optimum due to the limited number of medical personnel. Of the eight districts in South Malang, there were only 52 medical personnel, and on average in one sub-district, there were only six medical personnel (KMDA 1980).

This condition worsened when we viewed the existing population. In 1980, the number of residents in South Malang was 677.043 people, and 417.939 of them were in the workforce (KMDA 1981). It means that about 60% of the population was a part of the workforce. With a large number of workforce and all the problems that were occurring (various condition of the soil, distance, the transportation access, and natural resources), it caused an imbalanced situation between the workforce and job opportunities. This situation became the driving factor for the South Malang residents to move out of town as migrants or trans-migrant workers.

The impact of oil boom and asian miracle on Indonesia

In the history of Indonesian migrant workers, there are two external factors that have affected Indonesian, namely the Oil Boom and the Asian Miracle phenomenon. Both of these phenomena occurred almost simultaneously in the 1960 to 1990 years. The unfair price of oil and the emergence of newly industrialised countries was able to improve the lives of its citizens. This situation provided opportunities for informal jobs, domestic jobs, and skilled work for the citizens of third world countries. Besides the country of destination's needs, the salary offered was big enough to attract Indonesians to work abroad rather than living in rural areas that could not guarantee their finances.

Oil had already become the most sought commodity after World War I. The price change of oil could affect the worldwide economic situation. This fact correlates to the first external factor that affected the Indonesian migrant workers' history, which is the Oil Boom phenomenon that occurred in the Southwest Asia region as a result of the unusual rising oil prices due to the Gulf War. In fact, there were many countries which had petroleum on their land, but the greatest amount of petroleum was

in the Southwest Asia region, better known as the Middle East. The discovery of oil in this region had occurred since the 19th century and its exploration was assisted by Western countries such as Great Britain and the United States of America (USA). For example, after the USA got concession rights and discovered sources of oil in Saudi Arabia, the oil management was given to the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) (Kamal 2005:22). The phenomenon of the Oil Boom was divided into two periods, 1970 to the 1980s and the 2000s (Hartog 2013). The first period occurred due to the Gulf War, and led to an increased labour demand in the Gulf Countries (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates). As a consequence, it triggered migration from various countries, especially from the Asia region.

Choucri (1986) divided the migration entry triggered by the Oil Boom into five phases. The first is the initial phase, where inter-territorial migration happened in the Middle East and ended in 1973. Second, was when the number of expatriates increased from 880.000 to 1.800.000 between 1970 to 1975. This happened after the rise in oil prices that was marked by an explosion of investment and labour demand. Third, in the beginning of 1975, about 18% of the total migrant workers came from South Asia (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh). Fourth, at the end of 1977 and up to 1980, the migrant workers from East Asia (Korea, Taiwan, China) and Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand) arrived. Fifth, was when the number of migrant workers started to decline due to the stabilisation that occurred after 1980. The last phase occurred due to several factors; the change of the dispatching structure of the migrant workers in each country, the end of the economic surplus, and the end of the migrant worker's entry into the Middle East countries.

Choucri's analysis of the entry phases of the migrant workers in the Gulf Countries and Saudi Arabia was done at the end of the 1980s, and the migration process continued until the Second Oil Boom in 2000. Referring to the statistical data, the number of Indonesian migrant workers in this region remained large. The data from The National Agency for the Protection and Placement of International Migrant Workers (BNPTKI) shows that in 2009, the number of migrant workers who choose Saudi Arabia as their main destination country was 252,217 people.

The second external factor was the Asian Miracle phenomenon. This term is an extension of the East Asian Miracle. This term first appeared in 1993 and was used in a World Bank report which contained a study of economic growth and the role of public policy in East Asia. This phenomenon brought to attention the newly industrialised countries such as Japan, Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Singapore and Taiwan. According to some studies by The Economist, this industrial acceleration occurred between the early 1960s and 1990s (Bhatta & Gonzales 1997:308).

Within only 30 years, Asian economic development brought in major changes to the global and regional economy. The indicators of these changes include the increase of purchasing power parity from \$3.3 trillion in 1980 to \$24.5 trillion in 2009, the fourfold increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the average income increase from a quarter to two-thirds of the world average (World Bank 1993, Lucas 1993, Lee & Hong 2010). This is in line with the opinion of Dunn (1997), who stated that the Asia Pacific region is the most dynamic region in the world according to Japan's economic progress in the 1960s, which was followed by the Asian NICs (Newly Industrialised Countries) consisting of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and the Republic of Korea. Economic development in this region has the characteristic of "flying geese", where the countries enter economic takeoff after going through an industrialisation period. Between 1971 to 1992, the economic growth rate in the Asian NIC's was 7.7% higher than the world rate, which was only 2.9%. This rapid rate of growth attracted Indonesian potential migrants, including South Malang residents, to work abroad because of the high salary.

Economists disagree on the term for the rapid economic growth used in a country or region. Krugman, Erhard, Nelson, and Pack disagreed on naming the rapid economic growth in the Asian region, especially East Asia, as a "miracle." They argue that the rapid economic growth happened due to several factors. First, was the changing industrial structure supported by modern technology. Second, was the human resource investment in the form of education quality improvement over two decades. Third, was the increased investments in the form of capital and physical, of at least

11% to 40%. Fourth, was the high level of investment and savings. Fifth, was there being a pro-business government, as well as the ability to combine a liberal and mercantilist economy (Lucas 1993, Krugman 1994, Nelson & Pack 1999, Seliger 2010, Lee & Hong 2010).

Japan is one of the countries under consideration that is experiencing the economic miracle. By the end of World War II, Japan was devastated by the atomic bombs dropped by the USA, but with a strong foundation, Japan regained its economic development. Post-World War II, the Japanese economy was listed as one of the most modern economies forty years later. There are internal and external factors that made the Japanese economy grow rapidly. The internal factors are domestic-based exports, economic protection through selected liberation, free imports restricted to secondary or tertiary goods, the closure of imports for basic needs and capabilities in relation to knowledge imitation, skills, and technology that suited their needs and culture. The external factors include the economic growth in neighbouring countries such as Southeast Asia and the economic aid given by the USA through the Dodge Plan (Takada 1999, Seliger 2010).

The increasing GDP that occurred in Asian countries from 1960 to 1990 did not necessarily make all of the countries involved experience a “miracles.” Lucas (1993) used the Philippines as an example. In the Philippines, from 1960 to 1988, the average range of the GDP had risen by about 1.8%, but the miracle phenomenon did not occur here. The miracle did not happen because there were supporting factors as explained before, as well as differences in relation to time, condition, the model of leadership, the economy, and geography (Lucas 1993, Seliger 2010). In consequence, this situation triggered the citizens from countries like the Philippines and Indonesia to work as migrant workers.

The Oil Boom and Asian Miracle phenomena have a wide range of influence towards Indonesia and other Asian countries like Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Philippines, and Bangladesh, which are the origin countries of migrant workers. Since the development of these two phenomena, the participation of women in the world of work has begun to increase in both domestic and non-domestic types of work. For a woman from a developed country, domestic work is a time-consuming job and restrains their self-actualisation. Thus, it has opened up opportunities for uneducated women from developing countries to work abroad as household assistants or factory workers.

For Indonesia, the phenomenon of the Oil Boom and Asian Miracle became the trigger to work as migrant workers. Other than that, there are several other factors that also influenced their choice. First, is the economic and social disparities on the global and regional scale. Second, is that the demographics of developed countries tends to have an aging population and lower fertility rates in comparison to developing countries. Third, is the narrowness of agricultural land that affects their livelihood. Fourth, is the lack of job opportunities and low wages in comparison to the wages that they could earn abroad. Fifth, is the “demonstration effect,” where they see their neighbours living in comfort and luxury from working abroad (Soemaryanto 2001, Warsito 2010, IOM 2010).

The dynamics and development of South Malang migrant workers in 1980-2015

The presence of migrant workers in South Malang has been observed since the 1980s. Although there has been no official record from the government, according to interviews, there was a single person who knew how to work abroad. This person’s experience and success as a migrant worker attracted others to choose the same path. This situation is in line with the analysis of Curran & Saguy (2001), which states that female migrant workers rely heavily on existing networks to find employers and residences abroad. For example, Paniyem, a migrant worker from Ampelgading, decided to work as a migrant worker because she was acquainted with a neighbour who had been working abroad for a long time. Here is the statement:

“I used to work in Arabia because I was invited by Mr. Fauzi from Bonpring. Since he knew the way to work abroad, I came along to Arabia. It was better than staying here because I could not get a stable job and I got paid with food instead of money for the works I have done. I also worked in Arabia due to my mother’s consent. In addition, according to the information from Umi Jagal, Arabia is near to Ka’bah so if I want to do Hajj, it would be more convenient” (Paniyem 2017).

Paniyem is a migrant worker lived in Saudi Arabia for more than 25 years. She left for the first time in 1987 and returned home in 1988. Around the 1990s, she went to Saudi Arabia for a second time and returned to Indonesia in the middle of 2015. There were more people besides Paniyem who chose Saudi Arabia as a place to work. They included Isrowiyah, who departed in early 1989 and returned to Indonesia in 2000, and Sumaiyah (68 years old) and Fatimah (65 years old). Saudi Arabia became a popular destination in the 1980s. This is due to the main factors which are divided into internal and external factors. The internal factor is that society feels close psycho-religiously to Saudi Arabia, particularly Muslim people because they are required to Hajj if they are capable. They also want to work in Saudi Arabia in order to get the chance to do Hajj or Umrah. In addition, the external factor which makes Saudi Arabia popular is the increasing demand for domestic workers in Saudi Arabia due to the Oil Boom.

The popularity of Saudi Arabia suits Choucri's study (1986:73), which states that the flow of migrant workers in the Gulf Countries has been in existence since 1975, at the beginning of the oil industry era. The exact number of Indonesian migrant workers in the Gulf Countries has only been recorded since 1980, where the number of migrant workers in 1980 was from 8,000 to 14,000 and increased to 20,000 in 1981. This happened due to the dispatching of migrant workers being more organised in the 1980s. The dispatching of migrant workers to the Gulf Countries officially by the government was not only done only in Indonesia but also in India, Philippines, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal (Helene 2016:15). Saudi Arabia was the destination country of migrant workers from South Malang, especially those from the Ampelgading, Tirtoyudo, Dampit, and Sumbermanjing sub-districts.

Besides Saudi Arabia, the main destination of migrant workers in South Malang was the Asian NICs. On the contrary, Japan and the Republic of Korea were not an option due to language reasons, since these two countries mostly use their original language only. The migrant workers from the Kalipare, Donomulyo, Pagak, Pagelaran, Bantur, and Gondanglegi sub-districts tend to choose Asian NICs as their destination because the potential migrant workers from the regions were mostly youths. They considered Saudi Arabia as too religious and that it only had limited job types. The type of jobs in Saudi Arabia were, on average, limited to household assistant roles, whereas in the Asian NICs, there was the opportunity to work as industrial workers with a higher flexibility.

There are considerable characteristic differences between employers in Saudi Arabia and the Asian NICs. The employers in Saudi Arabia do not grant freedom to the migrant workers. For instance, the migrant workers still have to come and continue to serve the employers even if they go on vacation. They are not allowed to rest on the weekend. In addition, the important documents that belong to the migrant workers are detained by the employers to keep them from escaping. All of these restrictions only exacerbate the burden of migrant workers. On the other hand, the employers in Asian NICs are nicer than those in Saudi Arabia. They grant more freedom to the workers, by giving them the day off on holidays, allowing the workers to keep hold of their important documents, and allowing the workers to live in a boarding house. This fact was stated by a migrant worker from Donomulyo:

"I worked in Taiwan for about two years, and I chose this country because of its higher salary compared to some other countries and Saudi Arabia. In Taiwan, we got the day off on the weekend and even some friends could live in a boarding house outside the employers' house. We could also live fashionably and do not appear like the household assistant" (Yolanda 2017).

The statistical data of migrant workers in South Malang has only been recorded well since 2005. Since then, we can clearly see the progress, as in Table 1. For the last ten years, most migrant workers came from the Sumbermanjing, Gedangan, Dampit, Pagelaran, and Bantur sub-districts. This is due to natural resources, the contour of the land, the number of inland areas that lead to the slopes of Semeru, distance, and access. For the last ten years, the highest number of migrant workers was 9,682 people in 2011. According to Hartog's analysis (2013), 2011 was the period of the second Oil Boom phenomenon, where the price of oil increased quite drastically. In contrast to the 1980s, migrant workers who departed in the 2000s did not intend to stay abroad for a long time. The initial

contract is usually three years, and later, this can be extended annually. On average, those who become migrant workers have their own intentions. For men, they intend to seek capital and to build a home, while women migrant workers intend to be able to send their children to school.

Table 1.
The development of South Malang migrant workers between 2005 - 2015

No	Sub-district	Year										Total
		2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
1	Gondanglegi	229	132	117	314	387	632	234	352	124	44	2565
2	Dampit	105	235	347	152	328	1020	256	326	207	170	3146
3	Ampelgading	49	137	120	46	130	616	76	63	55	52	1344
4	Tirtoyudo	56	125	150	53	129	607	113	110	86	44	1473
5	Sumbermanjing	222	172	389	138	329	1459	315	370	268	203	3865
6	Pagak	76	88	62	80	138	493	86	124	60	50	1257
7	Kalipare	95	197	206	93	194	880	314	340	251	146	2716
8	Donomulyo	140	225	387	57	82	956	190	222	181	148	2588
9	Bantur	201	203	288	184	358	779	327	326	221	141	3028
10	Gedangan	175	206	373	102	246	1303	300	292	237	138	3372
11	Pagelaran	162	235	244	197	286	937	353	423	230	126	3193
	Total	1510	1955	2683	1416	2607	9682	2564	2948	1920	1262	28547

(Source: Official reports of KMDA and the Department of Labour and Population Mobility report)

In general, the trend of working abroad has begun to decline since 2013 due to the availability of job opportunities in their place of origin. For example, in Ampelgading, there is the public mining of sand and rocks, and crop plantations (snake fruit or *salak*, papaya, and cassava). In Sumbermanjing, there are the sugarcane plantations, and public mining in the limestone quarry and ceramic materials. Sugarcane plantations can be found in Pagak, Pagelaran, and Batur, while tobacco plantations can be found in Donomulyo. Furthermore, the success of migrant workers in 1980s and 1990s who were able to send their children to higher education level makes people no longer interested in working abroad.

The socio-economic changes of South Malang from 1980 to 2015

A social change is a variation in the accepted way of life, either due to geographical condition changes, material culture, population composition, ideology, or because of diffusion or new discoveries in society (Soekanto & Soemardi 1994:384). These changes can occur slowly or quickly. In the case of residents in rural Java, Wertheim (1999) argued that the social changes that occurred were less noticeable or slow, but this did not mean that there was no social changes at all. This change also took place in the rural areas of South Malang. Before the migrant worker phenomenon, the South Malang residents were living as agrarian people. In the culture of agrarian people, there was a role division within the household. The role of men as the head of a family was very dominant. The responsibility of a man was to earn a living by managing agriculture and livestock while the responsibility of a woman was parenting and doing domestic work. A woman did not need to help in relation to earning a living since subsistence farming and livestock management was enough to fulfil their daily needs.

Before 1980, the division of roles within the household was implemented due to the low level of the economic need of society. They only needed basic necessities like food, clothes, and to keep up the place of residence. The need for education was limited to junior high school level and this was considered as sufficient. In their point of view, the purpose of education was only to gain the skill of literacy. The low level of economic needs made the society felt sufficient about living in the countryside, but this perspective began to change by the 1990s and reached its peak after the economic crisis happened. This was where the price of daily needs increased drastically until the subsistence agriculture farming and livestock management could no longer be used to fulfil the

household's daily needs. The shortcomings of the family income affecting the basic needs lead to the participation of women as workers in order to increase family income (Yuniastuti 2014, Boserup 2003). Therefore, the success of migrant workers who departed in previous years became a reference to achieve a better life.

Psychologically, the residents in South Malang have a high amount of courage when it comes to working abroad compared to the residents of North Malang. There is a difference of economic action between the North Malang and South Malang residents. For instance, with the same poverty level, the residents in the remote area of North Malang, such as Pusung, did not choose to work as migrant workers in order to fulfil their needs. The villagers prefer to live in a limited manner by way of subsistence agriculture. When we view this example through Karl Max's perspective about capital, the residents in Pusung still consider that land is an important capital that must be managed to get a higher value in the form of agricultural products, while money serves only as a medium of exchange. On the other hand, the residents of South Malang have a different perspective. This difference in perspective is possible because the South Malang residents have known about the capitalist economic system since the colonial government. The South Malang residents indirectly understand that money is not only a means of exchange but that it has a higher value if it has resulted from another job opportunity such as that of a migrant worker.

Another example of the different perspectives on capital can be observed in the Dampit, Tirtoyudo, and Ampelgading sub-districts. On average, the residents stated that they chose to work as migrant workers for economic reasons. The further interview in this study showed that their reason for working as a migrant was not due to having a poor life, but because of the lack of money. An informant stated that in fact, he had a fairly large amount of land and about 20 cattle, but he still chose to work abroad. This was because the individual no longer considered land and livestock to be capital. The changing perspective towards capital has become the economic factor for South Malang residents to work as migrant workers.

Migration is a key factor in the traditional gender role change, and it has resulted in both positive and negative consequences in the lives of men and women (IOM 2008:16). The changing of gender roles, specifically in the economic field, has also occurred in South Malang. The women who became migrant workers automatically turned into "the head of household" because of their ability to earn a living, while the husbands who stayed at their residence of origin continued to work as usual. In addition, the responsibility of raising the children was left to the eldest woman in the family, namely the mother. As a consequence, the residents left in the villages of the migrant workers were mostly elderly people and children.

The parents of the migrant working couple held the main control of the household, and this situation has become the initial problem of many divorce cases. In the era of rapid telecommunication, migrant workers who worked abroad could easily find out their home and family condition, including their husband's behaviour at home. Most of the women who work abroad will trust their mothers more than their husbands. The women who have had success abroad for about four years will return to divorce their husbands, or what they called as *nyusuki*. Table 2 below shows the divorce rate in South Malang since the booming era of migrant workers.

In addition to the situation above, the departure of migrant workers in some countries has also affected children's education. For example, the presence of migrant workers in Mexico has a negative impact on their children's school attendance, between the ages of 12 and 18 years for men and 16 and 18 years for women (McKenzie 2011). In India, children whose parents are migrant workers have lower school attendance. They often became high school dropouts because they have to get involved in household management. For instance, the girls must replace their mothers' role at home while the boys must follow their father into work (Agasty 2016:92). In general, at the beginning of the migrant workers' departure from South Malang, one of their motivations is to send their children to school. Before 1980, school was not considered as important. After that, school became a basic need so it

made parents strive to send their children to school. This motivation has shown results, proven by the statistical data which states that in 1980, there were only 1,978 high school students out of a total 129,381, aged between 15 and 24 years old. In 2010, there was an increase up to 10,950 high school students and 47,962 diploma or bachelor's degree students.

Table 2.
The divorce rate in South Malang, in the booming era of migrant workers

No	Sub-district	Year													Total
		2001	2003	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
1	Gondanglegi	96	180	242	178	136	151	200	180	226	226	180	180	60	2235
2	Dampit	32	181	200	220	220	240	270	355	393	394	221	221	121	3068
3	Ampelgading	67	66	91	69	112	143	120	156	164	164	155	155	55	1517
4	Tirtoyudo	54	80	75	93	149	120	101	175	161	161	9	9	50	1237
5	Sumbermanjing	77	167	150	170	258	200	223	296	287	307	276	276	77	2764
6	Pagak	67	83	94	104	190	136	103	157	184	184	147	147	59	1655
7	Kalipare	91	121	125	130	119	121	149	233	226	226	73	73	73	1760
8	Donomulyo	32	89	96	78	170	94	151	213	203	203	9	9	68	1415
9	Bantur	64	123	134	147	158	184	173	239	265	265	242	242	87	2363
10	Gedangan	80	106	103	111	110	172	181	225	223	223	187	187	75	1983
11	Pagelaran	0	14	32	47	112	168	94	198	249	249	118	118	75	1474
	Total	660	1210	1342	1347	1734	1729	1765	2427	2621	2602	1617	1617	800	

(Source: Official report of the religious court of Malang District)

The success of the previous generations of migrant workers to send their children to school is now facing considerable challenges due to the advance of information and communication technology. The guilt of women who become migrant workers was redeemed by fulfilling all of their children's wishes, including the desire to have a smartphone, motorcycle, PlayStation, and so on. The unstoppable flow of information has also affected the lives of the left-behind children in South Malang. The absence of parental supervision has made the children quite demanding, where the children require the parents to buy them something if the parents want them to go to school. This problem often ends with the non-completion of education. The lack of parental supervision has influenced their friendship circle, and this has become difficult to avoid, as they befriend the wrong people. This leads to juvenile delinquency and even drug use cases, just like what has happened in Ampelgading.

This is in line with the UNICEF (2011) study which stated that socially, migrant workers cause a negative impact on the social welfare of children. The first is depression and isolation. Second, is that the lack of parental supervision causes aggressiveness and rebellion. Third, is that the children might become the victim of bullying and stigma. Fourth, is that the children become vulnerable to juvenile delinquency and engaging in risky behaviour (drinking alcohol, using drugs, and deviant sexual behaviour). These negative impacts might occur depending on the child's sex, the age when they were left by the parents, the number of siblings, family structure, and also the education level of the parents who became migrant workers.

Economically, some areas in South Malang have achieved a triumph in the era of colonial government such as Dampit and Ampelgading. Both sub-districts were an area for coffee and sugarcane plantations. Thus, the people were accustomed to receiving wages in the form of money. The monetisation that occurred in the colonial period had an impact on the changes in the society's mindset toward material and capital. It became one of the reasons why many people choose to work as migrant workers with high salaries rather than developing the agriculture of their origin area.

Prior to the emergence of the migrant worker phenomenon, on average, the residents in South Malang worked as subsistence farmers and livestock breeders with a limited economic condition, and after many women began working abroad, we began to see economic changes in the families. All of the

studies show that the worker's migration leads to changes in the economic role of the household, where the wives have higher wages than the husbands. This shifted the position of women socially, who are usually under male domination (Kabeer 2012:6). This may be referred to as women's empowerment, but this shift became the root of conflict and violence in Vietnam. In Sri Lanka, if the migrant worker is female, then the household's control will shift to the eldest woman. On the contrary, if the migrant worker is a man, then the role of the wife in the household is strengthened. A case study in the Philippines showed that the presence of migrant workers impacts on how children grow up. In Sri Lanka, it showed that households will work better if the migrant workers are not female (IOM 2008:17).

Some evidence indicates that migrant workers have paid more taxes and have made substantial social contributions to both their home country and the destination country. Economically, in the destination countries, migrant workers have provided skilled labour for many fields of work, while the more educated workers play a role in creating accelerated productivity and innovation in at least one of the last few decades as in the USA and Gulf Countries (IOM 2008, GFMD 2015).

Poverty reduction is the most used indicator of economic progress. The existence of the migrant workers has affected the economic progress of their origin country, but it does not reduce poverty in the migrant workers' origin area simultaneously. It depends on the local context, the natural condition, the intensity of the migration flow, and the amount of salary that is earned. The salary earned by the migrant workers depends on their level of education, age, sex, occupation, employment status and the type of company that they work for (Kabeer 2012, ILO 2015). For example, most of the migrant workers who came from South Malang were unskilled workers, and worked as household assistants. On the other hand, there were also migrant workers who worked as technicians and employees in factories, so they had a better salary and more flexible time.

The migrant workers who have returned also have the potential to become entrepreneurs by using the money that they have saved from work as their venture capital (ILO 2015:10). In South Malang, the migrant workers who returned after 2000 were greeted with business opportunities, such as in the mining and agricultural business, even though not all of the migrant workers successfully went on to become a rich entrepreneur after they returned home. There are some former migrant workers who have successfully become entrepreneurs; including Sutiyo (worked in Saudi Arabia for two years) who became a sugarcane businessman and now owns five trucks, Isrowiyah (worked in Saudi Arabia for eleven years) successfully opened a grocery store selling household appliances, wand who was involved in sand mining, owning two cars, and one dump truck, Sumaiyah (worked in Saudi Arabia for five years) who owns a butcher business and two cars, and Titin Minarsih and Yolanda (a mother and son who worked in Taiwan for eleven and four years respectively) who have successfully opened a salon, a wholesale stationery shop, and a tobacco plantation. On the other hand, not all migrant workers achieve great success through the business that they established. Among those who eventually settled down to work as small traders is Paniyem, who worked in Saudi Arabia for twenty-five years and initially was more successful before all of his savings were lost while in Saudi Arabia. Afterward, Paniyem opened a salted fish shop and also sold kitchen spices. His venture capital came from his employer in Saudi Arabia. Another small trader is Siti Rohmah (worked in Saudi Arabia for four years), who opened a *rujak* and *tahu telor* stall because she spent her salary on building a house and send her children to school.

The biggest migrant workers' contribution to their origin country is the money that they send home while they are abroad. According to the World Bank, Indonesia received about \$1.2 to \$ 2.5 billion per year between 1998 and 2005 (World Bank 1993). The increasing inflow of remittances in South Malang is not recorded separately and in detail, but is combined with the money orders recorded by the General Post and Giro Company. The data can be seen in Table 3.

The substantial money transfers to the countryside of South Malang became a key factor for social change from 1980 to 2015. Money has changed the look of the area, both physically and

psychologically. It physically can be seen when entering the countryside on the slopes of Semeru in the Ampelgading, Tirtoyudo, and Dampit areas, or in the countryside near the beach in Sumbermanjing and Donomulyo. There, we can easily find large houses with a modern design along with neatly parked cars. Almost every house has more than one motorcycle. The velocity of money in the origin areas of migrant workers is also quite large. For example, in the Donomulyo sub-district, there are two *BRI* ATM booths that always ran out of money within the first two days at the beginning of the month. As a consequence of this economic condition, the social gap will be easily visible in this area where the residents who have never been abroad are mostly still living in bamboo-walled and ground-floored houses.

Table 3
The amount of money orders received in each sub-district per 10 years

No	Sub-district	Year						Total
		1991	2001	2011	2012	2013	2014	
1	Gondanglegi	392,551	525,355	37,493,818	37,994,441	37,994,411	36,659,919,785	36,774,320,331
2	Dampit	345,748	357,174	45,464,529	48,625,331	48,625,331	52,992,390,406	53,065,808,519
3	Ampelgading	72,195	261,371	18,929,610	20,779,368	20,779,368	21,229,356,465	21,290,178,377
4	Tirtoyudo	0	11,587	0	0	0	1,578,690,760	1,578,702,347
5	Sumbermanjing	96,502	215,255	47,678,289	48,962,307	30,865,330	51,353,798,730	51,481,616,413
6	Pagak	126,140	85,399	0	0	18,096,877	21,626,392,477	21,644,700,893
7	Kalipare	191,117	94,311	14,683,538	17,988,712	17,988,712	26,979,836,687	27,030,783,077
8	Donomulyo	205,499	121,638	18,030,799	18,536,325	18,536,325	23,956,054,030	24,011,484,616
9	Bantur	73,376	118,556	17,059,108	17,654,628	17,654,628	27,796,065,484	27,848,625,780
10	Gedangan	0	9,850	0	0	2,496	18,585,247,693	18,585,260,039
11	Pagelaran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		1,503,128	1,800,496	199,339,691	210,543,478	210,543,478	282,687,752,517	

(Source: official report of the General Post and Giro Company)

Psychologically, when we interact directly with the residents, we can feel the shift in the values of the subsistence farming society that has turned into a capitalist society affected by globalisation. The returned migrant workers bring in a new lifestyle that is different from the image of rural people, such as tight clothes, coloured hair, and the habit of visiting a beauty salon. Even pregnancy out of wedlock is no longer a problem to be debated.

Conclusion

The economic history of the residents in South Malang has undergone a shift from a plantation economy and subsistence agriculture to a capitalist economy from 1980 to 2015 as a result of the existence of migrant workers. Historically, this shift occurred based on several causes. The first is the domestic and external factors, where the domestic factors are the limited access to transportation facilities, job opportunities, education, and health, while the external factor is job opportunities with a high salary as a result of the Oil Boom and Asian Miracle phenomena. The second cause is the environmental conditions, where the soil contours are mountainous and rocky which makes it difficult to manage and costly, and also the limited natural resources available to be explored for economic purposes. The third cause is the socio-cultural context, in which the residents of South Malang have understood the monetisation and capitalist economy since the colonial period. It changes the way that society views capital and the function of money, so they prefer to work abroad rather than to live in their area of origin and develop a plantation and focus on agriculture.

The existence of migrant workers has had a positive impact on economic development of from 1980 to 2015. This can be seen from the ownership of property, such as better houses and multiple

motorcycles. The returned migrant workers also have the ability to invest, continue, and develop their capital into a business. This creates new job opportunities for the residents in their neighbourhood. Their prosperity level is indicated by their ability to access better health and education facilities. Despite the positive economic impacts, there are also negative impacts in the social aspect, such as the increase in divorce cases and the juvenile delinquency of the migrant workers' children due to the lack of parental supervision.

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