

Return Migration and Local Development in Indonesia

Ratih Pratiwi Anwar*

Abstract As migration-driven development has been in the focus of international institutions and governments in host and home countries, policy dialogues and programs on how international migration can really work on local development have been limited in Indonesia. This research starts from one of the recent international discussions that suggests there must be a synergy between migration and development in sending countries. By taking case study at four sending-villages in Yogyakarta Province of Indonesia, this research investigates the government-sponsored entrepreneurship program for return migrants, the emerging organization of return migrants, return migrants' development initiatives and the impact of such initiatives on entrepreneurship and local development. The author applies an ethnographic and participatory approaches in order to gather deep information and understanding about return migrants' social and economic reintegration process in village society. The research found that return migration which is supported by government's entrepreneurship education program and facilitated by return migrant organization can improve the synergy between international migration and local development.

Keywords Return Migrants, Entrepreneurship Program, Return Migrant Organization, Social Entrepreneurship, Local Development

* Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia. Researcher at the Center for Asia and Pacific Studies. ratihanwar@yahoo.com.

1. Background

Since the past decade the link between migration and development has been attracting attention in the policy dialogues of the international institutions and governments of migrant home and host countries. In many international forums, policy debates voiced migrant-receiving states' recommendations to expand temporary workers schemes. These schemes are assumed to be one of the potential tools for addressing the changing and growing economic needs of the receiving countries. However, a new trend in the migration-development debates occurred in the 2006 United Nations' High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (HLD) which started tackling a particular focus on exploring the synergy between the movement of people and development in their countries of origin (Agunias 2007).

This research departed from this new trend on migration-driven development as context for discussion on Indonesia, the second largest migrant-sending state in Southeast Asia with the number of international migrant labours estimated around six millions people in 2013. Most of Indonesian international migrant labours are placed at vulnerable jobs in foreign labour markets under temporary worker schemes. They sent an estimated 88.6 trillion IDR (equivalent to 7.28 billion US\$) remittances in 2013 (The Jakarta Post, 2014). Government has been channeling economic remittance into formal financial institutions, but efforts to make international labour migration give real impact on local development in Indonesia are still limited.

Indonesian migrant labours will 'pulang kampung' or return to their origin-villages anyway. Some of them returned after completing around 2 – 5 years in overseas employment, and some returned because of problems encountered during their migration period. During 2010-2014 as many as 1,889,027 returnees were recorded arriving from more than 20 countries (BNP2TKI, 2015a: 15). Considering this large number of returnees, policies and programs are of high importance to facilitate reintegration of returnees in their origin-communities and to encourage

their greater participation on village socio-economic development.

Indonesia government started to pay attention on return migration in 2010 and has been taking an effort to empower return migrants and their family. The second term of Yudhoyono administration placed return migrant empowerment program as a part of priority policies directed by the Indonesia's National Development Mid-term Plan (RPJMN) 2010-2014. Empowering return migrant is also the mandate of Law No. 39 of 2004 concerning Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers in which a provision stipulates that government has to protect overseas workers during the entire migration stages. The abundant number of articles on placement than articles on return migration in the Law No. 39 of 2004 indicates that this Law too emphasizes placement policies than reintegration policy. As the consequence, many unsuccessful returnees have no choice but seeking another overseas job as the only livelihood strategy to survive. Inadequate reintegration policy for return migrants indicates that government has still been downplaying return migrants as potential agents of development. For around four decades, Indonesia lost development opportunities from financial, human, and social remittance brought by migrant labours.

Government-sponsored Entrepreneurship Education Program for Return Migrants was launched by National Body for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers (BNP2TKI) in 2010 as a part of empowerment program for migrants and their family. This program encourages return migrants to become local entrepreneurs as a strategy to prevent temporary migration cycle and to increase well being of return migrants and their family. The government-led entrepreneurship programs also aim to improve capabilities of return migrants who already entrepreneurs so that their businesses expand and are more productive, and support return migrants which encountered problems so that they can continue their life in their origin-communities (BNP2TKI, 2015c).

Return migrants in Yogyakarta Special Region Province (hereinafter 'Yogyakarta Province') receive national entrepreneurship programs of BNP2TKI since 2010. During the same period there has been growing return migrant organizations and

entrepreneurial activities initiated by these organizations. Return migrant organizations in Yogyakarta Province are voluntary groups made up by return migrant community in the same origin-village. Although there are many return migrant organizations and return migrant entrepreneurs in other parts of Indonesia, the author highlights the case of Yogyakarta Province since return migrant entrepreneurship programs in this province are praised as the most 'successful' compared to similar programs in other migrant-sending regions (Andarini, 2015). The author also attempts to explore development initiatives from below and local development in Indonesia in relation to migration.

The research investigates government-sponsored return migrant entrepreneurship programs of BNP2TKI, the establishment of return migrant organizations in Yogyakarta Province, their development initiatives, and the ways return migrant organizations manage various resources to support their initiatives and promote social entrepreneurship. The research also looks for weaknesses of BNP2TKI's return migrant entrepreneurship programs.

The rest of this article is organized as follows. In the section 2, the author presents a brief overview of literatures concerning migration, entrepreneurship, and return migrant organization. Section 3 discusses research methodology. Section 4 describes return migrant entrepreneurship program and the rise of return migrant organizations in Yogyakarta Province, before investigating local development initiatives launched by return migrant organizations and their experiences in managing various resources for supporting their initiatives in section 5. The data will be discussed in section 6 and conclusion will be presented in last section.

2. Migration, Entrepreneurship and Return Migrants' Organization: A Brief Literature Review

In the debates on the impact of migration to development, many studies argue that international migration brings positive development changes (for examples,

Massey and Parrado 1994; Massey and Parrado 1998; Taylor 1999; Taylor et al. 1996; Durand, Parrado and Massey 1996). Larger part of these studies, particularly economic and sociological research, emphasizes the role of economic remittances on consumption and productive investment as drivers of development in migrant-sending countries. The argument goes that remittances spent on consumption can bring about economic growth by forming a sizable market for local, regional, and national commodities and services. Furthermore, they mention that a sizable minority of remittances are spent on investments in human capital, agricultural machinery, or small business (VanWey, Tucker and McConnel, 2005: 84).

The literature of New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) highlights the channels through which migration can actually contribute to rural development. Remittance, the first channel, can more influence development in source communities if it is used for investment in self-employed activities than for consumption. The second channel is return migration. Study of Demurger and Xu in China on the impact of internal migration on rural development found that return migrants are more likely to opt for self-employment than non-migrants, and this choice is affected by their assets in the form of savings and migration experience. With a working experience outside their original community, return migrants are indeed likely to bring back financial capital that enabled them to start to their own business upon return, and benefit their community of origin (Demurger and Xu, 2011: 1848-1849). Wahba and Zenou (2012: 890-891) pointed out several studies that reveal economic remittance affected the return migrants' entrepreneurship activities or self-employed than waged employment (Ilahi, 1990; Dustmann and Kirchkamp, 2002; McCormick and Wahba, 2001). This briefly reviewed studies provide an indication which point out that return migrants may choose new occupation as entrepreneur upon return in their village of origin.

Before discussing further about return migrant entrepreneurship and how they can contribute to rural development, we need useful concepts related to entrepreneur and entrepreneurship. There isn't an universal definition of entrepreneurs, for most purposes however entrepreneur is broadly defined as "people who create and

grow enterprise”, and entrepreneurship is “the process of starting and continuing to expand new business” (Dabson, 2009: 22). Literature of entrepreneurs points the common thread that entrepreneurs are innovators, who create new products, new services, or new markets which are manifested in new organizations. Entrepreneurs come in many forms. Business entrepreneurs seek profits, while social entrepreneurs seek to strengthen the arts, recreation, health, environment, or other aspect of public life. Social entrepreneurs don’t necessarily focus on profit, they concentrate on public outcomes such as minimizing poverty or supporting entrepreneurs (Hustedde, 2009: 42).

Because of many migrants come from underdeveloped rural area, the author believes that promoting business and social entrepreneurship among returnees is a key strategy to increase economic development in rural area. Hustedde (2009: 43) highlights the points made by Shuman (2006) that business and social entrepreneurs are essential for enhancing the quality of life in rural areas. They offer essential services and products and they make life more vibrant and interesting for rural residents in fields such as recreation, retail, and financial services. Rural entrepreneurs can also provide a laboratory for business and social innovations; protect the environment; and present new opportunities for rural residents and disadvantages people. In addition, business and social entrepreneurs also create other economic benefits through external grants or investments and through links with external markets.

If the government will support business and social entrepreneurship in rural areas, the government should know that developing business and social entrepreneurs in rural area requires an approach that is different to build entrepreneurs in urban centers. Policy should pay attention to how local assets (resources) can be engaged to create homegrown economic opportunities as opposes to importing external resources or supporting big firms to expand to rural area (Dabson, 2009: 21). There also rises an approach that focussing on the importance of relationship between entrepreneurs and their communities and the capacity of these entities to self-organize in ways that result in economic advantage both for the entrepreneurs

and the local areas (Holley, 2009: 233). Because entrepreneurs do not operate apart from the communities, entrepreneurs will thrive if they operate in communities that offer a nurturing environment and unique resources for potential and existing entrepreneurs such as financial, natural, human and institutional resources (Woods and Muske, 2009: 201).

We need to recognize the role of return migrants' origin-community into conversation of international migration to avoid sole dependency to economic remittance to promote return migrant entrepreneurship and rural development. Attention should be paid to beyond economic remittance as a channel of migration and development due to some shortcomings. While at micro level remittances seem to increase the investments in migrant entrepreneurial activities, they may also grow culture of dependency in return migrant households that undermine their motivation to work and increase the consumptive expenses (Lubambu, 2014: 8), thus this behaviour can discourage entrepreneurial activities of returnees and development in origin-community. Collective remittances sent by hometown associations in destination countries to finance local development projects also have some weakness regarding the features of organization of immigrants and their resources. The immigrants' associations often did not outlive the first generation of migrants and they are plagued by internal friction and did not represent entire immigrant communities (Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005: 824). This situation may cause development project which funded by immigrant associations is not sustainable. Hometown associations' projects may also serve private agendas rather than addressing larger community needs. Their benefits may thus be narrowly distributed and may contribute to erode social cohesion within the host communities (Chauvet et al., 2014: 3). This may go to conclusion that entrepreneurship and local development should not too depend on economic remittances as well as immigrants' organizations in receiving countries.

The author suggests that organization of return migrants in origin-community is an alternative potential agent for promoting return migrant entrepreneurship and local development because they have more advantages compared to immigrant as-

sociations. Return migrants' organization can play roles on local development in the following forms: directly organizing and mobilizing returnees for development projects in origin-village (participation role); providing more accurate information on access to jobs, business opportunities, or assistances from external supports for returnees and return migrant entrepreneurs (business facilitator role); and participating in planning, implementing, and monitoring of development projects in origin-village (development agent role). Those various roles are likely carried out by return migrants organizations since they are relatively more knowledgeable on their community's needs and resources and they live in within their community. These advantages are often seen as prerequisites for entrepreneurship and community development.

Return migrants' organizations can be manifested in several forms. First, in the form of organization built by and made up of only return migrants. Second, in the form of community or social organizations built by the community and made up of return migrants and non return migrants. The former is exclusive for only return migrants while the later is more inclusive involving entire origin-community. One example of the latter was found by Lee and Anwar (2012) at return migrants' origin-village in Yogyakarta Province. In this village, return migrants and non migrants were organized in a village-based social organizations. While the second form of return migrant organizations can be found in other origin-villages of Yogyakarta Province (Anwar and Chan, 2015). In this research the author investigates those return migrants' organizations and their roles on local development as starting points to promote positive linkage between international migration and development in Indonesia.

3. Research Methodology

The author carried out ethnographic research at four migrant sending-villages in four regencies of Yogyakarta Province. The four research sites are located in areas

which are prone to natural disasters such as drought, volcano eruption, earthquake, and tsunami. The province owns long history of both internal and international labour migration. People of Bantul regency were famous for their back and forth mobility to work at construction sites in nearby cities or as laborer in sugar cane plantation. In Gunungkidul regency people migrated to other cities and open their own small business there because of a long period of drought in their areas. Meanwhile, migration of people in Sleman regency through government-sponsored inter-islands migration program was driven by eruptions of Mount Merapi. In Kulonprogo regency, international migration waves happened in the province since early 1980s. Yogyakarta women migrated as domestic workers to Saudi Arabia during 1984-1989, male migrated to Malaysia as plantation laborers or factory workers and female doing domestic helpers in the early 1990s. In 2000s to recent people migrated for temporary jobs to Japan, Taiwan, Hongkong and South Korea (Anwar, 2011: 35-47).

The four villages were chosen because they were among a few villages received return migrant empowerment program from BNP2TKI. In addition, the author has been in some years of doing voluntary work with return migrant organizations in these villages after completing previous research in same locations. Intensive fieldwork for this research was conducted from January to April 2015. Additional interview was conducted in December 2015 to gather new information. The interviews targeted at entrepreneurships initiated and managed by return migrant organizations rather than individual entrepreneurs. Participatory research was carried out by involving the author herself in activities of return migrant organizations such as entrepreneurship programs, skills trainings, organization meetings, and other socio and economic activities.

4. Return Migrant Entrepreneurship Program in Indonesia

The Law No. 39 of 2004 concerning Placement and Protection of Indonesian

Overseas Workers stipulates that in order to protect Indonesian overseas workers, the government bears a responsibility to empower aspiring migrants, migrants, and return migrants (Article 90 (d) Law No. 39 of 2004). This mandate is given to a special government body named National Body for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers (hereinafter 'BNP2TKI') which was established in 2006. BNP2TKI is also the responsible institution to increase the welfare of Indonesian overseas workers and their family (Article 95 (2) Law No. 39 of 2004).

BNP2TKI launched empowerment program targeting aspiring migrants, return migrants, and their family in the forms of banking literacy education and entrepreneurship education. Banking literacy education program aims to educate prospective overseas workers and their family so as they become familiar with formal financial institution in managing remittance, while entrepreneurship education program is to encourage return migrants to become new entrepreneur who can create their own employment and improve their family welfare. Government assumes that if return migrants become entrepreneurs they do not want to back to overseas jobs (BNP2TKI, 2015b). Over five years (2010 – 2014) BNP2TKI claimed that they had empowered 16,342 Indonesian aspiring migrants, return migrants, and their family in 11 regions. In doing this program BNP2TKI cooperates with regional government offices, private companies, state owned-banks, AusAID, and Japan Social Development Fund (BNP2TKI, 2014).

Return migrant empowerment program are carried out by BNP2TKI's regional branches, BP3TKI. General contents of two days entrepreneurship education program for returnees are entrepreneurship training, achievement motivation training, theory and practice of livelihood skills, banking products, and government programs supporting entrepreneurship. The program instructors come from regional government offices such as Manpower Office, Co-operative, Small and Medium Business Office, Industry and Trade Office, state-owned bank such as Bank Mandiri, Bank BNI, business consultant, and local entrepreneurs (BNP2TKI, 2015d; BP3TKI Yogyakarta, 2014).

Despite BNP2TKI's claim for its success of return migrant empowerment pro-

gram, this program still contains several weaknesses. In term of the quantity, the frequency of the program and the number of participants are limited because each BP3TKI is given resources to hold one or two entrepreneurship and financial literacy programs per year for a region, involving not more than 50 participants. This of course is not adequate to service about 377,805 migrants who returned in a year (BNP2TKI, 2015a: 15). The program does not provide mentors to help former participants practicing their new financial skills and starting up their new business. In addition, production equipments provided to participants as a business assistance program often did not match to the actual needs.

In Yogyakarta Province, empowerment programs for return migrants had been started earlier in 2009 and conducted by BP3TKI Yogyakarta. As of 2015 BP3TKI Yogyakarta estimated that total number of beneficiaries approaching around 500 people (BP3TKI Yogyakarta, 2015). Return migrants in this province participate in entrepreneurship education program and they can apply for livelihood skills trainings according to their specific necessities such as baking, fish farming, detergent making, or garment making. Each program lasts in three up to six days and involves 50 participants. In October 2015, BP3TKI Yogyakarta conducted entrepreneurship education program for returnees who experienced abuses in destination countries. BP3TKI Yogyakarta provided two livelihood skills for empowerment participants, e.g. detergent and nata de coco making. This program's sessions were not much different to other programs carried out by BNP2TKI branches, but BP3TKI Yogyakarta included success story session of a successful returnee and spiritual mental development session (Table 1).

Table 1. Entrepreneurship Education Contents of BP3TKI Yogyakarta (October 2015)

No	Date	Time	Session	Instructor
1	1st Day	08.00 - 08.30	Opening	BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		08.30 - 10.00	Return migrant empowerment program	Head of BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		10.00 - 10.15	Coffee break	

		10.15 - 11.45	Introduction to Financial Institution and People's Credit (KUR)	Bank of BRI
		11.45 - 12.45	Lunch break	
		12.45 - 14.15	Process of nata de coco making	Lecturer of Ahmad Dahlan University
		14.15 - 14.30	Coffee break	
		14.30 - 16.00	Role of Regional Industry and Trade Office in supporting micro, small, and medium enterprise	Regional Industry and Trade Office
2	2nd Day	08.00 - 08.30	Opening	BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		08.30 - 11.45	Developing entrepreneur mental	Training at Quantum Inspirasi
		11.45 - 12.45	Lunch break	
		12.45 - 14.15	Business succes story	Return Migrant Entrepreneur
		14.15 - 14.30	Coffee break	
		14.30 - 15.15	Process of nata de coco making	Lecturer of Ahmad Dahlan University
3	3rd Day	08.00 - 08.30	Opening	BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		08.30 - 10.00	Developing spiritual mental	Religious organization
		10.00 - 10.15	Coffee break	
		10.15 - 11.45	Managing business finance	Lecturer at Tourism College
		11.45 - 12.45	Lunch break	
		12.45 - 16.00	Managing business	Businesswoman
4	4th Day	08.00 - 08.30	Opening	BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		08.30 - 11.45	Marketing	Lecturer
		11.45 - 12.45	Lunch break	
		12.45 - 16.00	Managing business finance	Lecturer at Tourism College
5	5th Day	08.00 - 08.30	Opening	BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		08.30 - 11.45	Business plan	Lecturer at Ahmad Dahlan University
		11.45 - 12.45	Lunch break	
		12.45 - 14.15	Theory and practice of detergent making	NGO

		14.15 - 14.30	Coffee break	
		14.30 - 16.00	Participants' testimony	NGO
6	6th Day	08.00 - 08.30	Opening	BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		08.30 - 10.00	Community empowerment synergy	Regional Manpower Office
		10.00 - 10.15	Coffee break	
		10.15 - 11.45	Process of nata de coco making	Lecturer of Ahmad Dahlan University
		11.45 - 12.45	Lunch break	
		12.45 - 14.15	Theory of action plan	BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		14.15 - 14.30	Coffee break	
		14.30 - 16.00	Practice of action plan	BP3TKI Yogyakarta
		16.00 - 16.15	Closing	

Source: BP3TKI Yogyakarta, October 2015

In the 2009 entrepreneurship education program, BP3TKI Yogyakarta recruited participants among return migrants in Yogyakarta Province area through random method due to return migration database in regional level has not been well developed. Since the participants came from different villages and district this implied that after completing this program they could not start a joint business. Encountered by this obstacle, Mr. Her¹ a former participant of the first entrepreneurship education program conveyed that above mentioned problem to the person-in-charge of the program at BP3TKI Yogyakarta. He suggested Mrs. Dya of BP3TKI Yogyakarta to recruit participants from the same village because by this method participants can easily make cooperations and get well coordinated and monitored by BP3TKI Yogyakarta. BP3TKI Yogyakarta took up this feedback positively and since then they recruited entrepreneurship education participants among return migrants in the same origin-village (Mr. Her, 2015).

1 Mr. Her, 33 years old, returnee from South Korea. After receiving fish farming training from BP3TKI Yogyakarta, he tried fish farming business but it failed. He worked as security staff at a local university for several years before meeting with a young businessman who recruited him to manage a recycling project in his city.

In 2010 Mr. Her's Mataram village in Bantul district was selected to receive entrepreneurship education program from BP3TKI Yogyakarta. Before starting the program, BP3TKI Yogyakarta also suggested return migrants in Mataram village to determine which livelihood skills they preferred. Respond to this request, fifty return migrants gathered to decide livelihood skills which were appropriate helping them to begin new business in the village. In this meeting they also determined to create a village-level return migrant organization which they named 'Maju Bersama'. After completing entrepreneurship education program, this organization has been facilitating members in practicing their new skills, establishing business collectives, and conducting social activities such as helping Mount Merapi eruption's victims.

In the following years entrepreneurship education program (2012 – 2014), BP3TKI Yogyakarta adopted the same method to recruit participants. Lack of return migration database in villages encouraged BPTKI Yogyakarta to conducted consultation with Mr. Her and an university's researcher both of who maintained a good relationship with return migrants in villages to select prospective participants. Mr. Her and the university researcher recommended villages having potential participants to BP3TKI Yogyakarta. With the helps of Mr. Her and researcher's contacts in villages BP3TKI Yogyakarta were able to recruit participants of entrepreneurship programs.

When conducting entrepreneurship education program BP3TKI Yogyakarta invited some former participants to share and give motivation to new participants. The former participants like Mr. Her also encouraged new participants to establish return migrant organizations in their respective village. As the result, during 2011-2014 former participants of entrepreneurship programs have established their return migrant organizations through a mechanism called as *musyawarah*. *Musyawarah* (deliberation) is a deeply rooted tradition in Indonesia carried out by people to discuss common issues through listening all the people concerns and voices before making a decision. They formed their return migrant organization as *paguyuban*, a non formal organization which is common in Indonesia society.

The fact that the establishment of return migrant organizations come out from return migrants, not from the government, has indicated that this organization is an initiative from below. The objectives to build return migrant organizations are not only for economic purposes, but also for social purposes such as re-create collective social networks which return migrants lost during their placement period.

As of 2014, there are four return migrant *paguyubans* in Yogyakarta Province which established through the above mentioned process. These *paguyubans* are ‘Maju Bersama’ at Mataram village in Bantul district, ‘Manunggal Agawe Santosa’ at Gunung and Bukit villages in Sleman district, ‘Maju Lestari’ at Kelapa village in Kulonprogo district, and ‘Tunas Jaya’ at Batu village in Gunungkidul district. These *paguyubans* receive membership from returnees from various host countries, e.g. Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Singapore, Hongkong, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea (Table 2).

Tabel 2. Return Migrants’ Organizations in Yogyakarta Province.

No	Name of organization	Location	Year of establishment	Number of members
1.	Maju Bersama	Mataram village in Bantul district	2010	50
2.	Manunggal Agawe Santosa	Gunung and Bukit villages in Sleman district	2011	42
3.	Maju Lestari	Kelapa village in Kulonprogo district	2013	30
4.	Tunas Jaya	Batu village in Gunungkidul district	2014	100*)

Note: *) estimation.

Source: Author’s field work, January – April 2015.

5. Return Migrants' Initiatives on Local Development

1) Return migrants' organizations and their initiatives on local development

Return migrants launched and implemented their development initiatives as soon as their organizations established. Their initiatives capture economic and social aspects with the aims to improve the members as well as their community well being. After *Maju Bersama paguyuban* received livelihood skills training from BP3TKI Yogyakarta in 2010 they built three business collectives according to skills they received from training such as culinary and fish farming. Culinary businesses continue to operate, while fish farming business failed due to climate problem. They also set up handicrafts business with their own skills. The collectives sell handicrafts to consumers in other cities, while culinary business serves local clients, in particular in neighbourhood area and city. When *Maju Lestari paguyuban* offered entrepreneurship education from BP3TKI Yogyakarta they asked wingko cooking trainings. Soon after the establishment in 2013, this paguyuban created three collectives that producing wingko (a sweet cake made from glutinous rice and coconut). According to Mrs. Dwi², one of three collectives develops and produces wingko and other innovative foods, while the other two collectives cannot function as business collective due to internal conflicts and ends up as individual wingko producers. Thanks to initiative of *Maju Lestari* to set up wingko business, now there are at least six wingko producers in the Jangkaran village, involving return migrants and non return migrants, which clients come from village and nearby cities (Mrs. Dwi, 2015).

Return migrants in Gunung and Batu villages established *Manunggal Agawe Santosa paguyuban* in 2011. They had opportunity to recruit more members when

2 Mrs. Dwi is 43 years old university graduate and a resident of Kelapa village. Due to her educational background and family status, she is one of influential *tokoh masyarakat* (local figures) in the village. She played a significant role in the establishment of return migrant organization and has been facilitating return migrants doing entrepreneurship.

offered entrepreneurship education program by BP3TKI Yogyakarta in 2012. Not like other *paguyubans*, they did not receive additional livelihood skills training from BP3TKI Yogyakarta. They, however, can exploit community's institutional resource such as *arisan* (revolving loan fund) and *simpan pinjam* (micro-saving and micro-loan) as the *paguyuban's* initiative to increase access to finance of their members. Once micro-loan fund was provided to members who having financial needs such as repaying debt, paying children education tuition, repairing house, paying health care or debt, etc. In 2013 the *paguyuban* received external financial support and used it to launch business micro-loan fund for assisting members who need capital to develop their individual business. The *paguyuban* also collects social fund from the members and give it when the members and their family in social needs. Furthermore, according to Mrs. Sti³ the organization began a culinary business collective selling *wingko sallacca* and rice box in order to create jobs for members (especially women) who don't have regular employment. This culinary collective got orders from village government and neighbours which had meetings or public gatherings (Mrs. Sti, 2015).

Meanwhile, return migrants in Batu village have long been actively involving in village's social organization 'Karang Taruna' (Youth Association) before they received entrepreneurship education in 2011 and English language training for tourism in 2014 from BP3TKI Yogyakarta. Their Tunas Jaya *paguyuban* has just been established in early 2014. When return migrants occupied top leadership position of Karang Taruna in the end of 1990s, they initiated a conservation project in mountain area. In 2006, they launched a village level project: changing a dormant mountain into a tourism spot. This community-based tourism business flourished and gained wider support from the entire village society as well as village government. In 2008 leaders of return migrants were elected as management of Village Tourism Council (*Pokdarwis*) that is a responsible organization to manage village

3 Mrs. Sti (39 years old) was a domestic worker in Saudi Arabia and a caretaker in Taiwan. She helped his husband to earn income by open a small retail shop in the village but her business lasted only a year because of lacking clients. She is now working in nearby city as spa worker.

tourism industry according to Indonesia regulation. By offering culture and environment education to attract young tourists, this village tourism business thrives and influences the establishment of business entrepreneurships owned by return migrants and non return migrants, such as homestays, foods stalls, restaurants, retail and clothing shops. The paguyuban functions to coordinate and facilitate its members to integrate their individual business into village tourism activities (Mr. Tyn, 2015)⁴.

2) Experiences of return migrant organizations in managing resources

Return migration and entrepreneurship programs would not guarantee growing entrepreneurship among return migrants as well as developing their origin-villages. Community's local assets are essential for nurturing existing and new enterprises. Each origin-community and origin-village of return migrants may have their unique resources that can support entrepreneurship. Resources can be categorized into specific areas: natural, institutional, financial, and human resources. Natural resources include assets such as land, water, mountains, and other nature-based amenities. Institutional resources are created and included organizations such as local government, schools, and civic groups. Other institutional resources include various fairs and events that attract others, and local cultural and historical elements that can offer entrepreneurial opportunities. Financial resources such as capital/funds can be provided by both family and private/public sources. Financial resources include investment of the members in themselves. Finally, human resources can be in the forms of the amount and quality of labor available locally, local coach or mentor (Woods and Muske, 2009: 202).

Return migrant organizations in Yogyakarta Province had observed that their villages have local resources and they were able to manage those resources to start

4 Mr. Tyn is 34 years old returnee from South Korea. He had been active in Karang Taruna to encourage village youth in social activities and tourism business. He is now the chairman of Tunas Jaya return migrant organization and a manager of Village Tourism Council. With his wife he is raising stocks and running a homestay.

and expand their development initiatives. For instances, business collectives of Manunggal Agawe Santosa, Maju Lestari, and Tunas Jaya *paguyubans* were inspired by their specific natural resources. Kelapa village is endowed by abundant coconut trees, thus Maju Lestari members determined to produce and sell coconut wingko. Return migrants in Gunung and Batu villages produced sallacca wingko because they are sallacca farmers who want to increase added value of their agriculture products. Batu village was blessed with ancient rock mountain and cocoa plantation, thus return migrants there got ideas to transform it into eco-tourism and education. Women collective of Tunas Jaya creates dodol cocoa (sweet sticky rice cake) to be sold visitors, while men return migrants grouped into tourism council as managers and operators. Mataram village of Maju Bersama does not have particular natural resource. They use cooking skills obtained from BP3TKI Yogyakarta trainings to produce cookies and bakpia made from agriculture products bought in nearby market.

In the aspect of financial resources, the four return migrant organizations relied on their internal resources to finance their activities before seeking for external funds. For examples, to finance their conservation project return migrants in Batu village got cash from selling banana or grass fodder from community land, and to run their start-up tourism business they collected entrance ticket fees and fees from guiding tourists. They then developed their ability to invent new tourism attractions and tourism packages to raise more revenues. Manunggal Agawe Santoso's financial services were started from small cash contribution of its member. Each member gathered 50,000 IDR (equivalent to 4 US\$) to start micro-loan fund and 10,000 IDR (equivalent to 0.74 US\$) to begin revolving loan fund. Members pay 1 per cent of the amount of loan to increase micro-loan fund. Culinary business of this paguyuban was started by allocating money from the micro-loan fund (Mr. Bar, 2015)⁵. In Maju Lestari paguyuban, wingko business was funded by the mem-

5 Mr. Bar (39 years old) is returnee from South Korea. He rented a small room to open motorcycle workshop in the village but this business failed due to lack of clients. Now he is maintaining his sallacca farming and a small fish pond while facilitating other returnees as chairman of Manunggal Agawe Santoso return migrant organization.

bers from individual savings and from wingko business profits (Mrs. Dwi, 2015). Financing method of cookies, bakpia, and handycraft collectives of *Maju Bersama paguyuban* are relied on those business profits (Mr. Her, 2015).

Regarding experiences in managing human resource, return migrant organizations distributes roles and responsibilities among their members by setting up organization's structures. As the case of *Tunas Jaya paguyuban*, the leaders ensure that every members get involved in the village tourism activities according to their tasks and schedules. *Maju Lestari paguyuban* distributes tasks such as baking, packaging, selling, and bookkeeping among those who are involved in wingko collective. In *Manunggal Agawe Santosa paguyuban*, there are eight persons-in-charge for financial activities and two persons to be responsible for managing culinary collective. Culinary business of this *paguyuban* is delegated to women since low employability of women than men. Meanwhile, cookies and bakpia business of *Maju Bersama paguyuban* is carried out by female members and handycraft business is managed by mostly men due to they are woodworkers.

Institutional resource such as village government affected the progress of return migrants' initiatives on development. Two of four return migrant organizations which received adequate supports from their respective village government can expand their initiatives. One good example of institutional support received by *Tunas Jaya* and *Manunggal Agawe Santosa paguyubans*. Their village government provided administration services when *Tunas Jaya* and *Manunggal Agawe Santosa* submitted proposals to seek for external supports. Village government of *Tunas Jaya* worked together with return migrants to building access to new tourism sites and village government of *Manunggal Agawe Santosa paguyuban* offered an opportunity to provide consumptions for village government meetings. On the other hand, due to some personal biases, village government did not give necessary support to *Maju Lestari*. Mrs. Dwi explained, "when our members receive financial assistance from a district government office, the village secretary refused to sign the documents to process the fund disbursement since his wife who is also a returnee is not a beneficiary". Without a proper documents the disbursement of funds were

delayed. Fortunately they received a recommendation from subdistrict government and the fund could be accessed (Mrs. Dwi, 2015). In case of *Maju Bersama*, village government seems to be indifferent to the existence of return migrant organization.

When return migrant organizations encountered obstacles to run their initiatives with internal resources, they rely on external supports. The external supports can be in the forms of capacity building (livelihood skills development), cash, production equipment (oven, mixer, stove, cooler boxes, etc.), exhibition event, market access, credit facilitation, language translation, and mentoring. These various supports come from various sources, such as national and regional government institutions, state-owned or private companies, universities, individuals, and other business institutions (such as co-operative). The common mechanism getting the external resources is through applying proposal, while another way is through maintaining good relationships with the sources. Table 3 in the following presents the forms and sources of external supports had received by return migrant organizations in Yogyakarta Province.

Table 3. Forms and sources of external assistances received by return migrants' organizations in Yogyakarta Province

Return migrant organization	Forms of support	Sources of support
Maju Bersama	Production equipment	BP3TKI Yogyakarta, Private Insurance Company
	Community Exhibition	Australian Universities Consortium for In-Country Indonesian Studies (ACICIS), Universitas Gadjah Mada, BP3TKI Yogyakarta
	Language translation of organization leaflet	Individual
	Skills development (fish farming, baking, cookies and bakpia making)	BP3TKI Yogyakarta, Foods Company, Individual
Manunggal Agawe Santosa	Production equipment	Private Insurance Companies
	Community Exhibition	ACICIS, BP3TKI Yogyakarta
	Skill development (cookies making)	Individual

Manunggal Agawe Santosa	Skill development (automotive and culinary)	Provincial Office of Manpower Ministry
	Skill development (marketing)	Manpower Ministry
	Cash	Individual
	English translation of organization leaflet	Individual
	Mentoring	Individual
Maju Lestari	Cash	PNPM Perdesaan (National Government Program for Rural Development), Provincial Office of Social Ministry
	Community Exhibition	BP3TKI Yogyakarta, ACICIS, District Government, Provincial Office of Cooperative and Small Business Ministry, Private Events
	Market access	District co-operative
	Skill development (baking)	BP3TKI Yogyakarta, Foods Company
	Skill development (bakpia making)	Individual
	Production equipment	BP3TKI Yogyakarta, Private Insurance Company
Tunas Jaya	Cash	Provincial Office of Cultural and Tourism Ministry, State-owned Companies and Banks, PNPM Pariwisata (National Government Program for Tourism Development)
	Community Exhibition	ACICIS, BP3TKI Yogyakarta, Provincial Office of Cultural and Tourism Ministry
	Skill development (English for tourism)	BP3TKI Yogyakarta and Provincial Office of Manpower Ministry
	Skill development (baking)	BP3TKI Yogyakarta, Foods Company
	Food quality testing	Indonesian Institute of Science
	Production equipment	BP3TKI Yogyakarta, Private Insurance Company
	Language translation of organization leaflet	Individual
	Credit facilitation	State-owned banks

Source: Author's field work January-April 2015

6. Discussion

Return migration and entrepreneurship programs can become strategic policy to help return migrants socially and economically reintegrate into their origin-community while strengthen contribution of international migration on development in sending countries. Four village-level cases in Yogyakarta Province of Indonesia show through government-funded entrepreneurship programs (e.g. entrepreneurship education and livelihood skills training) return migrants obtained entrepreneurship knowledge and livelihood skills to help them in becoming new local entrepreneurs or improving their remittance-funded business. It is likely that when return migrants' business develop, they may improve their origin-village into better rural regions with a growing number of individual and collective entrepreneurs providing various goods and services as well as increasing employability of rural community. For instances, wingko cooking training from BP3TKI Yogyakarta has been providing return migrants in Kelapa village an opportunity to build small business collectives that producing wingko and other local foods to cater demands of village community. Villagers responded by using wingko as an alternative food serving in local traditions such as wedding party or people gatherings. In addition, wingko business also induced non return migrants to join producing wingko and as the result it has changed the village into new 'culinary center' in Kulonprogo district. At Batu village in Gunungkidul district, entrepreneurship education program from BP3TKI Yogyakarta offered return migrants entrepreneurship knowledge to manage their individual enterprises that support village tourism such as homestays and retail shops, while the English language for tourism training from BP3TKI Yogyakarta has improved the communication skills of return migrants and local youths in servicing foreign tourists. They had been hosted live-in program for foreign students from 40 countries. These two examples strongly indicate that entrepreneurship education and livelihood skills training can increase return migrants capability to manage entrepreneurial activities as well as to develop the economy of origin-village.

In the case of Yogyakarta Province, return migrant organizations play important role in making entrepreneurship program really works for return migrants. Village level return migrants-led organizations (*paguyubans*) do not only facilitate return migrants in maintain their business enterprises, but they also take a significant role in activating or re-creating individual and collective social networks which return migrants lost during placement period. In four villages in this research, before joining paguyuban most of return migrants tended to live individually. After being involved in paguyuban returnees in the same origin village often meet one another in various activities initiated and managed by paguyuban, e.g. meetings, collective productions, product exhibitions, comparative studies, and other social activities.. In facts, return migrant *paguyubans* in Yogyakarta Province play functions which should be beared by the government, such as assist return migrant adjustments to economy and social lives in their origin community. The *paguyubans* coordinate returnees, facilitate their business, carry out their development initiatives, and creatively manage internal and outside resource to helping re-adjustment of returnees. After joining *paguyubans*, return migrants received many benefits such as access to government programs, finance, and social solidarity which they would not have without joining *paguyubans*. Thus, *paguyubans* also give positive impacts in the forms of increasing economic equality and social cohesion in sending-communities. Considering these return migrant organizations' roles in their origin-communities, they deserved to be the third channel to linking migration and development in sending countries in addition to remittances and return migration.

One interesting development on return migrant entrepreneurship in Yogyakarta Province is the rise of business collectives initiated and managed by return migrant organizations. The reason as to why return migrant organizations promoting business collectives among their members are the fact that many individual businesses of return migrants failed or stagnated due to obstacles they could not solve. Thus, the *paguyubans* encouraged their members to set up business collectives so that they can surmount the obstacles together by combining their individual unique resources like skill, knowledge, fund, social network, production equipment, and other in-

dividual assets. Maju Lestari paguyuban in Kelapa village provides a good example for a business collective run by return migrants. Their culinary business made up by female members who were domestic workers from Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hongkong which had acquired cooking skills in host countries. By working in group, they are able to manage their production process such as preparing food ingredients, cooking, packaging, marketing, and bookkeeping to meet clients' order timely. Within the collective, members discuss ideas to invent new foods, decide to buy new production equipments, share working place and take individual social network as collective clients. Each member feels as the owner as well as the operator of the business with equal responsibility to maintain the business in progress.

We can accept general definition of social enterprise as a business make profits and empower disadvantaged groups. This study has shown some distinctive features of social entrepreneurship in return migrants-led business collectives in Yogyakarta Province. Return migrants' business collectives expose their features as social entrepreneurship in this one or some signs: adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value); recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission; engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning; acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand; and exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created (Dees, 1998: 4). A leader of Tunas Jaya paguyuban, Mr. Tyn – 34 years old returnee from South Korea – has ever stated that they are adopting social enterprise as they way they manage the village tourism business. He mentioned, “because we run our business as social enterprise, thus we cannot manage this enterprise without taking account other people concerns”. They seek for a solid support from their constituencies – the entire village society as the main stakeholders – and take steps to guarantee that they are creating preferred values for the community. At their initial effort to convince villagers, return migrants leaders presented their business plan in front of village community representatives and explained that they build tourism business that promote local culture and en-

vironment education so that village environment and social norms of society are maintained. After the community understood their business ideas, they keep close connections with them in planning, operating, monitoring, and evaluating tourism business. As the result, the community offered their assets such as land for parking and tourism attraction sites, family members as workers, and house to be built as homestays to support tourism activities. Tunas Jaya *paguyuban* in Batu village re-integrated both individual business and business collectives run by migrants and their family into a village-based social enterprise. They participate in the monthly village forum managed by Village Tourism Council (village level social enterprise led by return migrants and non migrants) to report and discuss current development of the village tourism business. The Village Tourism Council creates 'one door system' to ensure that every village community have equal access to clients and employment created by tourism activities. This social enterprise has provided real economic and social improvements to return migrant origin-village as well as to their region. Youth unemployment has been declining significantly in the past four years since rural youngsters are involved in jobs created by tourism activities. Local employability of return migrants is increasing, thus preventing both internal and international migration. Environment has been improving and the society enjoys better physical infrastructure. Regional government taxed hundred of million rupiah each year from entry tickets to Village Tourism Council. Economic multiplier effects from tourism activities in this village inspiring other villages in Gunungkidul to replicate, especially after Batu village won national level village tourism competitions.

If return migrant organizations in Gunungkidul district create social enterprise which can improve individual economic and social welfare, on the other hand return migrant organization in Gunung and Bukit villages of Sleman district has been emphasizing social values in serving their members rather than focusing on individual profits. *Paguyuban* routine activities such as revolving loan fund and micro-loan fund are dedicated to help members who do not have access to finance from formal financial institution. This mission gives benefit to the members be-

cause in average Indonesian have low financial literacy and banking literacy (Amirio, 2015)⁶. Members can rely on *paguyuban* to get cash when they have family needs and they need capital to expand their remittance-funded individual businesses such as retail shop, sallacca farming, animal husbandry, etc. Their social fund is to assist members who is sick or hosting local customs such as baby delivery ceremony, wedding, funeral, etc. Through such a social financial enterprise, return migrants of Gunung and Bukit villages have been enjoying both economic and social values like cooperation, mutual help, and solidarity that increase social harmony in the village society.

Besides the support of community's resources and the role *paguyubans*, non economic remittances such as social remittances from migration experience also influenced return migrant entrepreneurship. Mr. Mur – a returnee from South Korea and chairman of Tourism Village Council at Batu village – explained that he learned about discipline, hard working, and maintain the cleanliness of the environment while working with Koreans during his international migration (Mr. Mur, 2015). These values of work do not only form his leadership style, but they are also practiced in tourism activities. He always comes on time during village level forum, he mobilizes the villagers and encourages visitors to maintain cleanliness of mountain area, and he manages his automotive spare-parts shop while serving as chairman of Village Tourism Council. At Kelapa village, female returnees use their experience as domestic workers to make and sell cookies inspired by culinary in their host countries.

Despite the government's claim that return migrant entrepreneurship programs in Yogyakarta Province is the most successful in this country (Mrs. Dya, 2014), the programs still have some weaknesses. The key obstacle faced by former participants is lack of mentors and government guidance programs. Entrepreneurship education and skills training cannot assure that participants will be able to start their own business and sustain it in the long-run. Most return migrants have not been

6 Indonesia scored 70, among the lowest in the financial literacy index in the Asia Pacific, according to the a Literacy Index published in April 2015.

entrepreneurs before working as migrant workers, nor received entrepreneurship program in destination countries. They were just fresh graduates from secondary education or lower, low-skilled labourers, or those who come from non entrepreneur family. It is not easy to them to become entrepreneurs after receiving three or six days entrepreneurship sessions. Moreover, social and economic changes and resources in the villages need various capabilities to respond appropriately and to turn into business opportunities. Thus, former participants of government entrepreneurship program need mentors and action programs to guide them opening and maintaining their business. Government must pay more attention about mentoring since business mentors are rare in community of return migrants. Although recently BP3TKI Yogyakarta offers mentors from local social organization to guide new entrepreneurs in production process and marketing, this assistance is not yet adequate to cater the various needs of them such as managing labours, bookkeeping, getting the price right, promotion, servicing clients, or business networking.

To promote entrepreneurship and to maintain the existing ones keep going and expanding is an incredible task which should not be beared by BP3TKI Yogyakarta itself as any previous years. Improving return migrant entrepreneurship programs need partnership between BNP2TKI in national level and BP3TKI in regional level with related stakeholders, most importantly regional government. There is a need to encourage village government and district government to give return migrants more supports in conducting development initiatives and to integrate these initiatives in village and regional development plans. Through these steps, return migrants initiatives would be sustained in the long-term since local participations are ensured in formal development process. Cooperation with universities, private institutions, and non government organizations is also important strategy because considering that those institutions have potential resources to develop return migrant entrepreneurship.

7. Conclusion

Most of Indonesian migrant workers obtained jobs under temporary employment schemes which require them to return to Indonesia when their contract terminated. One important task for them after safely landing at home country is getting new employment for sustaining their life and family. However, employment opportunities that offering decent payments are not always available in return migrant's origin-village. This unsecure situation forcing return migrants to spend remittance for daily consumptions that may lead them to look for another overseas vulnerable job when their remittance run out. Considering these situations, empowerment program for returnees in particular in the form of entrepreneurship education and livelihood skills programs is surely needed to help return migrants creating jobs for themselves in order supporting their social and economic reintegration in the origin villages. Moreover, if return migrants successfully become entrepreneurs they can contribute to social and economic development in rural regions. Therefore, return migration and entrepreneurship program is highly potential to become strategic policy to bring benefits of international migration on development in Indonesia.

Despite its success to attract participants in various villages, return migrant entrepreneurship program in Yogyakarta Province has created an opportunity to return migrants to group themselves into return migrant organizations named *paguyubans*. Through these village-based *paguyubans*, return migrants create development initiatives that give benefits on their community and village economy. Return migrant *paguyubans* have facilitated entrepreneurship of their members and non migrants using potential local resources. Furthermore, return migrant *paguyubans* encourage their members to create business collectives. Some of these collectives such as Manunggal Agawe Santosa, Maju Lestari and Tunas Jaya are growing into social enterprises that bring not only profits from inventing new products and services, but also increase employability both return migrants and non return migrants, repair social capital, maintain value and tradition, and improve social cohesion and equality in the village society.

This case study in Yogyakarta Province that investigating the synergy among return migration, entrepreneurship program, and local development has been providing strong evidences to the existing migration-development literature on how international labour migration can give real impacts on development in sending-communities. The evidences are also countering the general assumption in Indonesia that return migrants or TKI Purna are only a group of low educated, low-skilled, and socially unorganized people. The facts, amidst various obstacles to survive in home country, return migrants indeed have been developing their capabilities to organize themselves and use their acquired new knowledge and skills from entrepreneurship program for managing various local resources accountably and creatively. This research also shows that return migrant organizations can cooperate with various stakeholders. This is a bold sign that return migrants and their organizations must be seriously reckoned by both national and regional government as potential development agents and they should be taken into account as the third channel in linking migration and development. To improve return migrant entrepreneurship program, the author recommends government needs to provide more resources to develop mentoring and guidance programs for return migrant entrepreneurs, increasing partnership with various stakeholders, and integrating return migrant initiatives in both village and regional development plans. ***)

Acknowledgements

A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the Conference on Transnational Migration in Daegu University, 29 April 2015. We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers, Kim Yeunhee, and Carol Chan for their helpful feedback and suggestions. We extend much appreciation and gratitude to members of return migrant organizations involved in this study, for their hospitality and patience.

Notes

1. The names of villages are pseudonyms, in order to protect the identities of interviewees.
2. All names of interviewees cited in this paper are pseudonyms, to protect their identities and anonymity.

2015.9.28 접수, 2015.12.22 수정, 2015.12.28 게재확정

References

- Agunias, Dovelyn, 2007, Linking Temporary Worker Schemes with Development, Migration Policy Institute, 1 February, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/linking-temporary-worker-schemes-development>.
- Amirio, Dylan, 2015, RI's financial literacy remains among lowest in Asia, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/09/04/ri-s-financial-literacy-remains-among-lowest-asia.html>
- Anwar, Ratih Pratiwi, 2011, Cultural, social and economic transformation of Indonesian labor migration to South Korea: The case of migrant workers from Yogyakarta Special Region Province, Research report to POSCO TJ Park Foundation's Asia Research Grant, South Korea, 16 February.
- Anwar, Ratih Pratiwi and Carol Chan, 2015, Gendered social capital: A comparative study of return migrant entrepreneurship and co-operatives in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Paper presented at the 2015 Conference on International Indonesia Forum, Indonesia, 28-29 July.
- BNP2TKI, 2014, Dalam 5 tahun, BNP2TKI telah memberdayakan 16342 TKI dan keluarganya, 9 December, <http://www.bnp2tki.go.id/read/9654/Dalam-5-Tahun-BNP2TKI-Telah-Memberdayakan-16.342-TKI-dan-Keluarganya.html>.
- BNP2TKI, 2015a, Data penempatan dan perlindungan tenaga kerja Indonesia (1 January-31 December 2014), 6 January, http://www.bnp2tki.go.id/uploads/data/data_16-01-2015_020347_Laporan_Pengolahan_Data_BNP2TKI_S.D_31_DESEMBER_2014.pdf.
- BNP2TKI, 2015b, Tingginya antusiasme warga Garut ikuti edukasi wirausaha TKI purna, 8 April, <http://www.bnp2tki.go.id/read/10036/Tingginya-Antusiasme-Warga-Garut-Ikuti-Edukasi-Wirausaha-TKI-Purna->.
- BNP2TKI, 2015c, BP3TKI Palembang gelar edukasi kewirausahaan untuk TKI purna pemu-

- la, 7 August, <http://www.bnp2tki.go.id/read/10390/BP3TKI-Palembang-Gelar-Edukasi-Kewirausahaan-untuk-TKI-Purna-Pemula.html>.
- BNP2TKI, 2015d, BP3TKI Medan adakan edukasi kewirausahaan TKI, 3 September, <http://www.bnp2tki.go.id/read/10482/BP3TKI-Medan-Adakan-Edukasi-Kewirausahaan-TKI.html>.
- BP3TKI Yogyakarta, 2014, BP3TKI Yogyakarta selenggarakan bimtek wirausaha TKI purna, 4 September, <http://www.bp3tkiyogya.info/news/detail/22/bp3tki-yogyakarta-selenggarakan-bimtek-wirausaha-tki-purna.html>.
- BP3TKI Yogyakarta, 2015, Minutes of meeting between BP3TKI Yogyakarta, BNP2TKI, and Center for Asia and Pacific Studies of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, 2 July.
- Chauvet, Lisa et al., 2014, Migrants' home town associations and local development in Mali, http://www.iza.org/en/papers/9624_09012014.pdf.
- Dabson, Brian, 2009, Entrepreneurship as rural economic development policy, in Walzer, Norman (ed.), *Entrepreneurship and Local Economic Development*. United Kingdom: Lexington Books.
- Dees, J. Gregory, 1998, The meaning of social entrepreneurship, 30 May, http://web.mit.edu/sloan2/dese/readings/week01/Dees_TheMeaningofSocialEntrepreneurship.pdf.
- Demurger, Sylvie and Hui Xu, 2011, Return migrants: The rise of new entrepreneurs in rural China, *World Development*, 39(10), 1847-1861, <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305750X11000970>.
- Hustedde, Ron, 2009, What's culture got to do with it? Strategies for strengthening an entrepreneurial culture, in Walzer, Norman (ed.), *Entrepreneurship and Local Economic Development*. United Kingdom: Lexington Books.
- Holley, June, 2009, Transforming rural economies through entrepreneurial networks: A case study, in Walzer, Norman (ed.), *Entrepreneurship and Local Economic Development*. United Kingdom: Lexington Books.
- Lee, Sohoon and Rath Pratiwi Anwar, 2014, International migration and development from below: The case of return migrants' village in Indonesia, Paper presented at the Conference on International Indonesia Forum, Indonesia, 9-10 July.
- Lubambu, Karine Manyonga Kamuleta, 2014, The impacts of remittances on developing countries, Directorate-General for External Policies European Parliament, April, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2014/433786/EXPO-DEVE_ET\(2014\)433786_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2014/433786/EXPO-DEVE_ET(2014)433786_EN.pdf).
- Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2004, Undang-Undang No. 39 Tahun 2004 tentang Penem-

- patan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, 18 October, <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/70915/105637/F392593861/IDN70915%20IDN.pdf>.
- Schrouver, Marlou and Floris Vermeulen, 2004, Immigrant organizations, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(5), 823-832, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13691830500177792?journalCode=cjms20>.
- The Jakarta Post, 2014/01/15, Migrant workers sent home Rp 88.6 trillion in 2015, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/01/15/migrant-workers-sent-home-rp-886t-2013.html>.
- VanWey, Leah K., Chaterine M. Tucker and Eileen Diaz, 2005, Community organization, migration, and remittances in Oaxaca, *Latin America Research Review*, 40(1), 83-107, http://www.asu.edu/clas/transborder/documents/diaz_pdfs/vanwey_tucker_mcconnell_larr.pdf.
- Wahba, Jackline and Yves Zenou, 2012, Out of sight, out of mind: Migration, entrepreneurship and social capital, *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 42, 890-903, http://ac.els-cdn.com/S016604621200035X/1-s2.0-S016604621200035X-main.pdf?_tid=b44f129e-b2b1-11e5-9b78-00000aacb35e&acdnat=1451891381_1b7d2d3b71f5a37a99b448ebe2577b9c.
- Woods, Michael D. and Glen Muske, 2009, Understanding and growing a community's microbusiness segment, in Walzer, Norman (ed.), *Entrepreneurship and Local Economic Development*. United Kingdom: Lexington Books.
- Interviews:
- Mrs. Dya, a former chief of Protection Division at BP3TKI Yogyakarta, 10 January 2015.
- Mr. Her, member of Maju Bersama return migrant organization in Bantul district, 10 February 2015.
- Mr. Tyn, chairman of Tunas Jaya return migrant organization in Gunungkidul district, 11 February 2015.
- Mr. Mur, chairman of Village Tourism Council in Batu village in Gunungkidul district, 23 December 2015.
- Mrs. Sti, secretary of Manunggal Agawe Santosa return migrant organization in Sleman district, 17 February 2015.
- Mr. Bar, chairman of Manunggal Agawe Santosa return migrant organization in Sleman district, 17 February 2015.
- Mrs. Dwi, mentor of Maju Lestari return migrant organization in Kulonprogo district, 20 February 2015.

인도네시아 귀환 이주와 지역사회 개발

레띠 프라뜨위 앤와르*

요약_이주가 주도하는 발전은 국제기구와 송출국, 유입국 정부의 주된 관심사이다. 인도네시아에서도 어떻게 국제이주가 지역 발전에 기여할 수 있는지에 대한 정책대화와 프로그램이 진행되었다. 이 연구는 송출국에서 이주와 발전 간에 시너지 효과가 있다는 최근 국제적 논의에서 출발한다. 족자카르타의 4개 송출 마을을 사례로 하여, 이 연구는 귀환 이주자를 위한 정부 지원 기업가 프로그램, 귀환 이주자 신규 조직, 귀환 이주자의 주도과 그것이 기업 설립과 지역 발전에 미치는 영향 등을 조사하였다. 귀환 이주민이 마을 단위에서 사회적, 경제적으로 재통합되는 과정에 대한 심도 있는 자료를 수집하고 이해하기 위해 저자는 민족지학과 참여 관찰법을 적용하였다. 결론으로 이 연구는 정부의 기업 교육 프로그램이 지원되거나 귀환 이주 조직의 도움이 있는 경우 국제이주와 지역 발전 간에 시너지 효과가 있다는 점을 확인하였다.

주요어_이주, 기업 프로그램, 귀환 이주 조직, 사회적 기업가 활동, 지역사회 개발

* 인도네시아 가자마자 대학교, 사회학, ratih.pratiwi.a@ugm.ac.id