



**THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
MIGRATION IN INDONESIA**

by

RIANTO ADI

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy Degree
in Population and Human Resources,
Department of Geography,
Faculty of Arts,
The University of Adelaide**

March, 1996

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge my profound thanks and gratitude to Professor Graeme J. Hugo and Professor Dean Forbes, my supervisors, who have tirelessly lent their time and energy, shared their wealth of knowledge and given guidance in the process of writing this thesis.

I am grateful to the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AusAid) for an award under the Equity and Merit Scholarship Scheme (EMSS-AIDAB) for five years study in Australia. My thanks are also due to Atma Jaya Research Centre and Atma Jaya Foundation which gave me the opportunity to study at The Faculty of Social Sciences, Flinders University of South Australia and The Faculty of Arts, The University of Adelaide, South Australia. To the University of Adelaide my sincere appreciation thanks for financial support for my fieldwork. My thanks to the Indonesian Government and other local authorities for permission to undertake fieldwork in *Desa Sukasari*, West Java, Indonesia and also to Pusat AKAN, Indonesian Department of Manpower in sharing their information. This is a fitting place to thank The Head of *Desa Sukasari* (Haji Aan Sutianda), his staff and the people of *Desa Sukasari*, who gave of their time and patience in being interviewed during the gathering of data.

I sincerely appreciate the help of my fieldwork colleagues from the Institute Pertanian Bogor (Ir. Raden Sirait, Ir. Drusilla S. Hutauruk, Ir. Dian Suryanti, Ir. Meriati K. Sitanggang, Ir. Juniati Aritonang, Tuah Darmawan, SH) for their enthusiastic involvement in interviewing respondents. My grateful thanks are also due to Solehudin, a Sukasari villager, who assisted me in the

fieldwork, especially by making me feel at home during the village study. Thanks, as well, to all my friends at the Atma Jaya Research Centre, especially my colleagues Drs. Sutrisno R. Pardoen, and Drs. Sahat Sitohang MSc., for their helpful suggestions, Heru Prasadja MSc. and Drs. Heri Pramono for assistance in preparing the data for analysis using the SPSS program and Ir. Dian Suryanti who helped me in coding and data entry. My thanks are also due to many people in Adelaide (Margaret Young, Tania Ford, Janet Wall, Chris Crothers, Lorraine Lienert and all my colleagues in the Population and Human Resources Program) who have contributed through discussion and by assisting me to solve some of the problems relating to my work. I extend my appreciation to all of them.

Finally, my deepest gratitude to my wife, Wahyu Yuliastuti, who has encouraged and mentally supported me in doing this thesis and patiently cared for our children with love and affection during our stay in Adelaide (Eka Ayu Afrianti, 15, Rangga Meidianto, 12, Astrina Septianti, 10 and Kania Riastuti, 7).

To my mother: *Sembahsungkemku.....*

Adelaide, March 1996

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the understanding and clarification of the impact of international labour migration in Indonesia. Detailed understanding of the impact of this movement on individuals, families, communities and the nation as a whole, is still limited. However, the Indonesian Government has been involved in sending contract workers overseas for two decades and now plans to enlarge the volume and improve the quality of the workers in order to help unemployment problems within the country and obtain foreign exchange to enhance economic growth.

The thesis firstly introduces some significant issues relating to the effects of international labour migration on sending countries, outlines the objectives of the study and the approach adopted in addressing these objectives. It briefly discusses the geographical context of the study and outlines relevant theories of migration and major research findings with respect to the impact of international labour migration. The study then moves on to a case study of a village in West Java which has experienced a significant amount of international labour migration. The patterns and processes involved in that movement are initially analysed as a prelude to the detailed examination of the impacts of international labour migration.

Population mobility as an independent variable, has consequences not only for the migrant him/herself and

his/her family, but also for the community and nation as well. At the micro level, temporary work overseas has benefit for the migrant and his/her family. However, in the long run, the impact depends on how they use their remittances and experiences to improve their life. At the macro level, remittances and experience are two important potential sources of benefit for the community of origin of overseas contract workers, as assets for improving the standard of living of the community. However, the impact depends on the volume of overseas contract workers and the quality of experience (skills) which they have gained.

For Indonesia as a whole the benefits from overseas contract workers are still relatively small, due to the fact that this country has a huge population in relation to the number of overseas workers. However, such mobility of workers across country's boundaries for temporary work has been shown to be important leading to a variety of changes which, if not anticipated, could impede nation building. Therefore, to maximize the benefits accruing from this movement, the Indonesian Government should take more account of this issue, devote greater attention to collecting detailed information about it and develop policies and programs which will maximise the benefits accruing from it and minimise the costs associated with international labour migration.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

Balai AKAN	The Regional Centre for Overseas Employment
BLK	(Balai Latihan Kerja) Job Training Centre
BPS	(Biro Pusat Statistik) Central Bureau of Statistics
Buruh Tani	Farmhand
Desa	Village
Devisa	Foreign Exchange
Dusun	Sub-village
Emping Melinjo	Bitter Nut Creackers
GBHN	(Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara) Broad Outlines of the Nation's Direction
Gedek	Plait of bamboo, especially for wall
Haji	Hajj
IMSA	Indonesian Manpower Supplier Association
Juru Tulis	The Secretary of the Village
Kabupaten	Regency (or District)
Kecamatan	District (or Sub-district)
Kelurahan	Village (in urban areas)
Khitanan	Circumcision of son
LSM	(Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat) Non Government Organisation
Mencari nafkah	To earn a subsistence income
Merantau	Spontaneous out migration
Nenek Moyang	Forefathers
Nglaju	Commuting
Ojek	Motorcycle for public transportation
"Oknum"	a government official who abuse his authority
Pesantren	Religious boarding school
PKK	(Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) The movement for family welfare education
Posyandu	(Pos Pelayanan Terpadu) The community integrated service post
PPTKI	(Perusahaan Pengerah Tenaga Kerja Indonesia) Indonesian Manpower Supplier
Pusat AKAN	(Pusat Antar Kerja Antar Negara) Center for Overseas Employment, Indonesian Department of Manpower
Puskesmas	(Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat) Community Health Centre
RCTI	(Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia) a Private Television Broadcasting
REPELITA	(Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun) Five Year Development Plan
Sawah	Wet rice field
Surat Kelakuan Baik	Good behaviour certificate

Swadaya	
Masyarakat	Efforts of the Community Itself
Melinjo/ Tangkil	Bitter Nuts
TKW	(Tenaga Kerja Wanita) Female worker
Tukang Ojek	Ojek Driver
UGREM	(Usaha Gotong Royong Umat Islam) Mutual Self-help Effort of Muslems
Usaha Gotong Royong	The Mutual Self-help Effort
Ustadz	Term of address for Islam teacher
Warga	Member
Wartel	(Warung telepon) Small telephone office
Warung	Small restaurant or small shop

Chapter One

I N T R O D U C T I O N

1.1. Introduction

The growing internationalisation of capital, the great improvements in the ease and cost of international travel, and the activities of multi-national corporations, are all significant factors in the explosion of international labour migration in the last decade or so (Hugo and Singhanetra-Renard, 1991:1; Hugo, 1989:24, 1993a:36; Fong, 1993:301; Spaan, 1994:93; Stalker, 1994:21-40). Massey (1988:394) has pointed out that "development makes international movement easier, cheaper, and more reliable, and substantially reduces the cost of information concerning foreign opportunities". Hence as development proceeds, international migration increases in both scale and complexity. The flow of overseas workers can have benefits and/or costs for the areas of origin. Appleyard (1989) has observed that while some believe that international labour migration has been extremely harmful to origin societies because it increases the level of dependency of sending countries (mostly less developed countries) upon receiving countries (mostly more developed countries), others argue

that this movement can contribute substantially to the economic growth of both sending and receiving countries. The flow of labour from the sending countries is said to reduce unemployment, bring much needed foreign exchange and reduce income and social inequalities while on the other hand, receiving countries need labour for their development and growth. However, there is a lack of detailed research focussing upon the impact of labour migration in the origin areas (Hugo, 1982a:189; 1987:136; 1993c:13; Appleyard, 1982:260), and hence debate on the issue is inadequately informed by empirical evidence. Hugo (1987:136) observed that there has been a dearth of research on the consequences of all forms of migration compared to a considerable volume of works on the causes of migration.

Despite this interest, detailed research into the impact of migration on individuals, families, communities and the nation of origin is limited (Simmons, 1982:163; Hugo, 1987:136, 1993a:36, 1993d:122-123; Appleyard, 1989:497). Editors of the International Migration Review (1989:396) observed that "...scholarship on international migration still is searching for a general theory capable of elucidating the multiple facets of the complex human drama involved in international migration." At present, as Massey et.al. (1993:432) point out, "there is no

single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries". This study attempts to make a contribution in this area by examining the impacts of Indonesian international labour migration at the individual, family/household, community and national levels.

International contract labour has become known in Indonesia as a "non-oil export commodity", following Keely (1989:501) who stated that migration "is like the export of commodities." The sending of Indonesian workers to other countries under the coordination of the Center for Overseas Employment (Pusat AKAN)¹⁾, Indonesian Department of Manpower, has been contributing to enlarging the country's labour market share, with the stated purpose of helping solve unemployment problems and earning foreign exchange (Pusat AKAN, n.d).

¹⁾ Since 1994 Pusat AKAN has been changed by Ministerial Regulation NO:PER-02/MEN/1994 become Direktorat Jasa Tenaga Kerja Luar Negeri (Directorate of Overseas Manpower Services).

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The flow of overseas workers will always have some impacts on the country of origin. One recent study of the impact of international movement by Enchautegui (1991), for example, concluded that although the earnings of returnees are below the earnings of stayers, return migrants to Puerto Rico from the United States are increasing the likelihood of English fluency, increasing their earnings by providing returnees with a comparative advantage in the manufacturing sector.

Foreign employment is often viewed by the labour sending countries as a safety valve for domestic unemployment and underemployment and a partial solution to excessive balance of payments deficits (Arnold and Shah, 1986:3; Hugo and Singhanetra-Renard, 1991:1; ESCAP Secretariat, 1986a; Marius, 1987:1). Since the Third Five Year Development Plan (1979-1984) the Indonesian government began planning to increase the number of Indonesian overseas contract workers as part of its strategy for solving unemployment problems and for earning foreign exchange (Singhanetra-Renard, 1984; Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1986:1-4; Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Tenaga Kerja, Departemen Tenaga Kerja, 1991:3). Between 1979/80-1993/94 Indonesia sent 1,041,034 Indonesian workers to other countries, 64

percent of them to Saudi Arabia (Appendix 1). There is also a significant flow of Indonesian workers to Malaysia and Singapore, although most of it is undocumented and these numbers have increased recently (Hugo, 1993a; Spaan, 1994).

The overall aim of this study is to investigate the economic, social and demographic consequences of international labour migration on the migrants, their families, their communities of origin and their nation of origin. It approaches this through a detailed case study of Indonesia but also attempts to make a contribution to the limited amount of empirical findings in the area of the consequences of migration.

Employment and income are two elements that overseas workers seek. This study investigates whether skills and experiences may improve, or are useful for the migrants and their community and to establish whether overseas households tend to have lower levels of unemployment than non-migrant household populations. What kind of jobs do returnees have and what kinds of employment have been created by overseas contract workers? Has the income of overseas contract workers (OCWs) changed? Is it possible that remittances have multiplier effects since both consumption and investment may create employment and

affect the socio-economic development of the community in the region?

Working overseas may have consequences also for the well-being of both migrant and non-migrant households. What has been the impact of overseas contract workers on the well-being of the community of origin? Are returnees more modern than non-migrants? What are the levels of participation of migrants in various social/political activities in their community? Are the fertility levels of migrant households lower than those of non-migrant households or do overseas contract workers have lower fertility? Do overseas contract workers reduce the population growth in the place of origin? This study seeks also to identify the contribution of remittances in the balance of payments of the country of origin.

The following are the specific objectives of the study:

1. To analyse the impacts of international labour migration upon the migrants themselves (individuals). There is little existing knowledge of how migration impacts upon the skills, attitudes and socio-economic status of migrants in Indonesia. This involves not only an analysis of how they enhance their economic and human resources by migration but

also how they use them on their return to Indonesia and to establish whether migration is a net positive or negative experience in terms of the migrants' own social and economic wellbeing.

2. To elucidate the impacts of international labour migration on the migrants' families. To clarify the costs and benefits of the move in terms of the adjustments which have to be made in the absence of the migrant, the remittances received during the migrant's absence, the uses made of them and the impact on the family of the return of the migrant. This must involve direct comparison of the wellbeing of migrant households with non-migrant households.
3. To examine the impact of international labour migration on the home community. Here an attempt will be made to answer the question of whether there is a role for international labour migration in the social and economic development of communities?
4. This study will also assess the contribution of international migration to the overall development goals of the nation. In particular it will assess whether it has any significant effect upon domestic unemployment and underemployment.

5. A final aim is to draw some implications from the findings of the study for policy makers and planners in labour sending nations like Indonesia with respect to identifying how to maximise the benefits of such migration and minimise the costs.

1.3 The Context of the Study

One of the most dramatic of the many changes which have swept Asia in the last two decades is the increase in international population movement. An important element in this is temporary international labour migration. Since the Arab oil embargo of 1973 and the consequent rapid rise in the price of crude oil, the Middle East has increasingly become a magnet for people who want to improve their economic lot (Arnold and Shah, 1986:3; ESCAP Secretariat, 1986a; Abella, 1991:4), working at all levels and sectors of government, industry and commerce. In 1970 the Gulf Cooperative Countries (GCC) which include Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates, had 1.1 million foreign workers but this had increased to 5.2 million in 1990 with an additional 2 million in Iraq (Omran and Roudi, 1993:22). The proportion of foreign workers in the Gulf states comprised over two-thirds of the overall labour force, while Saudi Arabia attracted about 55 percent of those

foreign workers (Omran and Roudi, 1993:23). The number of Asian workers has increased substantially since the 1970s (Omran and Roudi, 1993:24) and in 1985 about 3.5 million were working in the Middle East. However after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait this probably dropped to less than 3 million (Abella, 1991:15).

Besides the flow of Asian workers to the Middle East in recent years, other flows of Asian workers have occurred to neighbouring countries within Asia. As Lim (1991:1-2) stated:

"Asia has emerged as an increasingly important destination, East and Southeast Asia, being the most economically dynamic region in the contemporary world, has attracted rapidly growing numbers from outside and within the continent. As the Asian countries themselves experience, on the one hand, significantly different rates and patterns of demographic and economic transition and, on the other, growing interdependence fostered by trade, capital investments, political relations, the operations of transnational corporations, social networks, etc., legal and illegal intraregional migration has also escalated".

The major flow in this intra-Asian movement is toward the rapidly growing economies of Japan and the "New Industrialising Countries" (Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea) where sharp fertility declines have created labour shortages (Hugo, 1990, 1993a; Fong, 1993; Appleyard, 1993). In the meantime, countries in the region with large populations, slower rates of economic

growth and lower levels of GNP per capita, such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam, have been the main providers of labour (Appleyard, 1993). Since the mid 1980s, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand have taken off as a second generation of emerging economies (Fong, 1993). This growth has consequently resulted in shortages of labour in Malaysia, where it has been projected that some 1.1 million new jobs will be created over the 1991-1995 period (Hugo, 1993a:65).

The economic growth of Japan, the "New Industrial Countries" (NICs) and Malaysia, initially created low levels of manpower shortages. Many educated, especially university graduates, were unwilling to enter low-paid or "dirty" occupations (Hugo, 1990a:23). Fong (1993) pointed out that in those countries there was increasing reluctance for people to accept dirty, difficult or dangerous jobs. This resulted in the need for large numbers of illegal, foreign, low-level manpower to fulfill those kind of jobs. Hugo (1993:36) demonstrates that the flow of illegal migrants in this intra-Asian movement is an important element.

Indonesia, a relative latecomer to the contract-labour market (RDCMD-YTKI, 1986:6; Kelly, 1987:7; Cremer, 1988:73; Hugo et.al, 1987:173, Hugo, 1992a:181,

1993b:117; Appleyard, 1993:270; Spaan, 1994:105) sends workers abroad mainly to Saudi Arabia (in the Middle East) and Malaysia and Singapore (within Asia). The number of officially sanctioned Indonesian migrants is small in relation to those who have left Indonesia illegally (Lim, 1991:15). Indonesia provides hundreds of thousands of illegal workers to neighbouring Malaysia (Appleyard, 1993:270) and a large number of them were employed in palm oil, cocoa, rubber and tea plantations and various development projects.

The examination of the impact of Indonesian overseas workers will provide an understanding of the negative and positive views of international labour migration. This is important, especially for future development plans in Indonesia. Since the Third Five Year Development Plan (1979-1984), Indonesia has attempted to expand employment opportunities both in and out of the country and also to find how to best capture and use the remittances and the skills/experiences for productive activities (Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Tenaga Kerja, Departemen Tenaga Kerja, 1991). The Sixth Five Year Development Plan (1994-1999) attempts to significantly increase both the quantity and quality of the workers sent overseas. Indonesia was chosen for this study not only because the researcher is Indonesian, but also because of the

increasing significance of this type of population mobility in Indonesia.

Indonesia is still facing massive growth in the labour force, and in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan (Repelita V) (1989/90-1993/94) the Indonesian labour market had to create 11.5 million jobs just to absorb the net increment to the labour force. Currently an extra 2.3 million jobs need to be created each year (Hugo, 1993b: 35, 72). This is one of the significant factors in the flow of Indonesian workers to other countries, as Hugo (1990:22) has pointed out;

"In 1990, Indonesia had 71.7 million workers and this is projected to increase to 88.5 million in 2000, and 103.3 million in 2010. Hence over the next two decades a net increase of 31.6 million jobs is required (almost half as many jobs again as existed in 1990). In such contexts it is certain that governments will continue to look at placing some of their workers temporarily or permanently in other nations."

The Indonesian labour market itself has a limited capacity to absorb the growth in the labour force and hence, there was a significant increase in unemployment in Indonesia during Repelita V. Between 1980 and 1990 the unemployment rate increased from 1.4 to 2.8 percent for males and 2.3 to 3.9 percent for females (Hugo, 1993b:83). Hugo (1993b) points out that this is especially concentrated in the young school leaver age category. Underemployment (people who report working less

than 35 hours per week) in Indonesia is also still high (38.6 percent of workers in 1990) and this must be addressed in the development efforts of the country.

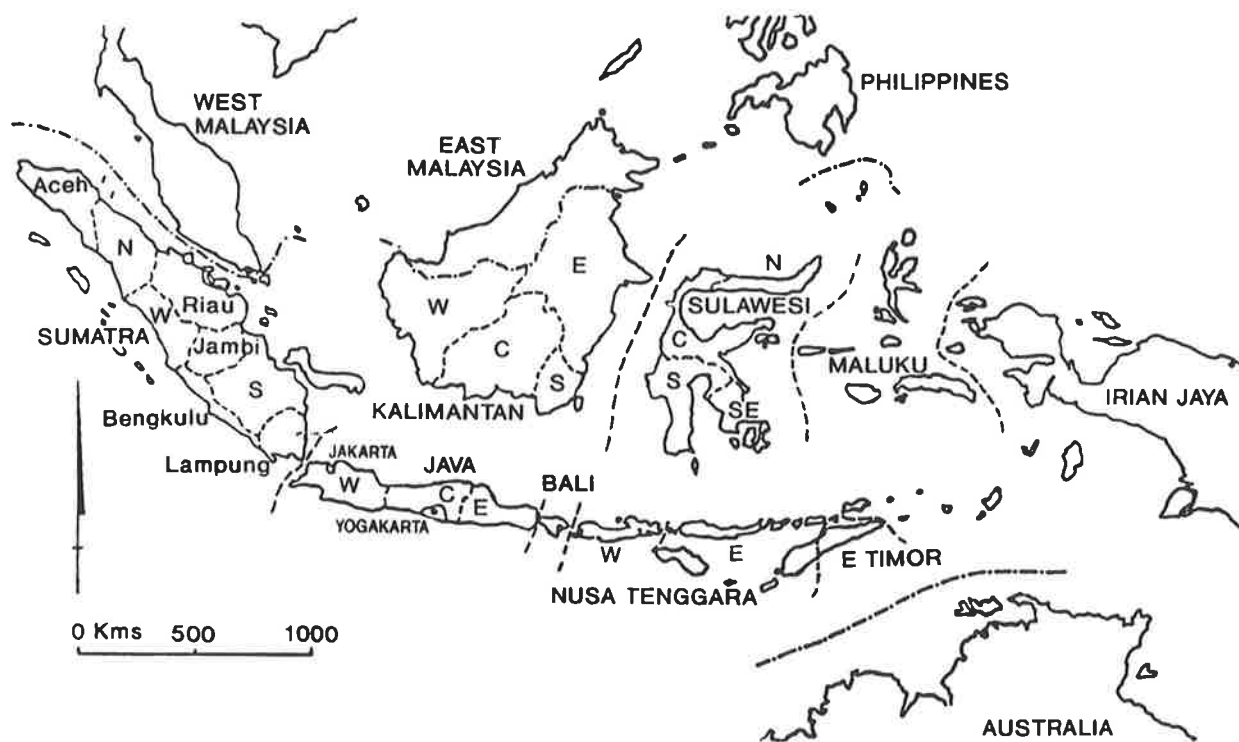
At the 1990 Census the population of Indonesia was 179,248,000, but was unevenly distributed between the 27 provinces (Table 1.1 and Figure 1.1). It was estimated that in mid-1992 the population of Indonesia had reached 184.35 million people with an average annual growth rate of 1.64 percent (Country Report: Indonesia, 1992:1). This indicates that the rate of population growth in Indonesia has declined since the 1971 Census. Table 1.1 shows that during 1971-1980 the population growth rate per annum was 2.4 percent, whereas during 1980-1990 it was 2.0 percent. The major components which influence population growth are fertility and mortality, but fertility control was an important component in the reduction of population growth rates in Indonesia. The Total Fertility Rate has declined from 5.6 children in the late 1960s to 3 children per women in the 1990s (Hugo, 1993b:36).

Table 1.1 Distribution of Indonesian Population and Growth Rate, 1971-1990

Province	Population ('000)			Average Growth Rate (% per annum)	
	Census 1971	Census 1980	Census 1990	1971- 1980	1980- 1990
DI Aceh	2,009	2,611	3,416	3.0	2.7
North Sumatera	6,622	8,351	10,252	2.6	2.0
West Sumatera	2,793	3,406	4,000	2.2	1.6
Riau	1,642	2,164	3,279	3.1	4.2
Jambi	1,006	1,444	2,018	4.1	3.3
South Sumatera	3,441	4,628	6,312	3.4	3.2
Bengkulu	519	768	1,179	4.5	4.3
Lampung	2,777	4,624	6,016	5.8	2.6
DKI Jakarta	4,579	6,481	8,228	4.0	2.4
West Java	21,624	27,450	35,381	2.7	2.5
Central Java	21,877	25,367	28,516	1.7	1.2
DI Yogyakarta	2,489	2,750	2,913	1.1	0.6
East Java	25,517	29,169	32,488	1.5	1.1
Bali	2,120	2,470	2,777	1.7	1.2
West Nusa Tenggara	2,203	2,724	3,369	2.4	2.1
East Nusa Tenggara	2,295	2,737	3,268	2.0	1.8
East Timor	n.a	555	748	n.a	3.0
West Kalimantan	2,020	2,485	3,228	2.3	2.7
Central Kalimantan	702	954	1,396	3.5	3.8
South Kalimantan	1,699	2,063	2,597	2.2	2.3
East Kalimantan	734	1,215	1,875	5.8	4.3
North Sulawesi	1,719	2,115	2,477	2.3	1.6
Central Sulawesi	914	1,284	1,703	3.9	2.8
South Sulawesi	5,181	6,060	6,980	1.8	1.4
Southeast Sulawesi	714	942	1,349	3.1	3.6
Maluku	1,089	1,408	1,853	2.9	2.7
Irian Jaya	923	1,107	1,630	2.7	3.6
Total	119,208	147,332	179,248	2.4	2.0

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1992, 1994

Figure 1.1 Indonesia: Location of Provinces



Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1991

1.4 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter One attempts to justify this study in terms of the significant issues relating to the consequences of international labour migration on sending countries, particularly Indonesia. After outlining the objectives of the study, it briefly discusses the context of the study to show the growing importance of international labour migration.

Chapter Two discusses some relevant theories of migration and some research findings to elucidate the causes and consequences of the international labour movement. This section attempts to provide a framework that is used to analyse the impacts of international labour migration on Indonesia at the levels of the individual, household, community and nation.

Chapter Three discusses the method of collecting data to assess the impacts of overseas contract workers. It assesses the potential sources of Indonesian overseas contract labour data and discusses the data collection methods used in this study. It describes the process of selecting the research area, sampling procedures, collection and processing. An overview of the pattern of

Indonesian international labour migration and existing studies of this movement then follows in Chapter Four.

Considering the context of international labour migration, Chapter Five describes the physical situation and presents a discussion of the changing demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the study area in which detailed fieldwork was undertaken. The causes and process of international labour migration in the research area are examined in Chapter Six, based upon data collected from the field. Here, the difficulties faced by migrants during the process of migration are discussed.

Chapters Seven to Ten provide the main empirical analysis of this thesis and discuss the demographic and socio-economic consequences of international labour migration with reference to the study area. Chapter Seven analyses the impacts of international labour migration upon the migrants themselves (the individual level of analysis). This involves an analysis of how they enhance their economic and human resources through migration and how they use them upon their return. Chapter Eight will attempt to elucidate the costs and benefits of the move in terms of the adjustments which have to be made in the absence of the migrant, the remittances received during the migrant's absence and the uses made of them. Chapter

Nine examines the role of international labour migration in the social and economic development of the study community. Chapter Ten attempts to assess the contribution of international migration to the overall development goals of the nation, particularly the contributions made toward reducing domestic unemployment and the balance of payments deficit which are the goals articulated by the Government of Indonesia for the international labour export program.

Finally Chapter Eleven presents the conclusions of the study. It includes a summary of the major findings and draws some implications for policy makers and planners in countries sending overseas workers. Some recommendations for future research are put forward in the last part of this chapter.

1.5 Conclusion

This introductory chapter has presented the aims of the study and has shown the effect of the movement of workers across the country boundaries on many aspects in both receiving and sending countries. However the knowledge of this impact is still limited and a framework for analysis is discussed in the next chapter.



Chapter Two

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Population mobility is frequently part of, or a symptom of, processes producing changes in other social, economic and demographic phenomena (Hugo, 1985b:157). However there is relatively little literature on the impacts of international labour migration and theoretical development is still limited (Wood, 1982; Hugo, 1982a; Lewis, 1986; Massey, et al., 1993). Lewis (1986:27) for example, stated that there has not been much successful theoretical construction about international labour migration, especially regarding the regional impact of the movement. Indeed, a comprehensive body of theory regarding the consequences of migration in general is still lacking. As Hugo (1985b:166) has pointed out, the role of population mobility as an independent variable explaining social, economic and demographic change within communities is still little understood. It is clear that the impact of migration upon well-being, economic development and inequality is complex; but the literature regarding it is extremely fragmented and incomplete (Hugo, 1982a: 189; Simmons, 1982:165; Swamy, 1985:51).

This chapter reviews theory regarding the relationship between international labour migration and the consequences of such movement for individuals, households, communities and labour sending countries as a whole. A framework is developed for the analysis of the impact of international labour migration. The focus of this thesis is upon the consequences rather than the causes of international labour migration. However, as Hugo (1982a:189) has pointed out, "it is virtually impossible to separate the causes and consequences of population mobility" and therefore, this section also reviews the theories of why people move and particularly of why they go to work abroad.

2.2 Explaining International Labour Migration

International labour migration is a sub-set of all international migration. International migration involves permanent and temporary, legal and illegal, forced and voluntary forms of movement (Hugo, 1990:1; Kritz, Keely and Tomasi, 1981:xiv). Although both permanent and temporary movement have "significant effects on the participants and the communities of origin and destination and there is a growing body of opinion that there are important linkages and feedback mechanisms linking temporary and permanent migration" (Hugo,

1990a:1), international labour migration (temporary) is very distinctive. It is clear that, unlike most other types of international migration, international labour migration is intended to be a temporary movement, involving only workers who move to a country of destination solely to work. International labour migration can be viewed as a form of circulation which generally occurs over a relatively long time and which crosses country boundaries.

Moreover, in assessing the impact of international migration on the process of socio-economic development, "it is important to differentiate permanent and temporary flows....." (Appleyard, 1989:486). Without high levels of unemployment or underemployment in one country and labour shortage in another, workers will generally not migrate across national borders, and in such cases both origin and destination countries have mutual interests:

'Push-pull' theories are the most widely held approach to explaining international migration (Portes, 1989). They

"A country with unemployed labour should export its unemployed workers if it can. The harvest of remittances and returning workers who were trained abroad is expected to accelerate economic growth enough to reduce unemployment and pressures to emigrate. Labor-importing countries expect to soon be over the labor-shortage phase of their development, limiting their need for migrant workers to a decade or less." (Papademetriou and Martin, 1991:ix)

argue that the causes of migration are the existence of push factors in the area of origin and pull factors in the area of destination which are stronger than those in the region of origin (Lee, 1966; Portes, 1989; Boyd, 1989). Overpopulation, poverty and famine, unemployment and underemployment or mechanisation in the primary and secondary economic sectors generating surplus labour are examples of push factors. Pull factors are for instance, industrialisation with economic growth generating increased demand for labour, higher wage levels, better working conditions and social mobility opportunities or higher living standards in general (Spaan, 1989:10).

According to neoclassical economic theory, international labour migration occurs as a result of "differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries" (Massey, et al., 1993:432) therefore, "labour moves from places where capital is scarce and where labour is plentiful (hence remuneration to the worker is low) to areas where capital is abundant and where labour is scarce (hence remuneration is high)" (Wood, 1982:300). At the micro level, the neoclassical economics perspective sees the geographical mobility of workers as "responding to imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources" (Wood, 1982:300; see also Clark, 1986a:83). Imbalances in the spatial

distribution of the factors of production cause migration. This equilibrium model sees migration as "a 'natural' response to interregional differences in social and economic opportunities" (Hugo, 1991:21). Thus this model argues that the rational economic calculation of the people involved induces migration (Wood, 1982; Todaro, 1980). "People move because they expect to improve their living conditions" (Simmons, 1982:168).

According to this perspective both equilibrium and migration cannot occur simultaneously. When equilibrium is established, then the flow of migration to the destination area will stop. In other words, migration is a mechanism for establishing an equilibrium between the area of origin and destination. Massey (1988:383) has argued that:

"People leave their places of origin because their countries are poor, underdeveloped, and consequently lack economic opportunity; they migrate to wealthy, developed nations to seek wider opportunities for employment at higher wages.....when standards of living are equalised through development, the economic incentives for international movement will disappear and large-scale migration will end."

Neoclassical economic theory suggests that international (labour) migration from developing countries arises due to the lack of economic development (Massey, 1988). However, as Massey (1988:383) points out "economic

development¹ in the short run, does not reduce the impetus for migration". Economic development causes people to migrate, "responding to the prospect of economic growth and enhanced productivity in emerging urban areas" (Massey, 1988:384). Some migrate to other countries, "seeking wider opportunities in more dynamic economies abroad" (Massey, 1988:384). In the long run, according to Massey (1988:383), development will cause international (labour) migration to cease.

At the macro level the neoclassical economics perspective sees the international labour movement as being influenced by geographic differences in supply and demand for labour. The result of the differential in wages between the low wage country and the high wage country causes immigration into the high wage country (Massey, et al.1993:433).

¹ According to Massey (1988:383), "economic development is the application of capital to raise human productivity, generate wealth and increase national income. Associated with it are a constellation of social and cultural changes that scholars generally call 'modernisation'. Economic development and modernisation are mutually dependent and reinforcing. Economic growth depends not only on amounts of labor and capital, but also on institutional, cultural and technological factors that determine how labour and capital are used. At the same time capital accumulation transforms social institutions, cultural values and technologies in ways that affect the course of subsequent development".

The historical-structuralist approach "seeks the causes of migration in the forces which structure the unequal spatial distribution of opportunities between regions" (Hugo, 1991:21). This approach sees the international labour movement as being influenced by structural factors through their impact on the degree and the spatial distribution of, the demand for labour and on the associated forms of labour recruitment and remuneration (Wood, 1982:303; Clark, 1986:83; Shrestha, 1988:197; Hugo, 1991:21; Massey, et al., 1993:433). International labour migration "can only be examined in the context of historical analysis of the broader structural transformations underway in a particular social formation" (Wood, 1982:302) including:

"the emergence and expansion of the capitalist mode of production; the style of development that is pursued; a country's role in the international division of labour; the unequal development between and within countries; the articulation of capitalist and non-capitalist formations as it affects the distribution of the reproduction costs of labour, and the cost-lowering functions of a migrant labour force" (Hugo, 1991:21; Wood, 1982:303).

An understanding of the causes of international labour migration must encompass both the determinants of the parameters of behaviour and the factors that motivate individual actors (Wood, 1982:312). E.G. Ravenstein, the acknowledged pioneer of migration study, believed that migration is a result of an individual decision-making

process (Shrestha, 1988:181). Although the decision to move or to stay is made by the individual actor him/herself, "migration decisions may be better conceptualised as family phenomena" (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987a:469). It means that in the decision to move, other members of the household have influenced a person to do it. In fact Hugo (1993c:6) points out, "it is clear that a great deal of migration in LDCs occurs as a result of decisions taken by families rather than individuals and that migration occurs as a result of family members being allocated to different labour markets." This is reinforced by the new economics approach, which states that the decision to migrate is "not made by isolated individual actors, but by families or households" (Massey et al., 1993:436). Members of the family/household "act collectively to maximise expected income, to minimise risks and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures apart from those in the labour market" (Massey et al., 1993:436). In this situation, according to Massey et al. (1993:436) "some family members can work in the local economy, while others may be sent to work in foreign labour markets."

Wood (1982: 312,314) has suggested a conceptual framework using the household as the unit of analysis:

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Wood (1982: 312,314) has suggested a conceptual framework using the household as the unit of analysis:

"...the household is defined as a group that insures its maintenance and reproduction by generating and disposing of a collective income fund. Household income refers to the recompense derived from the productive activities of members of the unit, or from other sources such as rents, investments, transfer payments, subsidies or gifts....when the sum of monetary and nonmonetary income is sufficient to reach or increase the desired quantity and quality of consumption and investment, seasonal and permanent migration is unlikely to occur".

Here, Wood (1982) attempts to integrate individual and structural approaches with the study of migration. He explains that households will respond to economic stress in reaching and/or increasing their desired quantity and quality of consumption and investment by for example, "sending wives and children into the workforce, moonlighting, or engaging in a short-term migration to take up seasonal or temporary work" (Wood, 1982:314) in another country. This approach is referred to as household sustenance strategy or the new economics approach. The role of the family as a unit of production in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) is important in the allocation of labour (members of the family) in response to economic stress. Hugo (1993c:7) has pointed out that, "most decisions about population movement of individuals in such contexts therefore are taken by the family or the senior member(s) of the family, usually older males."

Shrestha (1988: 191-192) points out that the main reason why people migrate is because it "offers a way out of the existing structural trap and new possibilities to improve their economic conditions, but is not as highly risky, costly and uncertain as the revolutionary option." He explains that there are three main options to improve the conditions of social reproduction: (1) to stay and make the best out of the existing relations of production in their local villages (i.e. adaptive choice); (2) to stay and revolt against the existing regressive relations and try to transform them into progressive relations (i.e. revolutionary); or (3) to migrate to a different economic environment (i.e. migratory choice). Here the decision to migrate for the dominant classes and the subordinate classes is different: "the migration decision of the dominant class migrants reflects their strategic choice (i.e. implying several socio-economic options and a wide range of abilities), that for the subordinate class migrants represents a survival move" (Shrestha, 1988:196).

World systems theory sees international labour migration as "a natural consequence of capitalist market formation in the developing world" (Massey et al., 1993:447). The "desire for higher profits and greater wealth make the owners and managers of capitalist firms enter poor

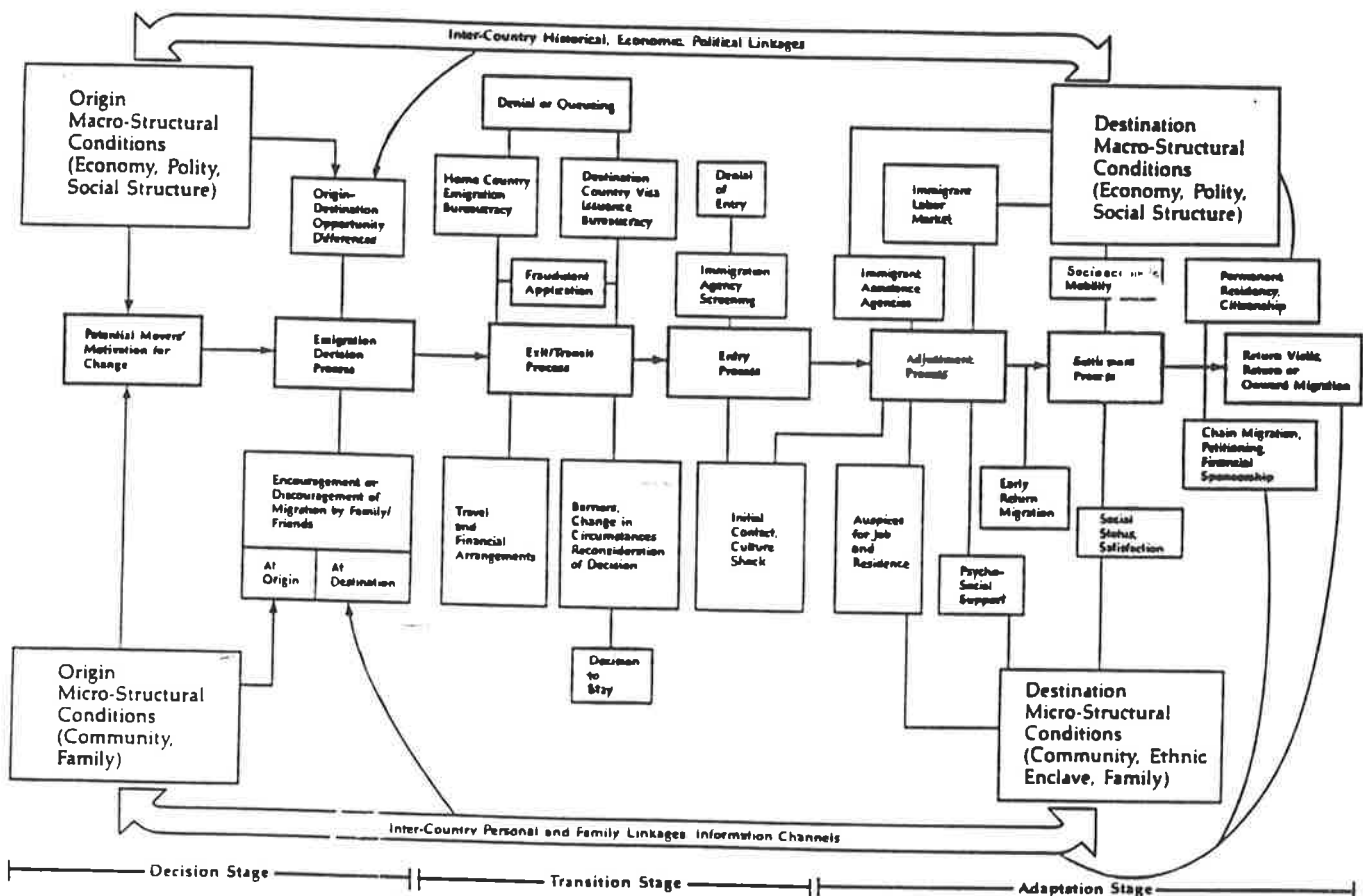
countries on the periphery of the world economy in search of land, raw materials, labour and new consumer markets (Massey et al., 1993:444-445). According to Massey et al. (1993:445) the "influence and control of the markets under capitalist firms in peripheral regions, cause international movement."

Fawcett and Arnold (1987a) proposed a conceptual framework to provide a comprehensive view of the immigration process. They call this framework a "migration systems paradigm". In this migration system "the linkages between places that reflect levels of aggregation 'above' the individual: the family, the culture, the polity, the economy, and so on are conditions that influence individual immigration decisions" (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987a:456). According to Massey et al. (1993:454) the system "is characterised by relatively intense exchanges of goods, capital, and people between certain countries and less intense exchanges between others". Figure 2.1 explains the processes in an immigration system where both macro- and micro-structural conditions may influence the individual to move. "Motivation, opportunity for improvement and family incentive are three factors that determine progress through the decision-making stage.....whether to

work abroad or to stay in the home country" (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987a:469).

The social network approach sees international labour migration as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (Massey, et al., 1993:448). "Migrants are inevitably linked to nonmigrants through a network of reciprocal obligations based on shared understanding, kinship and friendship.

Figure 2.1: Processes In An Immigration System



Source: Fawcett and Arnold, 1987a: 468

Non-migrants draw on these obligations to access foreign employment." (Massey and Espana, 1987:736). According to Massey and Espana (1987), people in a community from which many members have migrated and in which a large stock of foreign experience has accumulated should be more likely to migrate abroad than people from a community in which international migration is relatively uncommon.

Therefore Hugo (1993a) points out, that the social network has a central role in sustaining the migration between Indonesia and Malaysia..."Once a 'pioneer' migrant is established at the destination, all the acquaintances of that migrant at the origin acquire a piece of social capital" (Hugo, 1993a:56; see also 1993c:10-13). It is important that nonmigrant labours are influenced by this network in the processes of decision making to migrate. Boyd (1989:657) indicated that "migration decision making processes are shaped by sex-specific family and friendship sources of approval, disapproval, assistance and information".

In addition, according to institutional theory "once international migration has begun, private institutions and voluntary organisations arise to satisfy the demand created by an imbalance between the large number of

people who seek entry into capital-rich countries and the limited number of immigrant visas these countries typically offer" (Massey, et al., 1993). In Indonesia for example, Indonesian Manpower Suppliers, an organisation of brokers and middlemen has facilitated Indonesian international labour migration by increasing the awareness of overseas jobs, organising the actual migration and providing loans (Hugo, 1993a; Spaan, 1994). Moreover migration itself, according to cumulative causation theory, tends to create more migration (Massey, et al., 1993:451). For example, as Massey, et al. (1993:451) pointed out, "seeing some migrant families vastly improve their income through migration makes families lower in the income distribution feel relatively deprived, inducing some of them to migrate".

2.3 The Impact of International Labour Migration

The impact of migration in the long-run and short-run, or directly and indirectly will "vary with the type of population mobility, its scale, the length of the period of time over which it has been occurring and the socio-cultural structure and composition of the society affected." (Hugo, 1982a:189). Simmons (1982:165) has pointed out that the macro-level models of migration assume that the impact of migration will vary from one

context to another (see also Stern, 1988:30). In international labour migration, the impact on the individual, the family, the community and the society as a whole, can affect a large number of economic, social, demographic and political areas relevant to those social units (Hugo, 1982a:189, 1985a:64; Simmons, 1982:164-165; Stern, 1988:32; Appleyard, 1989:487).

It has been suggested with respect to the impact of rural-urban migration that "most rural areas gain more than they lose from out-migration...their situations would be worse, if such migration did not occur." (Kols and Lewison, 1983:260). For migrant workers themselves, Hugo (1987) has observed that scholars agree that most individual migrants gain benefits from migration, but the impacts upon the areas the migrants leave, the areas they settle in and their nations as a whole are less clear. However, there is plenty of evidence which shows that remittances² have had more positive outcomes in sending countries (especially for migrants and their families) than negative ones. Remittances from international labour migration help "to solve local problems of unemployment and balance of payments deficits" (Hugo and Singhanetra-Renard, 1991:1).

² Remittances can be defined as the portion of a migrant worker's earnings which is sent back from the country of employment to the country of origin (Marius, 1987:4).

Appleyard (1989:488,492) has shown that many countries in Southern Asia have become dependent upon remittances in their balance of payments accounts. For example, in Pakistan overseas workers provided employment for an equivalent of almost one-third of the incremental growth in the labour force during the Five Year Plan Period 1978-1983 and remittances increased from 1.5 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1975/76 to 8.4 percent in 1982/83. In Bangladesh remittances represented 5 percent of the GDP in 1982/83, an amount which paid for almost 40 percent of the country's imports of commodities and services (Appleyard 1989:492). In the Philippines remittances represented 45.5 percent of GDP in 1992 with US \$ 8 billion a year foreign exchange from remittances (*Kompas*, 28 March 1995). Indonesia in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan (1989-1994) gained US \$ 1.2 billion from remittances (*Kompas*, 1995). Appleyard (1989) argues that the expenditure of migrants/families of migrants generates a multiplier effect that leads to an increase in aggregate demand well in excess of the value of remittance flows.

Russell (1986:693, 1992:267) has concluded that remittances have come to play a central role in the economies of labour sending countries (see also Keely, 1989:514). Remittances create an important mechanism for

the transfer of resources from developed to developing countries (Russell, 1992:269). Meanwhile, Massey (1988) has argued, that international migration has played a vital role in the process of European economic development and has been a major factor facilitating the transformation of European countries from rural peasant societies to modern industrial powers.

Some consider that international labour migration is advantageous to reduce pressure on the home labour market and to produce remittances (see e.g. Marius, 1987; Hugo and Singhanetra-Renard, 1991:21-22). On the contrary however, Shrestha (1988:198) has concluded that "migration does not necessarily become a dynamic force in the process of development.....migration seldom serves as an effective channel for improvements in their overall socio-economic positions". As Marius (1987) has observed, besides the positive impact of international labour migration, there are some negative effects of international labour migration on a number of countries:

"It occurred that returning migrants squandered their savings on excessive consumption of luxury articles and the like; a heavy dependence on the continuing inflow of remittances was severely felt during the recession in the Middle East which resulted in slackened demand for labour and downward adjustments in wages from 1982 onwards; the reintegration of returning workers into their societies often turning out to be a difficult task due to lack of employment opportunities and possible cultural alienation." (Marius, 1987:1-2)

According to micro-level models of migration (Simmons, 1982:170) international labour migration has positive economic consequences for sending households if (a) the loss of labour from households due to temporary overseas work will not reduce household production and incomes and (b) the loss of household capital in the form of support to migrants for travel, job preparation and maintenance will not reduce household production and incomes. The micro (equilibrium) approach implies that migration is beneficial to development (Hugo, 1987:137, 1991:21-2, 1992b:30; Zolberg, 1989:424; Shrestha, 1988:197-8). According also to a balanced growth approach (Lewis, 1986:30) "emigration has net positive effects for the individual migrants and for the country/region of origin.....there are no major losses in production caused by the departure of 'surplus labour'; there is an improvement in income distribution and resource availability; and more rapid growth due to the application of the returning migrants' skills and accumulated savings" (see also Appleyard, 1982:259; Burki, 1984:683-4; Borjas, 1989:458; Keely, 1989:503-5).

On the contrary, the asymmetrical growth approach argues that international labour migration has "negative consequences for sending countries" (Lewis, 1986:30). Structuralists see the migration as having a

"disadvantageous effect on development" (Hugo, 1987:137, 1991:21-2, 1992b:30; Zolberg, 1989:424; Shrestha, 1988:197-8). According to the asymmetrical growth argument, benefits accumulate particularly to the labour receiving countries. Through emigration, productivity and rates of innovation in the region of origin are reduced and remittances lead to inflation and are used unproductively. Furthermore, the 'skills' of returnees are often inappropriate for the area of origin (Appleyard, 1982:259; Lewis, 1986:30; Borjas, 1989:458; Keely, 1989:501-3).

In examining the social and economic consequences of labour migration to the Middle East, Abella (1991:48-9) states that:

"The impact...is not unambiguously positive for all the countries. Their experience suggests that the gains to be made from migration depend crucially on whether the domestic economy and society are in a position to absorb the shock of massive labour withdrawal on the one hand and massive inflows of remittances on the other. For the smaller countries whose economic bases are narrow, the gains from remittances can be undermined by the loss of labour and the resulting distortions in the labour market. For the larger economies with excess supplies of labour, but with a weak economic structure and policies, the loss of labour may have no adverse impact on the labour market, but the inflows of remittances may not necessarily stimulate productive investments. They will only be translated into temporary improvements in consumption levels. Where gains from migration can be maximized are in countries where excess supplies of educated and skilled labour co-exist with a strong absorptive capacity for capital".

Stahl has pointed out (1988:18-9) that there are many hotly debated issues in international labour migration, especially with regard to the following questions: What effect does emigration have on the labour-market of the sending country? To what extent do the remittances of workers abroad contribute to economic development in the sending country? Do migrant workers acquire new skills abroad that are used upon their return? And what problems of economic reintegration are encountered by returning workers?

Therefore, the impact of international labour migration on the sending country depends on many factors. A number of studies have sought to investigate this issue (e.g. Siddiqui, 1986; Gulati, 1986; Go and Postrado, 1986; Korale, 1986; Roongshivin, 1986, Kim, 1986; Abbasi and Irfan, 1986) and have generally concluded that international labour migration has a more positive impact than negative. Several studies have also demonstrated that returning international labour migration will create problems (e.g. King, 1986; King, Strachan and Mortimer, 1983; Adi, 1987a; Heyden, 1987; Lohrmann, 1987). Return labour migration is seen as a burden and not an opportunity, because return labour migration can create a surplus of workers in the home country. However whatever the impact, international labour migration, theoretically

at least, is capable of making a positive contribution to a country of origin in several ways (Stahl,1988:19).

Assessing the impact of international labour migration, especially on the development of the place of origin, is difficult. The development of the village for example, could be influenced by many factors such as the Indonesian Government's village development program and/or *swadaya masyarakat* (efforts of the community itself); the development of the surrounding villages; and rural-urban migration in addition to international labour migration. To separate the impact of international labour migration on development from other factors is hence a very difficult task. Hugo (1982a: 189) has pointed out that one can never completely separate the influence of population mobility from the wider social, economic and political changes occurring in the society. It is a complicated subject in that not only can one point to a large number of economic, social, demographic and political areas which can be affected by migration, but also these impacts will vary with the type of population mobility, its scale, the length of the period of time over which it has been occurring and the socio-cultural structure and composition of the affected society. Both long-term and short-term effects should be taken into account.

Knerr (1992) suggested four methods of macro-level analysis which can be used in the assessment of the economic impact of international labour migration on the sending country. These methods are: (1) partial sectoral analysis by regression computations, (2) cost-benefit analysis, (3) social accounting matrices and (4) computable general equilibrium models. These four methods need a comprehensive data base, however in most developing countries (e.g. Indonesia) there is a lack of or inadequate data available for these methods.

2.4 An Analytical Framework for Studying the Impact of International Labour Migration

The impact of international labour migration will vary from country to country with the context, nature and scale of movement. International labour migration has both positive and negative effects, but theory relating to the impact of international movement is still unsatisfactory (IMR, 1989:396). The present study seeks to elucidate some of the consequences of Indonesian overseas labour migration by using a framework adapted from Hugo (1982a; 1985a; 1987) which, although developed originally for considering the impact of rural-urban migration, can be applied to the effects of international labour migration. As Stern (1988:30) suggests "the analytical framework can help us understand that both

types of migration [internal and international] are the same".

The absence of overseas workers from their home place, remittances and their experiences as the result of working overseas will alter the demographic and socio-economic conditions of the migrants themselves, their family, community and nation. In turn, this will influence economic development and social change (Table 2.1). Hugo (1994b:1) points out that "population movements have profound effects upon economic and social changes in origin and destination areas and among migrants themselves". However, it must be realised that labour migration is only one of the factors which influence economic development and social change. As Appleyard (1989:486) points out "socioeconomic development is a function of many economic, social and demographic variables, only one of which is migration and that the governments of many developing countries have utilized migration to facilitate the achievement of development policies" (see also Hugo, 1983:157). In the case of rural development in Tubuai (French Polynesia), Lockwood (1990) found that:

"In the case of French Polynesia, return migrant families are not returning with savings or capital which can then be productively invested. Most often, financially strapped families make use of government assistance to return home from the city and to start what they hope

Table 2.1: A Framework for the Analysis of the Impacts of International Labour Migration on the Sending Country (Adapted from Hugo, 1982a:191, 1987:140)

	Impact of Selected Aspects	Individual	Family/ Household	Community	Nation
D E M O G R A P H I C	.Sex and age selectivity				
	.Marriage/ divorce and fertility				
	.Family/ household size and composition				
	.Population size				
S O C I O E C O N O M I C	.Income level and distribution				
	.Employment				
	.Productivity and production				
	.Foreign exchange				
	.Social welfare (access to housing, schooling, services)				
	.Social/ political participation				
	.Kinship				

will be a more economically secure life. Skills learned in urban jobs are largely inapplicable to agriculture based rural life. Moreover, there are relatively few available jobs in rural communities in which urban job skills could be used" (Lockwood, 1990:368).

This study, tests some selected demographic and socio-economic aspects of the consequences of international labour migration. Table 2.2 outlines some of the possible positive and negative impacts. It is argued here that the impact of international labour migration on the individual, family, community and nation depends on the characteristics of the migrants, type of employment and amount of income, the socio-economic status of the

Table 2.2: Some Demographic and Socio-Economic Impacts of International Labour Migration Upon the Sending Country (Extracted and Adapted from Hugo, 1985a:19, 34, 61)

Impact	Positive	Negative
DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACTS		
-Sex and age selectivity	Enhance status of women. Increase level of modernity. Reduce pressure on job opportunities.	Change roles of women. Loss of young population. Increase dependency ratios.
-Marriage/divorce and fertility	Increase age at marriage. Reduce fertility due to separation of spouses and diffusion of ideas conducive to lower fertility from experiences abroad.	Separation of spouses--increase incidence of divorce among migrant workers. Loss of harmony of family.
-Family/household size and composition	Reduce family size. Greater emphasis on nuclear family. Change roles of remaining members.	Reduce social and economic capacity of family.
-Population size	Reduce pressure on land and employment	Loss of economically active population.
SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS		
-Income level and distribution	Enhance income levels and encourage investment in new technology and other income earning activities. Improve living standard of migrants and their family. Improve distribution of income in short term due to reduced pressure on wages.	In long term may be a strengthening of inequality due to loss of innovations and lack of change.
-Employment	Reduce unemployment due to less competition for jobs. Solve local problems of unemployment. Workers may obtain skills abroad. Workers may get experiences in new forms of managerial, organization, industrial, discipline, and new technologies embodied in capital equipment not available in home country. Enhanced entrepreneurial and innovatory capacity.	Increase unemployment due to stagnation of local economy and high wage expectation of returnees. In some areas labour shortages develop. "Skill" of returnees is often inappropriate for the origin area. "Experience" of returnees is often unused in the home country because the new forms of managerial organization and others are not available there. Problem of reintegration of returnees.
-Productivity and production	Productivity may be enhanced by technological innovation. Remittances, skill and experiences may be used for development of the origin place.	Productivity and rates of innovation are reduced. Reduce agricultural production.
-Foreign exchange	Ease balance of payments deficits.	Remittances lead to inflation and are used unproductively. Dependency of sending countries on receiving countries.
-Social welfare (access to housing, schooling, services)	Remittances used for house construction. Remittances may lead to some improvement in services.	Urban bias in providing services. Increased demand on formal and informal welfare services. Human exploitation and bad behaviours among OCW/family member.
-Social/political participation	Increase-->enhance development.	Decrease-->impede development.
-Kinship	Elderly are best provided for in origin region, or may be best to provide for remaining members of OCW household.	Change in attitude toward older generation. Weakening of wider kinship link. Separation of spouses.

migrants' household and the context of the place of origin. Therefore, the present study attempts to test the following hypothesis:

The use of remittances, integration in economic activities upon return, level of social and political participation, and socio-economic status of the migrant's family are significantly different between male and female migrants, among migrants with different levels of education, different types of employment, different levels of income, different numbers of family members, and different conditions at the place of origin.

2.4.1 Impact Upon the Individual Migrant

At an individual level, international labour migration can have some positive impacts on migrant workers. They are able (although it does not always happen) to find work in the country of employment and are able to fulfil their basic needs, both for themselves and for their families who are usually left behind in their place of origin. Their standard of living improves (Swamy, 1985:36), but this does not always happen either. Another advantage is that if they are able to save and invest their money while working abroad, they are able to use those savings/investment for productive activities upon

their return. In Thailand for example, Roongshivin (1986:145) found that housing improvements in rural areas are often influenced by international migration, where "having a beautiful house is an important status symbol for the owner". Financially, Filipino workers in the Middle East were better off than their counterparts who remained working in the Philippines (Smart, Teodosio and Jimenez, 1986:121).

A study of Filipino migrant workers (Go and Postrado, 1986:130) has shown that the married male migrant worker enhanced his image as a good father in the eyes of his children. For the single migrant also, his status within the family also rose in the eyes of his parents and siblings and he has taken on a more active role in decision making regarding family matters and in providing financial support. Go and Postrado (1986:130) found that migrants were more popular and their friends regarded them more highly. These changes in attitudes they called the psycho-social effects on the status of migrant workers both in the household and in the community, which are enhanced by the migration. The case of a 25-year-old Mexican migrant worker who had just returned from the United States after spending four years there, also illustrates the changes in the attitudes of overseas workers themselves as a result of migration and points to

the potential of migrants to become innovators and points of diffusion for new attitudes among his/her siblings at least, and quite possibly their friends as well:

"Tomas Ballato, however, came home from the United States with attitudes far different from those of most people in his birthplace in rural Hidalgo. He has no intention of marrying soon. When he does, he would like his wife to work outside the home and to delay having children for some time. Finally, Tomas will have no compunction about using male contraceptives, nor will he have problems finding them in Lazaro Cardenas, where they are readily available in pharmacies." (Werner, 1991:51)

However, the cost of migration and the exploitation of workers (by employers, agents for overseas employment, middlemen, etc.) are problems often faced by overseas migrants (Tobing, et al., 1990; Krisnawaty and Muchtar, 1992; Spaan, 1994). These costs and exploitation are negative consequences of international labour migration. In Indonesia, candidates for overseas contract work have to pay the cost of arranging documents and other related matters before they depart to obtain overseas employment. Besides facilitating overseas worker migration, agents and middlemen often use this situation for making excessive profits from overseas worker candidates. To add to this there are other problems highlighted in the media in Southeast Asia---domestic violence, sexual abuse of overseas workers, extremely long working hours, unpaid workers, workers being stranded after the end of their contract and low wages (Rural Development Foundation,

1992:4). In Thailand since 1982, the 'golden era' for Thai overseas workers has changed, resulting in disbenefits for them and in some cases the overall net impact of overseas employment was negative. Singhanetra-Renard (1991:26) found that this was caused by the exploitation of contract workers by their employers, recruiters/brokers and even by their fellow villagers.

Upon their return, some overseas migrant workers face the problem of not finding work in their homeland, although they may have money or 'new skills'. Well paid work abroad has increased their wage expectations, but unfortunately the existing wage levels in the place of origin are generally below their expectations (Shah and Arnold, 1985:48; Adi, 1987a:10). In Pakistan unemployment among return migrants was not due to higher wage expectations but due to a scarcity of jobs (Farooq-i-Azam, 1987). In Indonesia, Adi (1987a) found that unemployment rates among Indonesian returned overseas contract workers was quite high (23 percent); in Thailand the unemployment rate reached 24 percent and in the Philippines 46 percent (ESCAP, 1986b); in Pakistan 20 percent and Sri Lanka 16 percent (Farooq-i-Azam, 1987).

Returnees perhaps seek different forms of employment in their place of origin than they had before migration

because the wages/salaries in the home country are low. There is substantial evidence in Pakistan, Sri Lanka and other countries that the workers do not continue in their principal overseas occupation when they return (Arnold and Shah, 1986:8). The majority of migrants who returned from the Middle East to Tambon Don Han (Northeastern Thailand) rarely used the skills they had acquired in the Middle East (Rigg, 1989:51). In Jordan, job changes among returnees did not seem to be a step down in most cases but movement onto a new path or retirement (Keely and Saket, 1984:693).

Arnold and Shah (1986:8) have reported that the migrants may even experience "de-skilling"³ because of the lack of opportunity to use their skills acquired in the Middle East. There is evidence of job mismatches among women migrant workers from the Philippines, where often those with a college degree worked as domestic servants in the Middle East (Smart, Teodosio and Jimenez, 1986:110). In Sri Lanka 25 percent of skilled workers had to accept unskilled work abroad, while in Pakistan 43 percent of 301 return migrants who had received occupational training before departure could not get employment abroad in the same occupation (Farooq-i-Azam, 1987). In an

³ A process whereby overseas workers, because of their willingness to take lower skilled work for higher monetary return, actually diminish or lose previously held skills.

Indonesian study most overseas contract workers going to the Middle East had worked in Indonesia before they worked in the Middle East but only 50 percent of male and 22.6 percent of female workers had the same occupations as in Indonesia (Adi, 1987b: 49-50).

The lack of opportunity to use their previously acquired skills abroad is not always of importance. For example in the context of the village, Rigg (1988:80) found that "few migrants are skilled and so deskilling is not a concern." Moreover, Smart, Teodosio and Jimenez (1986) reported that Middle Eastern employment does not expose Filipino workers to new technologies and modes of production which might enable them to fill key positions or new developmental roles upon their return. According to Rigg (1988) the experience of working in a modern industrial environment may be useful, both for the migrant and his/her country.

Another problem relates to readjustment upon return. Migrant workers have to readjust to their homeland. Hugo (1985a:26) points out that, "the nature and degree of adjustments depend upon which family members move, the length of their absence and the nature of the socio-cultural system at the place of origin, especially the family structure and the degree of flexibility within

that structure" (see also Gmelch, 1980:150-3; Rigg, 1988: 79-80). The ideas, attitudes and behaviours which they accumulated while working abroad have possibly made them different from what they were before they migrated. These changes are sometimes not appropriate in their home community and leads to them being unhappy. Their new consumer attitudes for example, may be a cause of frustration and may even make them reluctant to return to their place of origin (Shah and Arnold, 1985).

2.4.2 Impact Upon The Family/Household

Hugo (1987:147) argues that families of migrants at the place of origin must adjust to the temporary absence of family members and the influence of money, goods, ideas, attitudes, behaviour and innovations transmitted back to them by the movers. It is possible that the changes in family income and effects of separation of the OCW and his/her family will cause problems among household members. In Pakistan for example, drug abuse among the children of migrant households is reported to be increasing (Abbasi and Irfan, 1986:191).

The most significant cause of workers migrating overseas is to obtain income. A part of their income is usually sent back to their families in their homeland. These

remittances obviously increase the level of income of the migrants' households. In the Philippines, the average income earned by families with overseas contract workers is about 2.2 times larger than that of families without an overseas contract worker (Go and Postrado 1986:132).

Economically, labour migration usually benefits the family/household. A new house (or improvements to the old house), purchase of land, higher consumption and education for their children are some of the aspects of well-being that are usually enjoyed by the members of the family/household of migrant workers. For example, the study by Go and Postrado (1986:132) shows that the living standards of Filipino families with overseas contract workers are better than families without overseas contract workers. Table 2.3 shows that the proportion of households with consumer goods is higher for OCW households when compared with non-OCW households in the Philippines study.

Remittances generally increase the income of OCW households, but the benefits of remittances, according to some commentators such as Keely (1989:502) and Russell (1986:678), are reduced because these remittances are spent in socially unproductive ways (Swamy, 1985:38). Nevertheless, the increasing income of OCW households will increase demand and employment opportunities in

**Table 2.3: Proportion of Households With Consumer Goods
(with and without Overseas Contract Labour),
1983**

Household Consumer Good	Proportion of all Households	
	with overseas contract labour (%)	without over- seas contract labour (%)
Radio	73	73
Television	82	51
Bicycle	21	18
Motorcycle	1	1
Car or Truck	5	0
Cassette recorder	73	41
Living room set	73	53
Wall clock	49	37
Refrigerator	60	37
Sewing machine	35	25
Video games	4	2

Source: Go and Postrado, 1986:133.

their society through multiplier effects and this has a positive effect for non-migrant households. For example, at the community level the renovation or construction of houses creates employment. As Abella (1991:43) has pointed out, the investment in the construction of housing usually has strong links with other industries. Adi (1987b) for example, found that an Indonesian return migrant worker who had collected earnings during his two-year term in Saudi Arabia used his savings to renovate his house, run a retail shoe shop and purchase land and a car. In renovating his house he hired local workers (creating employment) and bought materials (increasing the demand/supply for housing material).

International labour migration may affect the role and status of women, both those left behind and women who go overseas as contract workers. Separation of spouses "not only results in changes in family structure but may also lead to modifications in the roles of family members" (Hugo, 1991:26), especially that of the wife. For some female migrant workers, their position in the household is enhanced by becoming the principal breadwinner. When the migrant worker is the husband, however, the wife who is left behind in the homeland has to assume the responsibilities previously taken care of by her husband (Abella, 1991:45). In the homeland the female must become the household head and it also allows greater independence for women (Lim, 1990; Hugo, 1991).

In Kerala (India), wives remaining in the homeland have used banks to manage the farm and opened businesses (Gulati, 1986:207). Temporary Filipino overseas migration seems to have increased married women's participation in non-agricultural activities at the household level during the husband's absence (Go and Postrado, 1986:140). Moreover, the expanded roles of women can be seen among the wives of Filipino workers. Besides being the temporary household head, they act as decision makers and sole parents, having to handle the family problems and difficulties (Go and Postrado, 1986:127). Studies in some

areas in Indonesia (Hugo 1985a:27-8) have indicated a significant increase in the 'female headship' of families where temporary forms of migration have occurred. However, close ties among families, relatives and members of the community in many cases provide support for wives who have husbands abroad:

"When difficult problems arise that they feel they cannot handle alone, wives now perceive themselves as running to their relatives more often than they used to.... Moreover, the community study shows that within these stable communities where residents have lived for more than 20 years and relationships are characterized by close interpersonal relations, the family system seems to be carried over to the community level with the local leaders sometimes serving as 'surrogate fathers' to the families left behind by the contract workers." (Go and Postrado, 1986:128)

From his study on the impact of international labour migration on families in Kerala, Gulati (1986:202) suggests that because of the need for family support to meet the initial cost of migration and the dependence on the family to provide the necessary support and protection for the wife, children and other dependents of the migrant who is absent, kinship networks have become stronger and have been reinforced.

Working overseas may have negative consequences for marital relations and can lead to a loss of harmony in the family. This is one of the unhappy and disillusioning characteristics which is faced by some migrants and their

family members, although they may be economically better off than their neighbours. Studies in the Philippines (Go and Postrado, 1986), Thailand (Roongshivin, 1986), Pakistan (Abbasi and Irfan, 1986), India (Gulati, 1986), Sri Lanka (Korale, 1986) and Bangladesh (Siddiqui, 1986) have shown this to be the case.

2.4.3 Impact Upon The Community

The purpose of moving abroad is usually to obtain work or to earn a higher wage (Adepoju, 1988:37; Hugo, 1990:20). As a result of working overseas, money, goods, ideas, attitudes and skills will probably flow back to the place of origin of the migrant workers. The impact of this movement on workers and their families has been shown above, but what happens to their community at the place of origin? Do remittances and experiences from working abroad (skills, ideas, etc.) compensate for the loss of workers to their community?

The flow of remittances from international labour migration are generally in one direction only: to the place of origin. Lipton (1980) has argued that remittances do not improve income distribution. This is because (1) "total net remittances are very small compared with rural income in the great majority of villages" and (2) "positive remittances go

disproportionately to the better-off" (Lipton, 1980:11). Rubenstein (1992:131) also found that "rather than being a catalyst for development, remittances, and the entire system of migration of which they are a part, seem to be adding to the economic deterioration of rural Mexico."

In contrast Hugo (1983:33) pointed out that "the evidence regarding the influence of population movement, especially temporary movement, on remittances and rural productivity is that such movement is producing a net gain in the areas of origin." In the Indonesian context it may be argued that the remittances enhance the level of income and improve income distribution in the place of origin. However, there is still debate about this issue (Russell, 1986, 1992). On one side it is argued that remittances only exacerbate inequalities of income distribution in the place of origin, while on the other side it is argued that remittances have beneficial income distribution effects. Thus the nature of evidence from different areas is contradictory; no one pattern occurs everywhere.

In Thailand (Roongshivin, 1986:161) it was found that remittances have played a vital role in the rural economic and social development through multiplier effects. There has been an impact on the well-being of

households receiving remittances for their own consumption, investment, debt repayment and saving. Hence, because the main goal of community development itself is to improve the welfare of community members, if many households in the community gain benefits from overseas workers, it may be possible to conclude that the impact of international labour on the community where the migrant workers come from will be a net positive one.

Temporary separation between husband and wife may lead to a decrease in fertility levels in the community of origin. One may argue that fertility will decrease because of the absence of either a mother or father for a significant time period (e.g. two years). Moreover, working abroad generally will increase the age at marriage of single overseas workers, which will in turn, affect fertility in a given community. Gulati (1986:211) found that in Kerala (there has been a large exodus from this state to other parts of India and to the Middle East) there was already a significant decline in the population growth rate from 26.29 percent during 1961-1970 to 19 percent during 1971-1980. But as he has stated, it is difficult to say what part of this decline is attributable to the migration of workers to the Middle East⁴. Go and Postrado (1986) however, found that the

⁴ "In the other regions, the decline in fertility was preceded by a higher level of socio-economic

effects of Filipino international contract labour migration on fertility appeared to be small. In summary, there is still little specific knowledge regarding the influence of mobility-associated separation of husband and wife upon fertility levels (Hugo, 1985a:32).

Illegal recruitment, young school dropouts and drug abuse are sometimes recognised as social problems in the community as a result of international labour movement. A study by Go and Postrado (1986:143) found that such social problems "should probably not be attributed to the phenomenon of international contract labour" (Go and Postrado, 1986:143).

Go and Postrado (1986:141-3) found that the labour force left in the overseas worker household tends to have more females, more elderly males and more very young men. Overall the economic affects and the social/political participation at the community level was unclear in that study. However they concluded that the movement of Filipino overseas workers has benefited their respective communities, as they became more progressive and there

development, industrialization, urbanization and greater investment in family planning. As far as Kerala is concerned, most of these factors are at a very low level - except for a higher level of education and low mortality. How Kerala managed to bring down her fertility, given such a poor state of economic development, is puzzling" (Mahadevan and Sumangala, 1987:161).

was a rise in the living standard among many residents. Moreover, "...there is a general perception that many residents in the community have begun acquiring vocational skills to enable them to work abroad" (Go and Postrado, 1986:141-3).

2.4.4 Impact Upon the Nation

Foreign employment, as has been mentioned previously, is viewed by the major labour sending countries as a safety valve which can reduce widespread domestic unemployment and underemployment and provide a partial solution to excessive balance of payments deficits (for government policy in sending overseas workers, e.g in Indonesia (Pusat AKAN, n.d); in the Philippines (Smart, Teodosio and Jiminez, 1986:106) and in Thailand (Roongshivin, 1986:145). Raj-Hashim (1992:119) points out:

"For the sending countries, migration policies reflect measures to relieve unemployment and underemployment, augment foreign exchange through remittances, increase national per capita income and a consequent expansion in rates of savings and investment. In some cases, workers acquire new skills, which may be utilized upon their return for the development of their home countries".

According to Massey (1988) international migration had a role in the process of European economic development. To show the extent of remittances in some of the labour sending countries and the dependency of economies on remittances (see Keely and Saket, 1984; Burki, 1984;

Keely, 1989; Hugo, 1990; Russell, 1986, 1992; Rubenstein, 1992), Table 2.4 indicates the ratio of remittances to merchandise exports of some selected Asian countries.

The contribution of remittances to the value of foreign exchange in Bangladesh and Pakistan is very significant. The GDP growth rate of Bangladesh is estimated to have slowed down by 4 percent because some 65,000 Bangladeshi workers have returned, due to the Gulf Crisis of 1990 (Abella, 1991:47). Burki (1984:673) pointed out, "if Pakistan had not benefited from the boom in the Middle East by being able to export hundreds of thousands of workers, its economic performance would have been seriously impaired." Another way that remittances have helped increase foreign exchange earnings according to Burki (1984:673-4), is by creating new markets for the export of goods and commodities that would not have been sold abroad but for the presence of large expatriate communities in the importing countries. For Pakistan, the share of the Middle East in total exports increased from two percent in 1960 to eight percent in 1982.

To reduce widespread domestic unemployment and under-employment and provide a partial solution to excessive balance of payments deficits, the Indonesian Government has attempted to increase the number of Indonesian overseas contract workers since the Third Five Year

Development Plan (1979-1984). In the Sixth Five Year Development Plan (1994/95-1998/99) the number and quality of workers sent abroad will be increased.

Table 2.4: Value of Total Merchandise Exports and Recorded Net Remittances for Selected Asian Countries, 1988-1991

	1988			1989			1990			1991		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
Bangladesh	1231	737	60	1305	771	59	1674	761	45	1718	764	45
Pakistan	4362	2018	46	4642	1902	41	5590	1947	35	6528	1848	28
Sri Lanka	1472	357	24	1554	338	22	1984	401	20	2629	442	17
India	14600	2850	20	15523	2650	17	17967	1947	11	17664	3540	14
Nepal	186	38	20	156	0	-	162	0	-	238	0	-
Philippines	7074	857	12	7747	360	5	8681	262	3	8754	328	4
Thailand	15806	937	6	20059	-	-	23002	74	0.3	28324	0	-
Indonesia	19677	99	0.5	21773	125	0.6	25553	153	0.6	28997	130	0.5

Note: a Total Merchandise exports (M\$)
 b Net Workers Ratio of Remittance (M\$)
 c Remittance to Merchandise Exports (%)

Source: World Bank, 1990:204-5, 212-3; 1991:230-1, 238-9;
 1992:244-5, 252-3; 1993:264-5, 272-3.

Although international labour migration has benefits for the sending countries it may also have an unfavorable impact. Russell (1986:678-9) has catalogued the benefits and costs of remittances from international labour migration and concluded that remittances play a central role in the economics of sending countries. The negative and positive views of remittances have been summarised by Keely (1989:500) as follows:

1. "Remittances increase dependency, contribute to economic and political instability and development distortion, and lead to economic decline that overshadows a temporary advantage for a fortunate few."

2. "Remittances as an effective response to market forces, providing a transition to an otherwise unsustainable development. They improve income distribution and quality of life beyond what other available development approaches could deliver."

2.5 Conclusion

In this study the term 'international labour migration' refers to the temporary movement of labour from a country of origin to a country of destination for work. International labour migration is a complex phenomenon. It is not just due to the imbalance in the spatial distribution of factors of production. The government policies in both receiving and sending countries and the distances and differential socio-cultural factors have to be taken into account. However a theory of such movement has not yet been formulated. The difficulties of developing an adequate conceptual framework for the study of population movement according to Wood (1982:298-9), are because:

"critics commonly single out the lack of cumulative empirical results, the prevalence of *ad hoc* explanations, the trivial character of many of the principal generalizations gleaned from the literature, the excessive reliance on reductionistic perspectives that preclude the analysis of macrostructural change, the paucity of direct policy relevance, and the inability to link the insights derived from survey research with the broader

socioeconomic and political transformations underway in developing societies."

The empirical findings of the impact of international labour migration on the sending country show that they depend on many factors. Moreover, it can be difficult determining whether this impact comes from international labour migration alone, or from various other factors such as development programs, rural-urban migration, development efforts from other communities, etc. To separate the impact of international labour migration from these other factors is a "crucial point" (Saefullah, 1992:59). This study endeavours to overcome this problem by using the following two strategies:

First, to determine what aspects are possibly affected by international labour migration. A framework of the impact of rural-urban migration developed by Hugo (1982b, 1987) has been very useful in determining some aspects (demographic and socio-economic) that are affected by such movement.

Second, to compare those aspects (demographic and socio-economic) between OCWs and non-OCWs, OCW households and non-OCW households, and communities with different levels of OCWs. At the national level, the impact can be seen as the total effect of international labour migration on

OCWs, their families, and their communities. Here, it is necessary to analyse the government policies relating to the sending of overseas contract workers and how far the realisation of these policies has been achieved.

Chapter Three

M E T H O D O L O G Y

3.1 Introduction

Primary data collection is necessary to achieve an understanding of international labour migration and its impact in Indonesia as is the case elsewhere in South East Asia. The lack of secondary data is because:

- . "Migration may occur repeatedly which makes the difficulties encountered in measuring, especially when migration involves the crossing of international boundaries" (Zlotnik, 1987:v);
- . Migrant workers often find employment through "unofficial" channels, or migrants who leave the nation legally with some reason other than work but in fact end up working at the destination (Hugo, 1993:39);
- . Similarly, not all of the remittances that the workers send home go through official banking channels;
- . "As is the case in virtually every country in the region, two decades ago the amount of international

movement was very small and involved limited, usually elite groups" (Hugo, 1994b:2);

- . Population Censuses in Indonesia for example, do not collect information on international migration.

The limitation of such data has been indicated by Burki (1984:669), ESCAP (1985:8), Levine, Hill and Warren (1985:3), ESCAP Secretariat (1986a:2), Massey (1987:1498), Fawcett and Arnold (1987b: 1523), Kazi (1987:2, 58), Keely (1989:506), Martin (1991:176), Russell (1992:268) and Athukorala (1993:103). With particular reference to temporary international labour migration, Hugo (1993a:39) pointed out:

"In studies of temporary international labour migration throughout Asia, official statistics are usually very limited, scattered and incomplete and can rarely be relied upon to indicate the number of people who have moved, let alone their characteristics, origin, destination, etc."

To comprehensively study the impact of overseas contract worker migration involves study at a number of levels and different space and time contexts. This complexity suggests that the most appropriate way to investigate the impact of international contract workers is to use a research design of a longitudinal nature. Such designs according to Go, Postrado and Ramos-Jimenez (1983:8),

allow the investigators to gather data from a group of international contract workers before they migrate, to follow them and interview them at various subsequent stages and then to assess what changes have occurred in that group after a reasonable period of time has elapsed. Hugo (1982a:210) has also pointed out that a longitudinal research design is "a preferable strategy for identification, measurement and evaluation of the impact of migration". This design allows comparison of the same migrants before and after the international labour migration has occurred. Such ideal designs however are rarely possible because of the substantial costs involved and the large time periods which are required for the respondents to be followed.

The present study could not afford the luxury of adopting a longitudinal approach because of the substantial time and money constraints within which it had to work. The approach adopted here was to only collect information about migrants at the place of origin (*Desa Sukasari*, in *Kabupaten Cianjur*, West Java). It was not possible to follow migrants through each stage of process of movement, not only because of time and resource constraints, but also because there is considerable difficulty in obtaining permission to undertake this type

of research in Saudi Arabia - the major destination of the migrants involved.

The major data collection strategy employed here is a sample survey. This is "an effective method for studies of mobility.....migration surveys provide richer and more detailed data than are available from other sources" (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987b:1523). However, according to Massey (1987:1504) such methods lose historical depth, richness of context, and the intuitive appeal of real life. Therefore, Massey (1987) suggests ethnosurvey methods which involve the simultaneous application of ethnographic and survey methods within a single study.

While it was not possible to collect information on overseas contract workers (OCWs) at their destination, this study attempted to concentrate on the migration process through interviewing returned overseas contract workers, the heads of households which have OCWs still absent, and the heads of households without OCWs but living in communities where there has been significant OCW outmovement. In this study data from the households without OCWs are used to investigate the impact of working overseas on the OCW households and the multiplier effects of that movement. The analysis of differences between migrants and non-migrants is desirable in

understanding the impact of migration, instead of comparing the conditions before and after migration (Hugo, 1982a:210; Fawcett and Arnold, 1987:1526).

Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of OCWs, their households, and the non-OCW households, such as sex, age, education, employment, economic and marital status was collected by interviewing the head of each household and by using survey questionnaires. The questions relating to the reason for working overseas, the process of migration, the experience in the country of employment and integration and participation upon return were asked of returned OCWs only. In order to obtain data of the condition of the household before and after having an OCW, the questionnaires were designed to trace such information through retrospective questions.

Direct observation and in-depth interviews were also carried out in order to collect data which cannot be obtained using survey questionnaires. This approach of qualitative data collection (Corner, n.d), assisted the researcher in gaining a deeper understanding of the impact of international labour migration on the place of origin via direct observation and in-depth interviews with community leaders, religious leaders, villagers,

selected returnees and heads of households with the OCW still abroad.

3.2 Secondary Data on International Labour Migration in Indonesia

Indonesian international population mobility, especially overseas contract labour has not been studied very intensively. A few studies have been based on surveys and to some extent officially collected data (Adi, 1986; Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1986; Marius, -1987; Spaan, 1992, 1994; Supangat, 1992a; Hugo, 1993a). Hugo (1993a:39; 1993e:28-42) points out that there is no satisfactory data set relating to the volume, patterns or characteristics of migrants, or other relevant information relating to international labour migration in Indonesia.

Since population censuses in Indonesia only collect information on permanent internal migration (Hugo, 1982c) between provinces, according to Hugo (1993a: 39-41; 1993e: 28-42) three possible sources of data about Indonesian overseas contract labour¹:

- . Directorate of Immigration in the Department of Justice;

¹ This section especially is derived from Hugo (1993e).

- . Pusat AKAN (the Office for Overseas Employment, Department of Manpower);
- . Private sector, Indonesian Labour Supplier Agencies (Perusahaan Pengerah Tenaga Kerja Indonesia).

3.2.1 The Directorate of Immigration

According to Hugo (1993e) the Directorate of Immigration in the Department of Justice collects departure and arrival cards from all people arriving in or departing from Indonesia (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

Figure 3.1 Indonesia: Departure Card

Flight Number : Name of Ship :		RIR		E	
Full name (write surname first, use block letters)			Sex 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Male 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Female		
Passport / Travel document Number :		Date of expiration		FOR OFFICE USE	
Place of issue :				KEL PER 1 2	
Nationality		Occupation / profession		DIP DIN IM LP RIB 3 4 5 6 7	
Country of Residence					
EP.OEP.EPO/ERP/MERP No. :			Date :		
DOKIM <input type="checkbox"/> No. :			Date :		

IMPORTANT NOTICE

1. This Disembarkation / Embarkation card must be completed by every passenger including one for each accompanying child.
2. Please do not remove this portion of the card from your passport/ travel document.
3. You are required to surrender this portion of the card to the Immigration officer.
 - (a) For Visitor : at the Airport / Seaport at the time of your departure.
 - (b) For Intending Residents : at the Immigration office at the place of your destination.
 - (c) For Returning Residents : at the Airport / Seaport at the time of your arrival (Disembarkation Card)

Source: Hugo, 1993e

From the departure card, the only information that can be obtained relates to sex, nationality, occupation/profession and country of residence of the person departing. The information on the arrival card relates to sex, nationality, occupation/profession, place and country of residence, place and country of birth, date of birth, length of absence from Indonesia, country in which he/she spent most time while abroad, purpose of visit and intended length of stay (for visitors and intending residents). Since the purpose of the visit is not collected on the departure card this source is not useful for the analysis of international labour emigration. According to Hugo (1993e:32) only the departures and arrivals information for foreigners is computerised and that for Indonesian citizens is not yet held in machine readable form. Moreover, there is very little analysis of the data collected and rarely is it published (Hugo, 1993e:38).

Therefore Hugo (1993e:38) points out the usefulness of data from the Directorate of Immigration is extremely limited for the analysis of international labour migration. Moreover the storage details of the data are unclear and access to them is very problematical. It appears that data on departures and arrivals in Indonesia is still not very accurate, since there is a lack of

correspondence between statistical data from the Directorate of Immigration and those of the Central Bureau of Statistics. Hugo (1993e:38; 1993a:40) notes that the Directorate Immigration reported that in 1990 627,649 Indonesian citizens left the country and 586,184 returned, while 1990 census data only mentions 251,389 Indonesian citizens in other countries (including permanent residents who had not relinquished their Indonesian citizenship, as well as students and other visitors) (Table 3.1). Moreover, Table 3.1 shows the growth of Indonesian citizens in other countries according to year.

Table 3.1: Number of Indonesian Citizens Overseas at the End of Year 1987-1992.

Continent	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	% Growth 1987-1992
Asia	176,716	181,255	64,392	183,868	184,683	190,586	7.8
Africa	2,242	1,391	1,474	1,681	1,716	1,411	-34.1
Europe	19,984	21,027	21,227	23,051	23,243	24,397	22.1
America	12,522	16,073	15,606	17,654	19,305	21,612	72.6
Australian/ Pacific	4,916	7,597	8,108	25,135	22,360	23,344	374.9
Total	216,380	227,343	110,807	251,389	251,307	261,416	20.8

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1992 and 1994.

3.2.2 Data from Pusat AKAN (Centre for Overseas Workers)

Pusat AKAN has been established since 1984 within the Indonesian Manpower Department to encourage, control and co-ordinate the recruitment and sending of Indonesian labour abroad and also to maintain data on those sent

overseas (Hugo, 1993a:39). Hugo (1993e:30-35) points out that each OCW candidate has to complete a form which collects information about the individual workers (detailed in Table 3.2). The completed forms are collected by Pusat AKAN. However, as he points out, the data collected on the forms is not readily available to researchers. What has actually been processed and published by AKAN relates only to those workers who are actually deployed by the Ministry of Manpower since 1979 according to countries of destination, their occupations and sex (Hugo, 1993e:32). More recently data have been made available on the distribution of all overseas contract workers from Indonesia according to their provinces and *kabupaten* of origin and according to the main industry in which they are employed. Pusat AKAN now is starting to produce a list of returning OCWs according to sex, place of origin (province), and month/year of arrival. The data from Pusat AKAN are important for the study of legal OCWs and has been used in this study, both as a means of providing an overview of the legal movement of OCWs and in the selection of the study area which was based on the large number of overseas contract workers which it supplied.

Table 3.2 Indonesian Worker Identification Form (*Daftar Identitas Tenaga Kerja Indonesia*)

PAGE 1: INFORMATION ON APPLICANT

- . Worker Identification Number
 - . Name of Worker
 - . Place and Date of Birth
 - . Gender
 - . Religion
 - . Marital Status
 - . Detailed Address
 - . Name and Detailed Address of Husband/Wife
 - . Name and Detailed Address of Parent/Guardian
 - . Level of Formal Education
 - . Identification Card Details
 - . Birth Certificate Details
 - . Details of Letter Certifying the Good Character
 - . Details of Certificate of Marriage/Divorce/Unmarried
 - . Details of Letter of Permission from Parent/Guardian/Husband/Wife
 - . Details of Driver's Licence
 - . Details of Information from DEPNAKER (Department of Manpower)
-

PAGE 2: INFORMATION ON PREPARATION AND PLACEMENT

- . Training Institution Attended
 - . Details of Certificate of Skill Training
 - . Details of Certificate of Pre Departure Orientation Training
 - . Details of Health Check Certificate
 - . Whether Pass or Failed Final Selection
 - . Details of Recruiting Agency Sending Worker Away
 - . Details of Overseas Employer
 - . Type of Work to be Undertaken
 - . Wages to be Paid
 - . Length of Contract
 - . Authentication of Promise of Work
 - . Social Security Number
 - . Passport Number
 - . Visa Number
 - . FISCAL (the overseas travel tax) Waiver Number
 - . Signature Authorising Departure
-

Source: Hugo, 1993e:31

It is important to point out that Indonesian workers in other countries (especially in Malaysia) who are undocumented out-number the total number of Indonesian workers legally overseas (Hugo, 1993e; Country Report: Indonesia, 1992; Lim, 1991:15). Moreover, Hugo (1993a:39) has pointed that AKAN statistics exclude: "Indonesian workers who leave the nation legally with the indication that they are leaving for some reason other than work, but in fact end up working at their destination...and workers who leave the country illegally and work in other countries." It is argued that there is also some important information which is not asked of the OCW candidate such as "whether or not the worker has gone overseas before, and if so, where; details of work skills and experience which the applicant has; details of family, number of dependents etc. of the applicant; details of family members already overseas; language skills" (Hugo 1993e:30).

3.2.3 Overseas Labour Suppliers

In Indonesia all OCW recruiters have to be registered with the government and they have formed together into an association (Pusat AKAN, 1991). The Indonesian Manpower Supplier Association (IMSA)² came into being to assist the

² Since 1994 the Indonesian Manpower Department has established *Asosiasi Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja*

government to coordinate those OCW recruiters (Indonesian Manpower Supplier)³ in carrying out the program of overseas employment.

Besides the Indonesian worker Identification Form, PPTKI⁴ also collect data from OCW candidates when they first make contact with them. (Hugo, 1993e:30). They collect more information about Indonesian OCWs than the Indonesian Worker Identification Form by using questionnaires (Table 3.3). Unfortunately, as Hugo (1993e:32) points out, it is not known (1) how many of PPTKI actually use the forms, (2) how many store them, and (3) the extent to which the data from them are computerised. Moreover, it has been found to be difficult to gain the cooperation with the recruiters in survey work. In his study, Adi (1986) for example, could obtain data from two labour suppliers only, although he had a letter from the Head of Sub Directorate AKAD/AKAN, Department of Manpower, which was directed to all labour suppliers asking for their cooperation in his study. It

Indonesia (APJATI) (The Indonesian Manpower Service Firm Association) to replace IMSA with purpose of encouraging, controlling and co-ordinating the recruitment and sending of Indonesian labour abroad (*Kompas*, 30 May 1995).

³ The Indonesian Manpower Supplier (Perusahaan Pengerah Tenaga Kerja Indonesia = PPTKI) was changed by Ministerial Regulation NO:PER-02/MEN/1994 in 1994 to become the Indonesian Manpower Service Firm (Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia = PJTKI).

⁴ According to the Center of Overseas Employment, in 1990 there were 247 PPTKI in various cities throughout Indonesia, but most of them are located in Jakarta (Pusat AKAN, n.d).

is possible that one of the reasons is the recruiter agent might manipulate the data of OCW to improve the possibility of them going overseas (Bethan, 1993:91-93). Also many recruiters are illegal and operate outside of IMSA and AKAN. According to Spaan (1994:109), informal recruitment channels play a vital role in the flows of Indonesian overseas workers.

Table 3.3 Questionnaire for Overseas Contract Worker Candidates (Designed by the Indonesian Manpower Supplier Association (IMSA))

-
- . Full Name
 - . Date of Birth
 - . Place of Birth
 - . Nationality of Birth
 - . Sex
 - . Height
 - . Weight
 - . Blood Group
 - . Marital Status
 - . Religion
 - . Permanent Address
 - . Person to be Notified in Home Country in Case of Emergency
 - . Dependents (name, date of birth, relationship)
 - . Relatives Employed by a Public International Organisation (name, relationship, name of international organisation)
 - . What Field of Work or Training do you Prefer?
 - . Would you Accept Work or Training for at least 6 Months?
 - . Would you Accept Employment or Training in Another Country for More Than: 1 year; 2 years; 3 years
 - . What is Your Mother Tongue? What Other Languages Do You Have? (Read; Write; Speak; Understand)
 - . For Clerical Grades Only (indicate speed in words per minute for English, French and other languages in shorthand and typing; list any office machines or equipment you can use)
 - . State Reasons for Wishing to Work or Train in Another Country
 - . Formal Education Background (country, place of education; from month/year to month/year; degrees and academic distinctions obtained; main course of study)
 - . Schools or Other Formal Training or Education (country, place of education; type of education; from month/year to month/year; certificates or diplomas obtained)
 - . List Professional Societies and Activities in Civic, Public or International Affairs
 - . List Any Significant Publications you have written
 - . Employment Record. Starting with present post, list in reverse order every employment you have had. Use a separate block for each post. Include service in the armed forces and note any period in which you were not gainfully employed (from month/year to month/year; salaries - starting and final; exact title of post; name of employer; type of business; Address of employer; name of supervisor; number and kind of employees supervised; reason for leaving; description of your duties)
 - . References - Three Persons not Related Familiar with your Character and Qualifications
 - . State any other Relevant Facts. Include Information Regarding Residence Outside Country of your Nationality
 - . Have you ever been Arrested - Indicted or Summoned into Court in a Criminal Proceeding or Convicted, Fined or Imprisoned for the Violation of Law? If yes, Give Details
 - . Declaration of Correctness of Information
-

Source: Hugo, 1993e:35

3.3 The Field Survey Design

The available secondary data sources provide only a little information about the scale, characteristics, causes and consequences of international labour migration. Hugo (1982b) has pointed out that the scale of non-permanent forms of movement in Indonesia (including temporary international labour migration) cannot be reliably estimated because the existing data collection system fails to identify such movement. Because secondary data were inadequate for analysing the aims of this study, primary data were collected through field work. In order to collect information, a structured questionnaire was applied to a sample of families of OCWs and was supplemented by in-depth interviews and direct observation. The researcher also collected articles, news and stories about Indonesian overseas contract workers, government policies and research findings in this area as this is an important way of identifying the phenomenon of the impact of international labour migration. This process was important because a great deal of the information about international migration is available in non-traditional sources such as newspapers and magazines (Hugo, 1992a:183).

After *Desa Sukasari* was selected as the research area on the basis of it having a large number of OCWs, the

researcher began to live in the village in order to gain a deeper knowledge about it and to develop a working relationship with the community. During that time the sampling frame was compiled, questionnaires were tested, revised and reconstructed, interviewers were recruited and trained and one assistant was recruited for fieldwork. The researcher lived in the village for the entire period of data collection (three months) while the interviewers stayed in the village during the time of interviewing only. The village secretary, the heads and deputy heads of each *dusun* were important as key informants during field work. They were important also in providing the necessary data for their sub-areas to analyse the impact of international labour migration at the community level. Community information together with individual/household survey data is important to study the consequences of migration (Bilsborrow, 1981).

3.3.1 Selection of the Study Area

The selection of the community/research area for investigation was accomplished through a multistage selection procedure. It was selected on the basis of identifying an area which supplied a large number of legal overseas contract workers. It has already been pointed out that there are considerable numbers of illegal Indonesian workers overseas, especially in

Malaysia (Singhanetra-Renard, 1984; Hugo, et al., 1987; Lim, 1991; Dorall and Paramasivam, 1992; *Tempo*, 11 January 1992; Hugo, 1993a). However, it is not possible to obtain information on the origins of illegal migrants for sampling purposes and so the data relating to legal migrants only was used. Hence in the selection of the research area overseas contract workers were firstly identified; secondly, the *kabupaten* (regency) in that province which had the largest number of overseas contract workers was identified; thirdly, the *kecamatan* (district) in that *kabupaten* which had the largest number of overseas contract workers was identified; and finally, the *desa* (village) in that *kecamatan* which had the largest number of overseas contract workers was identified and chosen as the study area. Table 3.4 shows the hierarchy of Indonesian regions.

Pusat AKAN provided data on the distribution of all legal overseas contract workers from Indonesia according to province and *kabupaten* of origin. From the data it was obvious that the largest number of Indonesian overseas contract workers came from West Java Province and among the *kabupaten* in this province, *Kabupaten Cianjur* had the largest number of Indonesian overseas contract workers (Table 3.5, Figures 3.3 and 3.4). Some 39.3 percent (125,948 OCWs) of Indonesian OCWs came from West Java

Province and 29.6 percent of them came from *Kabupaten Cianjur*. The pattern of Indonesian international labour migration will be described in detail in Chapter Four.

Table 3.4: Indonesia: Number of Administrative Units, 1992

Propinsi (Province)	Kabupaten (Regency)	Kotamadya (Municipality)	Kecamatan (District)	Desa/ Kelurahan (Village)
01 DI Aceh	8	2	142	5,643
02 North Sumatera	11	6	243	5,291
03 West Sumatera	8	6	103	2,467
04 South Sumatera	8	2	101	2,740
05 Riau	5	2	78	1,266
06 Jambi	5	1	54	1,228
07 Lampung	4	1	77	1,973
08 Bengkulu	3	1	31	1,134
09 DKI Jakarta	-	5	43	2,65
10 West Java	20	5	526	7,104
11 DI Yogyakarta	4	1	73	438
12 Central Java	29	6	529	8,495
13 East Java	29	8	609	8,381
14 West Kalimantan	6	1	108	1,360
15 East Kalimantan	4	2	73	1,105
16 South Kalimantan	9	1	109	2,168
17 Central Kalimantan	5	1	82	1,231
18 North Sulawesi	4	3	85	1,396
19 South Sulawesi	21	2	185	2,617
20 Central Sulawesi	4	-	62	1,380
21 Southeast Sulawesi	4	-	64	835
22 West Nusa Tenggara	6	1	59	583
23 East Nusa Tenggara	12	-	114	1,734
24 Bali	8	1	51	631
25 Maluku	4	1	56	1,505
26 Irian Jaya	9	1	117	2,242
Total	243	60	3,836	65,554

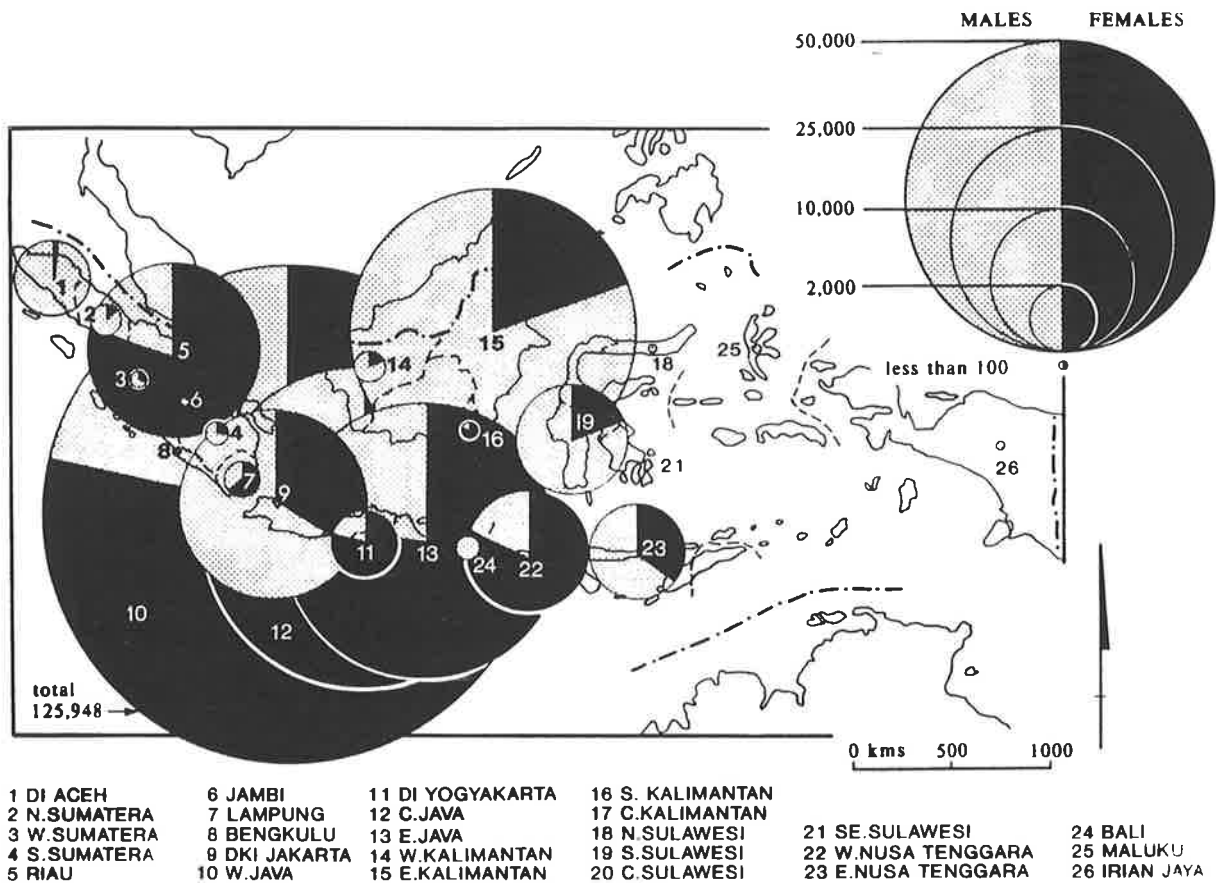
Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1994

Table 3.5: The Province of Origin of Indonesian Overseas Workers, in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan, April 1989-March 1992

Province	Total OCW	Regency of West Java	Total OCW
01 DI Aceh	2,847	01 Bandung	4,421
02 North Sumatera	472	02 Cianjur	37,226
03 West Sumatera	101	03 Sukapuri	19,776
04 South Sumatera	266	04 Cirebon	7,334
05 Riau	16,408	05 Garut	1,997
06 Jambi	9	06 Bogor	8,840
07 Lampung	605	07 Karawang	4,145
08 Bengkulu	3	08 Tasikmalaya	1,495
09 DKI Jakarta	18,167	09 Serang	1,592
10 West Java	125,948	10 Majalengka	4,840
11 DI Yogyakarta	2,082	11 Lebak	315
12 Central Java	54,204	12 Indramayu	2,744
13 East Java	38,510	13 Purwakarta	12,728
14 West Kalimantan	445	14 Sumedang	430
15 East Kalimantan	41,375	15 Pandeglang	481
16 South Kalimantan	125	16 Ciamis	1,357
17 Central Kalimantan	-	17 Bekasi	3,069
18 North Sulawesi	95	18 Subang	805
19 South Sulawesi	6,083	19 Tangerang	8,826
20 Central Sulawesi	-	20 Kuningan	3,527
21 Southeast Sulawesi	-		
22 West Nusa Tenggara	-	7,306	
23 East Nusa Tenggara	-	4,662	
24 Bali	-	374	
25 Maluku	-	24	
26 Irian Jaya	-	9	
Total	320,120		125,948

Sources: Pusat AKAN, Department of Manpower, 1992

Figure 3.3: The Province of Origin of Official Registered Indonesian Overseas Workers, in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan, 1989-March 1992

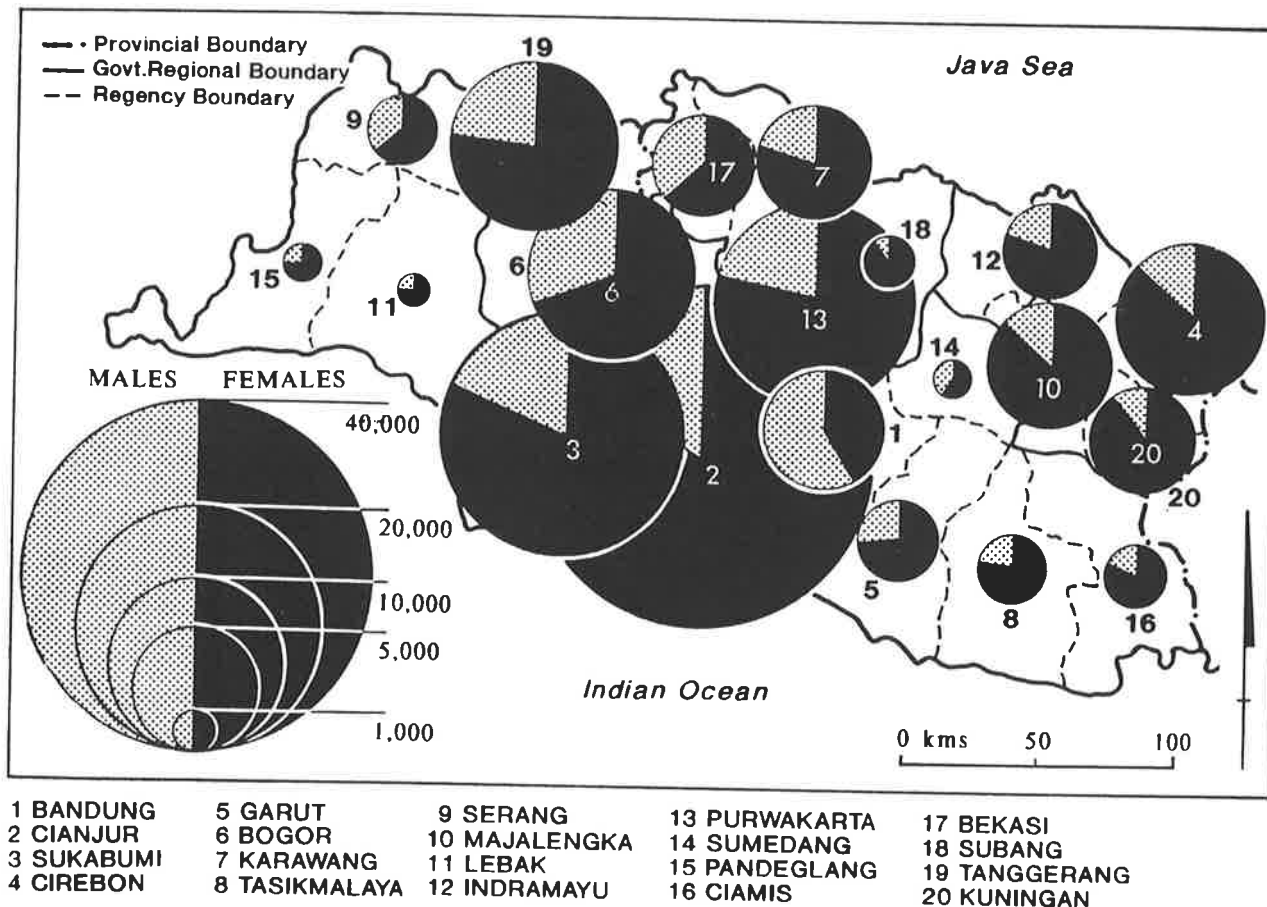


Sources: Hugo, 1994a

After *Kabupaten* Cianjur was selected, the researcher sought research permission from (1) the Directorate General of Social-Politics, Department of Internal Affairs, Jakarta, (2) the Directorate of Social-Politics, West Java Government, Bandung and (3) the Directorate of

Social-Politics, *Kabupaten Cianjur*. With letters of permission from the above Directorates the researcher

Figure 3.4: The Regency of Origin of Official Registered Indonesian Overseas Workers, in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan, April 1989-March 1992



Source: Hugo, 1994a

sought more detailed community level data on OCWs according to *kecamatan* and *desa* from the Office of Department of Manpower, *Kabupaten Cianjur* in order to facilitate selection of a study community. However, they

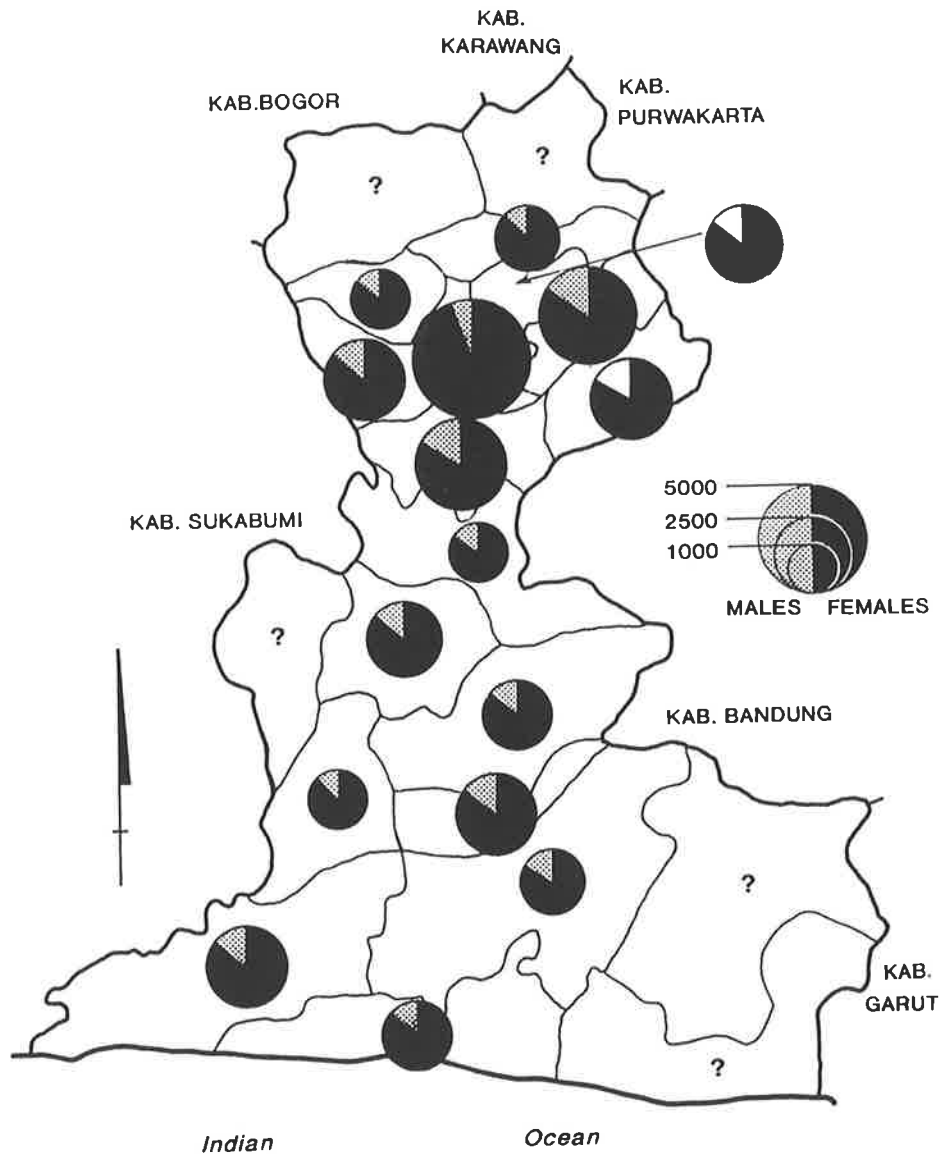
only had OCW data according to *kecamatan*. According to these data it was reported that among 21 *kecamatan* in Kabupaten Cianjur, Kecamatan Cianjur which had the second largest population in Kabupaten Cianjur had the largest number of overseas contract workers. Table 3.6 shows that most (94.3 percent) of the OCWs were female and that in five *kecamatan* :Cidaun, Naringgul, Takokak, Cikalong Kulon and Pacet (see Figure 3.5) no inhabitants are recorded as officially working overseas. It is perhaps surprising that Kecamatan Pacet which is very similar to Kecamatan Cianjur in total population and other characteristics as well as being located nearby, did not have any overseas workers. This is often the situation with migration due to the significance of social networks (Hugo,1993c:10-13).

Table 3.6: The Origin of Indonesian Overseas Workers in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan,1989-1992

<i>Kecamatan</i>	OCW 1)			Population 1990 2)	
	Male	Female	Total	Total	Sex Ratio
01 Cianjur	328	5,459	5,787	197,537	100
02 Ciranjang	96	422	518	113,700	102
03 Cibeber	40	359	399	89,876	100
04 Warung Kondang	54	441	495	87,283	98
05 Mande	03	480	483	55,339	101
06 Cugenang	09	335	344	72,049	100
07 Karang Tengah	40	062	102	59,993	102
08 Bojong Picung	35	154	189	39,233	101
09 Agrabinta	74	273	347	62,411	103
10 Sukanegara	46	155	201	37,185	99
11 Tanggeung	71	320	391	54,476	104
12 Sindang Barang	62	862	924	41,459	103
13 Kadupandak	178	367	545	72,360	102
14 Cibinong	259	375	634	77,619	104
15 Pagelaran	304	787	1,091	71,694	103
16 Campaka	205	1,150	1,355	72,132	102
17 Cidaun	-	-	-	50,366	102
18 Naringgul	-	-	-	37,126	103
19 Takokak	-	-	-	41,863	100
20 Cikalong_Kulon	-	-	-	70,598	101
21 Pacet	-	-	-	201,251	103
Total	5,305	35,113	40,418	1,661,456	102

- Sources: 1) Kantor Departemen Tenaga Kerja Kabupaten Cianjur, 1992
 2) Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Cianjur, 1991

Figure 3.5: The *Kecamatan* of Origin of Official Registered Indonesian Overseas Workers, in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan, April 1989-August 1992



- Sources: 1) Kantor Departemen Tenaga Kerja Kabupaten Cianjur, 1992
 2) Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Cianjur, 1991

From *Kecamatan* Cianjur Office the researcher received data on the numbers of OCWs for the period April 1989 to October 1992 by *desa*. According to this source, *Desa* Sawahgede and Pamoyanan, two urban *desa* in *Kecamatan* Cianjur, had the largest number of OCWs, with 1089 and 1083 respectively. Surprisingly however, when the researcher conducted a survey using a village questionnaire (Appendix 2) in all *desa* in *Kecamatan* Cianjur in order to establish more accurately which *desa* in *Kecamatan* Cianjur had the largest number of OCWs, there were only a few villagers who worked abroad from *Desa* Sawahgede and Pamoyanan (Table 3.7). It is possible that people from other villages have used another address from *Desa* Sawahgede or Pamoyanan as it was easier to arrange for an overseas work permit to be obtained. This shows that the Indonesian international labour migration statistics are not yet accurately recorded, especially at the lowest levels of the administrative hierarchy. Moreover, Table 3.7 shows that the total number of OCWs in *Kecamatan* Cianjur was very severely underestimated when compared with the more complete AKAN data as shown in Table 3.6. In addition, people were possibly staying in the city to complete the time consuming paperwork in order to get permission to migrate, and hence gave temporary rather than permanent place of residence.

Table 3.7: Indonesian Overseas Workers from Kecamatan Cianjur Since 1979

<i>Desa</i>	Total OCW 1)	Total population in 1990 2)	Sex ratio 2)	Total household 2)
01 Sawahgede	47	11,289	96	2,317
02 Pamoyanan	47	14,701	100	3,355
03 Bojongherang	24	14,739	97	3,295
04 Muka	11	16,670	97	3,656
05 Solokpandan	144	14,916	97	3,159
06 Sayang	76	29,023	99	6,025
07 Limbangansari	51	5,481	98	1,273
08 Mekarsari	37	7,516	102	1,782
09 Sukasari	348	8,683	105	2,243
10 Babakankaret	20	4,769	105	1,196
11 Nagrak	270	8,237	104	1,862
12 Rancagoong	265	5,505	103	1,349
13 Sirnagalih	31	11,064	100	2,635
14 Munjul	13	4,983	100	1,159
15 Sukamaju	24	5,032	102	1,194
16 Rahong	39	5,768	99	1,497
17 Ciharashas	8	6,112	101	1,459
18 Cibinong Hilir	-	4,640	101	1,218
19 Sukakerta	20	7,476	100	2,068
20 Sindangsari	196	6,374	101	1,758
21 Mulyasari	-	5,158	95	1,278
total	1,671	198,136	100	45,778

Sources: 1) Field data, 1992: total OCW since 1979
 2) Mantri Statistik Kabupaten Cianjur, 1991

The village questionnaires which collected other background information were divided into sections relating to demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the village and opinions about overseas migrant workers. The questionnaire was to be completed by the head and/or secretary (*juru tulis*) of the village. Generally, there was no official registration of OCWs at the *desa* level, therefore the researcher was to give the questionnaires to the head of

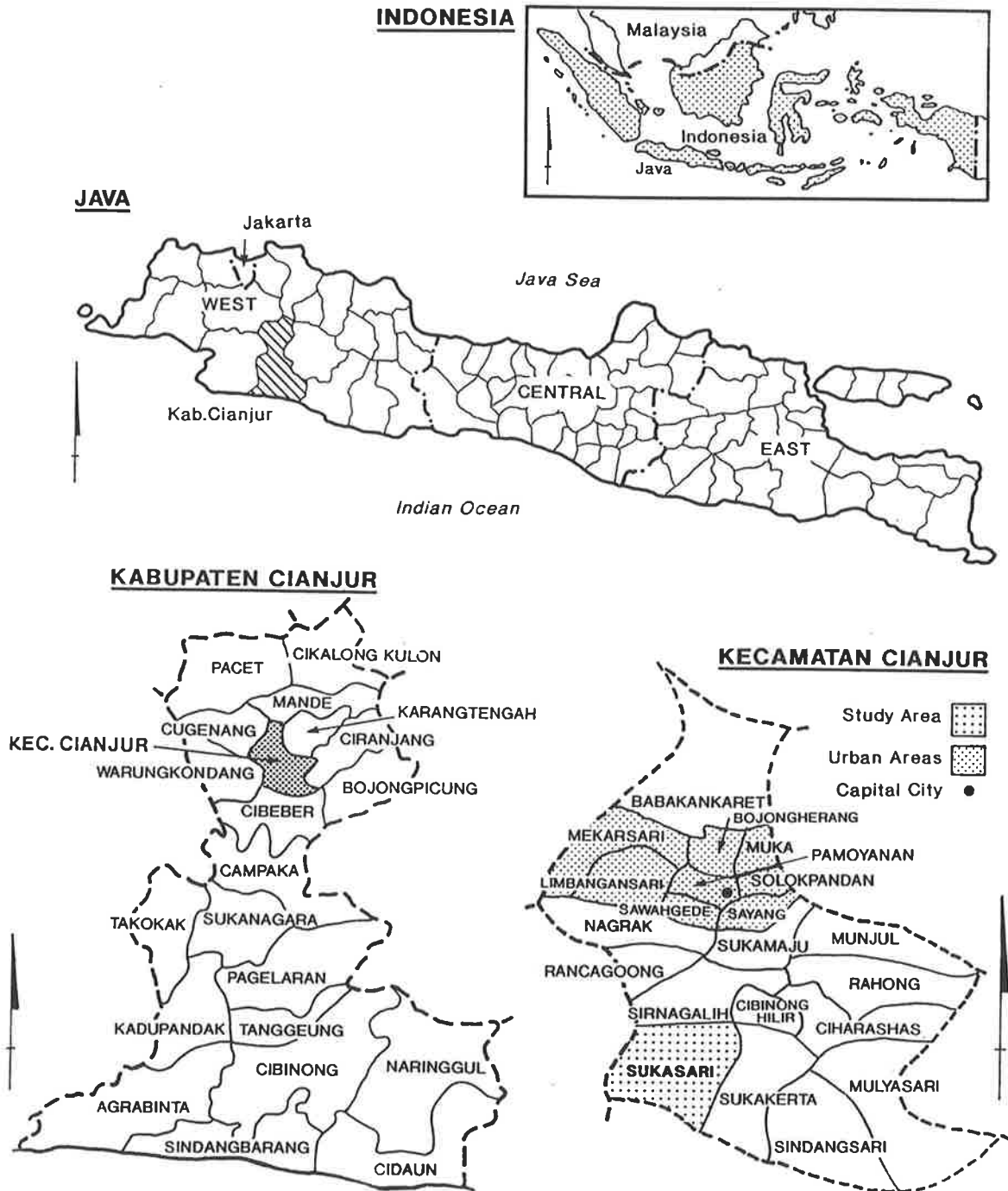
each *desa* to fill in and then carefully estimate the number of OCWs from their village using their own knowledge. The researcher then checked all of the answers in the questionnaires and discussed the reliability and validity of the data with the head/staff of *desa* who had completed each questionnaire. From this survey (completed 12 November 1992) it was evident that *Desa Sukasari* has had the largest number of Indonesian overseas contract workers in *Kecamatan Cianjur* since 1979 (Table 3.7) and hence, the researcher selected *Desa Sukasari* for his case study area. This *desa* had 2,243 households in 1990 and it consisted of 5 *dusun*⁵ (sub-villages) which had different numbers of overseas contract workers. It was estimated that in *Desa Sukasari*, which had more males than females (sex ratio:105), about 15.5 percent of the households had a returned OCW present or had one currently away working. Figure 3.6 shows the location of *Desa Sukasari* within Indonesia.

3.3.2 Selection of Respondents and Sampling Procedures for the Household Survey

The research population here consisted of overseas worker households (i.e. those containing returned OCWs and those

⁵) The Head of the Sub-Village (*Kepala Dusun*) is not only responsible for carrying out orders from the Village Head in village development, but also must use initiative in efforts to develop his "*dusun*".

Figure 3.6 Sukasari Village: Research Area



Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1990, 1982

with workers still working overseas). Accordingly the sampling unit in the survey was the household which had an OCW or returned OCW. In Indonesia a household is defined as a person, or a group of persons, who occupy a part or the whole of one living quarter (*bangunan fisik/sensus*) and who usually make provision for food and other essentials for living collectively (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1985:17). For the purposes of this study persons who at the time were temporarily absent from that group but were still considered to be part of that group, were included as members of the household. Hence a *de jure* principle was adopted in carrying out the survey.

The head of each OCW household, whether he/she was an OCW or not, was nominated as the respondent. Hence, in the case where the OCW household is not headed by an OCW, the head of the household was chosen as the respondent because it was considered that the head of household was the most knowledgeable person to ask questions about the detailed condition of the household. Simmons (1982:174) has pointed out that,

"In the household questionnaire a knowledgeable adult member of the household is asked to provide certain information on each current resident of the household. This includes place of birth, whether the member is temporarily away (working, studying, visiting, etc.) elsewhere, age, sex, labour force activity status, education completed and relationship to the head of the household.....Also part of the household questionnaire is an inventory of household economic characteristics such

as land holdings, business operations, and housing conditions."

From November 20th, 1992, the researcher stayed in *Desa Sukasari*, living as a member of a village household. After introducing himself to the staff of the Office of *Desa Sukasari* and some villagers, the first step was to make a list of the overseas workers from *Desa Sukasari* for each *dusun*: name, sex, address, whether they have returned or are still abroad and the country of employment. This list was used as a sampling frame (Appendix 3). Unfortunately, there were no registration records kept concerning the names of OCWs in the office of *Desa Sukasari*, and the village secretary was not sure about the exact number and names of OCWs because there was a continual coming and going of overseas migrant workers. The researcher together with the village secretary, went to the head of each *dusun* asking for this information and made a listing of the name, sex and address of each villager who was working overseas and/or who had returned. Fortunately the head of each *dusun* was assisted by the heads of *rukun tetangga* (household association or sub-areas within each *dusun*) who could more readily identify most of their villagers who were still overseas or who had returned from there. This is understandable as the head of *rukun tetangga* heads about 58 households in his neighborhood and knows his members intimately (*warga*) and hears all events in his area. From

these notes, the researcher made a sampling frame. The total number of OCWs (male and female) identified in each *dusun* can be seen in Table 3.8. The result of that listing (Table 3.8) was higher (382 OCWs) than that of a

Table 3.8: Total Population, Households and Overseas Contract Workers in Sukasari Village

Sub-Village (<i>Dusun</i>)	Total popu- lation (May 1991)	Total house holds (May 1991)	Re- turnees		OCWs still abroad		Total mi- grant
			male	fe- male	male	fe- male	
1.Cilaku	2,052	500	32	40	19	36	127
2.Cilaku Hilir	1,441	406	10	22	8	37	77
3.Gegerbitung	1,415	393	10	22	12	43	87
4.Cijati	1,844	443	7	25	5	17	54
5.Palasari	1,362	356	7	11	4	15	37
Total	8,114	2,098	66	120	48	148	382

Source: Field data, 1992

survey conducted using village questionnaires (348 OCWs) (see Table 3.7), indicating some undercounting by the village level official. The numbers given in Table 3.7 for all villages in the *kecamatan* therefore must be seen as significantly under-estimated. It is because in some areas the coming and going of OCW's is such an everyday event that officials are not sure who is away and who is not.

The sample of households was selected using a stratified random sampling method. It was decided to use a

stratified random sampling procedure because the total number of sampling units (N_h) of the study varied from stratum to stratum (Parel, et al. 1978). The sampling units in this study are OCWs according to sub-villages, according to status of migrant (returnee and migrant still abroad) and according to sex. The following approach was used to calculate the sample size in each strata.

$$n = \frac{N \sum N_h \cdot Sh^2}{z^2 (N^2 \cdot d^2 + \sum N_h \cdot Sh^2)}$$

$$\text{And } n_h = \frac{N_h}{N} \cdot n$$

where: n = sample size
 N = total number of sampling units
 N_h = total number of sampling units in the stratum
 Sh^2 = variance
 d = standard error of the mean
 Z = reliability

The values of Z corresponding to the prescribed reliability are obtained from the table "area under the normal curve".

Table 3.9: The Value of Reliability

Reliability in percentage values	80%	90%	95%	99%
Z	1.290	1.645	1.960	2.575

(Parel, et al., 1978:69)

Because the variance (Sh^2) in *Desa Sukasari* is unknown, one of the possible ways of doing this is using the results of a pilot survey (Parel, et al., 1978: 69) and "the best thing that can be done is simply to take a certain percentage of the whole population, say 2, 5, 10, 20, or 50 percent of N.....The sample size should preferably be not smaller than 30" (Parel, et al., 1978: 71). Any variance of variable distribution can be used and in Parel, et al's (1978: 60-65) study of students in public schools in the Metro Manila area, the variance they used was for the variable of distribution of students' average financial allowances per week. In the present study, the variance of mean of expenditure per person was used and the reason for this was that the economic status of OCW households in the survey village were relatively heterogeneous, especially with respect to household expenditures. The pilot survey was carried out, not only to work out the estimation of variance in Sukasari, but also to try out the questionnaire and make improvements to it.

In the pilot survey, the interviewing of 60 heads of OCW households in *Desa Sukasari* was carried out (12 heads of OCWs in each *dusun*: 6 returnee households and 6 households which had OCWs still abroad):

(a). The 60 OCW household respondents were sampled using proportionate random sampling according to sex of OCWs by using a table of Random Numbers (Blalock, 1971:598-601). The result can be seen in Table 3.10 and most of the information from pilot survey turned out to be used as well in this study.

(b). Seven interviewers and one assistant were recruited, and trained. Five interviewers had graduated from the *Institut Pertanian Bogor* (Bogor Institute of Agriculture) and were experienced in rural based research. Although all of them had experience in interviewing, they were trained before the fieldwork commenced. Two interviewers were students in the final phase of their undergraduate degrees at the University of Parahyangan, Bandung. The assistant, a Sukasari villager, had duties as a guide, as a source of information about his village and the community of Sukasari and administrative tasks such as photocopying, purchasing, etc.

(c). During the third step, the interviewers and the researcher interviewed respondents by using structured

questionnaires: QA (Questionnaire A) for the head of each returned migrant household where the returnee was not the household head; QC (Questionnaire C) for the head of each returned migrant household where the returnee was the

Table 3.10: The Total Sample of Respondents for Pilot Survey

sub-village		returnee		migrant still abroad		Total
		male	female	male	female	
1.Cilaku	Nh	32	40	19	36	127
	proportion	0.44	0.56	0.35	0.65	
	n	3	3	2	4	12
2.Cilaku Hilir	Nh	10	22	8	37	77
	proportion	0.31	0.69	0.18	0.82	
	n	2	4	1	5	12
3.Geger- bitung	Nh	10	22	12	43	87
	proportion	0.31	0.69	0.22	0.78	
	n	2	4	1	5	12
4.Cijati	Nh	7	25	5	17	54
	proportion	0.22	0.78	0.23	0.77	
	n	1	5	1	5	12
5.Palasari	Nh	7	11	4	15	37
	proportion	0.39	0.61	0.21	0.79	
	n	2	4	1	5	12
total	Nh	66	120	48	148	382
	n	10	20	6	24	60

Source: Field data, 1992

household head; QB (Questionnaire B) for the head of each migrant household where one or more members of the household were still working in another country; and QD (Questionnaire D) for the head of each non-migrant household (Appendix 4). The questions were grouped into 8

topics (Table 3.11). Eight topics were identified as key impact areas to be analysed in this study. These were employment, income, social welfare, modernity, social/political participation, fertility, population size and foreign exchange and were each represented by a series of questions in the questionnaire.

Table 3.11: The Topics of Questions in the Questionnaire of OCW and Non-OCW Household

Topic	QA	QB	QC	QD
I Socio-economic Characteristics and Conditions of the Household	+	+	+	+
II Reasons for Working Overseas			+	
III Process of Migration			+	
IV Experiences in the Country of Destination			+	
V Problems at Home	+	+	+	+
VI a. Problems of Reintegration b. Participation	+	+	+	+
VII Migration in the Future	+	+	+	+
VIII Level of Modernisation	+	+	+	+

(d). During the interview activities in the pilot survey some problems were identified and these were:

- (1) The questionnaire, especially the section about the composition of the household needed to be



re-structured.

- (2) Questions about household expenditure, income and savings were difficult to obtain answers to. One respondent claimed "*Soal pendapatan and tabungan sih rahasia*" ("Income and savings are a secret"). Another respondent never received 'remittances' from his wife because he claimed, his wife always sent the money to her mother. For information regarding household expenditure, then, it was decided to ask about their expenditure in the month of November (the previous month) only and the interviewers had to be patient. The question "How much do you spend on buying cigarettes, for example, had to be asked in several questions: "Do you, or other members in this household, smoke?" If the answer was yes, then, "How many packs of cigarettes a day do you smoke?" "What cigarettes do you smoke?" "How much is the price of...(mentioning the name of a brand of cigarettes)?"
- (3) The researcher and interviewers had a little difficulty in finding the respondents at times because in Sukasari the houses are un-numbered and some people have the same name. In addition, sometimes two respondents were found to live in

the one household.

- (4) Two respondents were afraid to be interviewed although the interviewers and the researcher carried a letter from the Head of *Desa Sukasari*. These two respondents had had bad experiences after their OCWs returned from overseas. One was robbed the day after someone had interviewed him in his house. Another respondent thought that the purpose of the interviews was for collecting taxes from OCWs.

From the pilot survey the mean expenditure of each member of an OCW household was established, both for households with OCWs still abroad (Rp. 40,330) and households with returned OCWs (Rp. 41,600). Therefore the variance of the mean expenditure of OCW households in *Desa Sukasari* can be calculated as follows:

$$sh^2 = \frac{\sum (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{n-1}$$

Sh^2 for households with OCW still abroad = 914.78

Sh^2 for Households with returned OCW = 401.15

Table 3.12 shows the procedure for calculating $Nn \cdot Sh^2$

Table 3.12: The Calculation of Nn.Sh²

Stratum	Nn	Sh ²	Nn.Sh ²
OCW still abroad	196	914.78	179,296.88
returned OCW	186	401.13	74,631.90
Total	382		253,910.78

Source: Field data, 1992

The following formula was used to calculate the sample, using a Standard Error of the Mean (d) of expenditure of 2.5 (2,500 rupiah) and Reliability (Z) of 95% (1.96). The sample therefore was:

$$n = \frac{N \quad Nn.Sh^2}{z^2 \quad N^2 \cdot d^2 + Nn.Sh^2}$$

$$n = \frac{(382) (253,910.78)}{(382)^2 (2.5)^2 + 253,910.78} = 198$$

$$\frac{(1.96)^2}$$

$$n \text{ (household with returned OCWs)} = \frac{186}{382} \times 198 = 96$$

$$n \text{ (household with OCWs still abroad)} = \frac{196}{382} \times 198 = 102$$

The sample for each *dusun* can be seen in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13: Sample OCW Households in Each Dusun

Sub-village (<i>Dusun</i>)	Households with Returned OCWs		Households with OCWs still Abroad	
	N1	n1	N2	n2
Cilaku	72	37	55	29
Cilaku Hilir	32	17	45	23
Gegerbitung	32	17	55	29
Cijati	32	17	22	11
Palasari	18	9	19	10
Total	186	97	196	102

Note: $n1 = \frac{N1}{186} \times n$ (household with returned OCW = 96)

$n2 = \frac{N2}{196} \times n$ (household with OCW still abroad = 102)

Source: Field data, 1992

With the same procedure, the sample for each *dusun* by sex is shown in Table 3.14.

Table 3.14: Sample OCW Households in Each Dusun According to Male and Female OCWs

Sub-village (<i>Dusun</i>)	Households with Returned OCWs						Households with OCWs still Abroad						Total n1m, n1f n2m, n2f
			Male		Female				Male		Female		
	N1	n1	N1m	n1m	N1f	n1f	N2	n2	N2m	n2m	N2f	n2f	
Cilaku	72	37	32	16	40	21	55	29	19	10	36	19	66
Cilaku Hilir	32	17	10	5	22	12	45	23	8	4	37	19	40
Gegerbitung	32	17	10	5	22	12	55	29	12	6	43	23	46
Cijati	32	17	7	4	25	13	22	11	5	3	17	9	29
Palasari	18	9	7	3	11	6	19	10	4	2	15	8	19
Total	186	97	66	33	120	64	196	102	48	25	148	78	200

Note: $n1m = \frac{N1m}{N1} \times n1$ $n1f = \frac{N1f}{N1} \times n1$ $n2m = \frac{N2m}{N2} \times n2$ $n2f = \frac{N2f}{N2} \times n2$

Source: Field data, 1992

The sample of migrant households was 200 or about 53 percent of the OCW population in Sukasari. This sample

was distributed proportionally in each *dusun* according to returnees and OCWs still abroad and to the sex of OCWs. The sample can be seen as being reasonably representative of the legal movement of OCWs out of this village. In this case, no illegal movement has been found in Sukasari. For comparison purposes, some heads of non-OCW households in each *dusun* were also interviewed. The procedure for choosing the heads of a non-OCW households as respondents was that for every two heads of OCW households interviewed, one head of a non-OCW household living closest to them was interviewed. Here, the non-OCW household was considered to be aware of the situation/condition of their OCW household neighbours. In the questionnaire for the non-OCW household the respondent was asked to give some opinions about their neighbours who had an overseas migrant member.

3.3.3 Field Data Collection

3.3.3.1 Interviewing Respondents

Before field data collection was conducted, the researcher revised the questionnaire, made a code book and interviews with respondents began (using the Indonesian language and Sundanese - the local language of most of West Java, but the answers were all written on in Indonesian). Interviews were conducted in the first week

of December 1992 and ended in the last week of January 1993. The researcher and the interviewers lived together in one house during this time. Most of the heads of households could only be interviewed in the evening because they were working during the day and the time taken for each interview itself was up to 90 minutes.

All of the answers to the questions had to be written down and each evening after the researcher and the interviewers would discuss the interview results together. This was done to avoid forgetting what had been found out and to check that the questionnaires had been filled in correctly. If the answers of the respondent were incorrect or uncertain, then the interviewer would go back to the respondent on the following day to clarify the information. In summary the steps that were carried out in sampling activities before interviewing respondents are:

Step 1: Listing OCW households by asking the head of *dusun*

Step 2: Produced A Sampling Frame and Sampling 60 respondent (12 OCW households for each *dusun*)

Step 3: Recruiting/Training interviewers

Step 4: Interviewing 60 respondent (pilot survey)

Step 5: Calculating variance and deciding on the number in the sample for Sukasari village and for each *dusun*

Step 6: Sampling of respondents

Step 7: Revising questionnaire (from pilot survey),
reproducing questionnaires and making a code-book

Step 8: Interviewing of all respondents

From the initial sample there were 28 respondents who were replaced by reserve respondents, selected by the same procedure (see section 3.3.2). Of these 21 respondents could not be located because of faulty information in the sampling frame, one had moved out of the village, two respondents were not interviewed because in their households there were more than one OCW/returnee who had been chosen for the first sample, one could not be found even after visiting a few times and three respondents (returnees) had gone overseas again. It was found that there were 11 respondents who did not want to be interviewed, and unfortunately they did not give the reasons. The total number of respondents in this survey in the final analysis was 189 OCW households and 83 non-OCW households (Table 3.15). The table shows the respondents for each stratum: *dusun*, type of OCW household and sex of OCW. In total, the sample in this study covered 50 percent of the OCW households in Sukasari. It is hoped that this sample is representative of the OCW households of the Sukasari community in particular and indicative of legal overseas worker movements more generally in Indonesia.

Table 3.15: OCW Household Respondents According to *Dusun*, Status of OCW, Sex of OCW and Sample non-OCW Households

<i>Dusun</i>	Households with Returned OCW			Households with OCW still Abroad			Total OCW Households	Non-OCW Households	Total
	male	fe-male	sub-total	male	fe-male	sub-total			
Cilaku	10	16	26	11	19	30	56	23	79
Cilaku Hilir	4	11	15	3	20	23	38	19	57
Gegerbitung	6	14	20	4	23	27	47	20	67
Cijati	4	13	17	2	9	11	28	10	38
Palasari	4	8	12	1	7	8	20	11	31
Total	28	62	90	21	78	99	189	83	272

Source: Field data, 1992

3.3.3.2 In-Depth Interviews and Direct Observation

In-depth interviews were carried out by the researcher himself with (1) the Head of Sukasari Village, all five Heads of *dusun* and one religious leader; (2) two returned OCWs; (3) a head of household with OCW still abroad. The researcher also took many opportunities to conduct incidental conversations with villagers (such as in *warung* or small restaurants, on *ojek* or motor-cycle public transport, etc.). The Head of Sukasari Village, the 5 Heads of *Dusun* Cilaku, Cilaku Hilir, Gegerbitung, Cijati and Palasari and the local major religious leader were interviewed without structured questionnaires. The researcher visited them two or three times in their houses or in the village office informally without making any notes to encourage free discussion. Five main topics were discussed and these were (1) village development

programs; (2) perceptions of the socio-economic condition of the OCWs and their families; (3) opinions regarding the behaviour of OCWs; (4) the problems relating to OCWs; (5) the contribution of OCWs to the village more generally.

The limited time available meant that only two returned OCWs and a head of household with OCW still abroad were interviewed in depth for the case study. Before these interviews were conducted, inter-personal relationships had to be developed for a period of time until the researcher felt that they "accepted" him as their "friend". It made it easier for the researcher to visit them two or three times and talk on a range of topics, again without the intrusion of taking notes. The important point in the single OCW case study was to probe the detailed reasons for going abroad to work and its impact on their family. The case study involved both in-depth interviews and direct observations of the household. This case study, together with additional information from intensive daily interaction with other households, provided an in-depth picture of a migrant and his/her household to enhance the information obtained from the questionnaire survey.

The researcher took advantage of an extended stay in the village to talk as much as possible with a range of village residents to get a more in-depth view of the range of opinions about OCWs and of their impact on the economic, social and cultural life of the village. The researcher was able to talk with residents through unplanned meetings in *warung* (small restaurant) during lunch or dinner, on the *ojek* (publicly available motorcycles) and at weddings to which the researcher was invited. Carefully directed observation also was carried out by the researcher during the fieldwork.

3.4 Field Data Editing and Processing

A code book was constructed after the pilot survey was completed. This was used to guide the coding of questionnaire information into quantitative data. All written information in the questionnaires was coded and transferred to coding sheets and before this was transferred to the computer, the researcher checked whether all the information from the questionnaires was coded correctly.

A range of descriptive statistics were used to analyse the data including frequency distributions, cross tabulation, central tendency and scale measurements.

Chi-square was used to analyse the association or differences between two variables, for example, significant differences between male and female migrants in the use of remittances, integration in economic activities upon return, level of social/political participation and socio-economic level of the household. Before data from the interviews were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Program, data editing was carried out to check the consistency between one variable and another or whether the information on coding sheets were transferred correctly to the computer.

3.5. Conclusion

The survey research design for collecting data in this study for the purpose of examining the impact of international labour migration has been explained in this chapter. Both quantitative and qualitative information were collected. The main element is a survey carried out using questionnaires, however, this was supplemented with direct observation and in-depth interviews.

Respondents were chosen using random sampling procedures. Data from non-migrant households was used for comparison between the condition of households with and without

overseas contract workers and to ascertain their aspirations from working overseas. Such data is required for a better understanding of the impact of international labour migration at the household level.

Chapter Four

INDONESIAN INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW

4.1 Introduction

International labour migration has become an increasingly important phenomenon and a very significant influence in most Southeast Asian countries during the last two decades. Much of the growth in international labour migration in the region was sparked by the oil embargo of 1973 and the consequent rapid rise in the price of crude oil (Arnold and Shah, 1986:3; ESCAP Secretariat, 1986a; Abella, 1991:4; Omran and Roudi, 1993:22). This created a huge demand for labour in the Gulf Cooperative Countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates) where the massive influx of foreign exchange was invested in large infrastructure projects.

However, unlike countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the Philippines, Indonesia was relatively slow to respond to overseas employment possibilities in the Middle East and did not enter the market in substantial numbers until the early 1980s (Kelly, 1987:7; Hugo, et.al., 1987:173; Cremer, 1988). According to Hugo (1994b), although the scale and impact of international labour migration in Indonesia is small

compared to those countries, 'it is becoming increasingly significant not only in the regions which the labour migrants leave but in Indonesia more widely' (Hugo, 1994b:9). The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the major patterns and issues of international labour migration in Indonesia. It discusses changes in the spatial pattern and scale of Indonesian international labour migration from colonial times to the present and shows how the Indonesian Government has become increasingly involved in the field of overseas contract labour. It also summarises the findings of existing studies relating to Indonesian overseas contract workers.

4.2 Pattern and Scale of Indonesian Labour Migration

4.2.1 Indonesia's Colonial Period

During the Dutch colonial period, Indonesian labour migration to other countries was limited and mostly under 'contract-coolie' recruitment programmes to provide cheap labour for plantations (Hugo, 1980:117). Most of them were brought to the countries under colonial occupation, such as Malaysia, Surinam, New Caledonia, Thailand, Burma, Sabah, Sarawak, Vietnam, and Australia (Hugo, 1990, 1993a). However, at that time, there were

also significant spontaneous movements of Indonesians to Malaysia (Hugo, 1980).

The first Indonesian immigrants to Surinam arrived in 1890 (South America) under the recruitment programmes initiated to obtain labour for plantations (Ismael, 1955). Over the 1890-1939 period there were an average 659 Indonesian immigrants moving to Surinam each year. However since 1897, there were an average of 189 who returned to Indonesia each year. The population of Indonesian origin in Surinam at the end of 1949 reached 37,598 persons and comprised the third largest ethnic group in the Surinam population (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 The Population of Surinam in 1949

Nation/ethnic group	Male	Female	Total
Creool (native people)	38,794	41,707	85,501
India	33,462	31,253	64,715
Indonesia	20,024	17,574	37,598
Negro	nd.	nd.	22,000
Europe	1,417	866	2,283
Chinese	1,738	951	2,689
Others	nd.	nd.	6,338
Total			221,124

Source: Ismael, 1955:18

With the Japanese occupation in the 1940s, the movement of Indonesian workers overseas continued. The workers (mostly from Java) were forced to work (as *romusha*) on the railway and other construction projects in Thailand,

Burma and elsewhere (Hugo, 1993a). The number of these *romusha* is not known and very few returned to Java (Hugo, 1975: 229). At the 1947 Census, there were 309,150 Indonesian people in Malaya (Table 4.2) and most of them had come directly from their home villages (Bahrin, 1967).

Table 4.2 Indonesian People in Malaya According to 1947 Census of Malaya

Ethnic group	Total
Javanese	189,400
Banjarese	62,400
Sumatrans	26,300
Boyonese (Bawean people)	20,400
Bugis	7,000
Others	3,650
Total	309,150

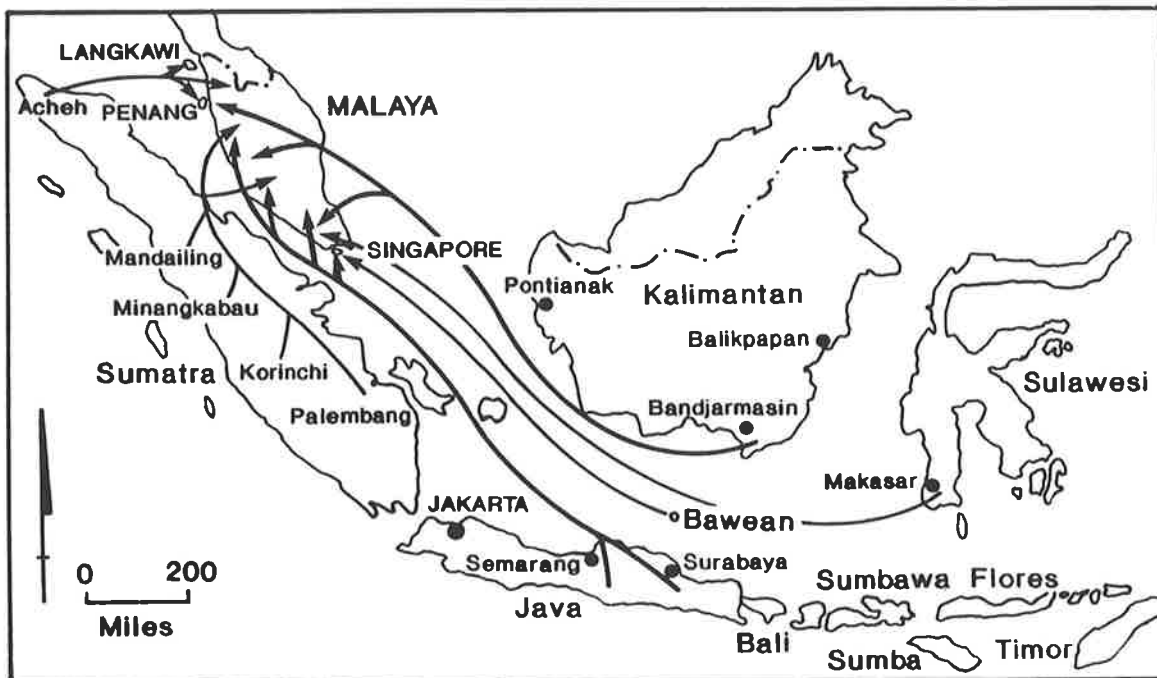
Source: Bahrin, 1967:233

Figure 4.1 shows the pattern of Indonesian migration to Malaya. Unfortunately there was no information about whether Indonesian migrants went to Malaya as 'coolie-contract', *romusha* or spontaneous migrants. It was possible that they included all three types of migrants. However, spontaneous migrants among Bawean¹ people in Singapore was dominant. As Vredembregt (1964:117) pointed

¹ A small island off the coast of East Java

out it was possible that the first migrants were pilgrims who stopped into Singapore on their way to Mecca and stayed on there working to earn enough money to enable

Figure 4.1 Indonesian Migration to Malaya, 1947



Source: Bahrin, 1967:235

them to continue their voyage. These first migrants were followed by other Bawean people who had maintained communication with the migrants. Most of the migrants were males and consequently "the island of Bawean has become known as *Pulau Wanita* (island of women)" (Hugo 1994b:35). Male Baweans prefer to work overseas than in

agricultural work in their place of origin (Vredenberg, 1964:117). "Seeking employment in Singapore or Malaysia has become a norm among young Boyanese men, who do not consider themselves manly without having attempted to stay some time abroad" (Spaan, 1994:93).

Vredenberg (1964) has shown the growth of Bawean people in Singapore (Table 4.3) from 763 in 1849 to 22,167 in 1957. According to Bahrin (1967:233) the 1947 Census of Malaya has shown that Indonesian workers came as contract workers, mostly as *padi*/rice-cultivators or rubber and coconut smallholders (*kelapa sawit*) and a few as estate labourers. Many of them after finishing their contracts settled in Malaya to work, especially on their own

Table 4.3 The Bawean Population in Singapore, 1849-1957

Year	Total
1849	763
1871	1,634
1881	2,111
1891	2,677
1901	2,712
1911	5,086
1921	6,589
1931	9,413
1947	15,434
1957	22,167

Source: Vredenberg, 1964:115

smallholdings. The employers in Malaya paid the cost of transportation from the place of recruitment to the

place of employment (Bahrin, 1967:237). Other migrants had to finance their journey or followed relatives who paid their fares and provided other help or support. The earlier migrants usually accommodated the new arrivals in their homes until such time as they were able to get a job or set up their own smallholdings. Vredenberg (1964:117) has shown that the community feeling of the Bawean and family ties with emigrants in Singapore are factors which stimulate further emigration. This reflects the social network approach which argues that international labour migration should increase with the closeness of the relationship (Massey, et al., 1993). Regarding the social network links between Indonesia and Malaysia, Hugo (1993a:39) has argued

"The important point here is that there are long-standing and strong social networks linking Malaysia and Indonesia. The political boundaries separating the two nations are a function of colonisation and separate peoples who share the same culture, language and religion. This historical linkages and cultural homogeneity have played an important role in facilitating population movement from Indonesia to Malaysia."

4.2.2 After Independence

During the post-Independence period, Indonesian international labour migration has increased in significance, particularly since the early 1980's. As was pointed out earlier, this was related to the large scale development of infrastructure and industry in Middle

Eastern countries which required massive numbers of workers. The flow of foreign workers (from other Arab and Asian countries) to the Gulf region began after the development of the oil fields in the 1950s and 1960s and the huge flow of workers began in the 1970s when the international price of crude oil increased from less than US\$2 per barrel in 1970 to nearly US\$40 per barrel in 1980 (Omran and Roudi, 1993:22).

The increase in the crude oil price gave the newly-rich Gulf Cooperative Countries (GCC) the opportunity to build basic infrastructure and develop modern services. However, the shortage of labour in these countries, provided a serious impediment to economic development (Abella, 1991:6). There were a number of reasons for this which included a low labour force participation among the national population; a preference for the traditional subsistence sector among a large proportion of the workforce; the existence of public sector employment as sinecure for many among the educated; low levels of literacy and education; abnormally high returns for labour in the informal sector where nationals enjoyed a "rent" for being in reserved occupations; state subsidies to agriculture; and subsidies to housing and welfare programmes (Abella, 1991:7-8). The obstacles also related to the small

populations and consequently these oil rich countries needed a huge number of workers (professionals, skilled and technical manpower and unskilled labour), a need which could not be met locally. In 1970, the number of foreign workers in the six GCCs was 1.1 million and increased to over 5.2 million in 1990, with another 2 million foreign workers in Iraq (Omran and Roudi, 1993:22).

According to Stalker (1994:9), most international migration today is associated with the idea of an international labour market, and that labour surpluses or shortages in some countries are adjusted by flows to or from other countries. As has been discussed in Chapter One, the growing internationalisation of capital, the great improvement in the ease and cost of international travel, the activities of multi-national corporations and reductions in the cost of information concerning foreign opportunities, are all significant factors in the explosion of international labour migration.

Some Asian countries have become important destinations for labour migrants in recent years and Indonesian labour migration to neighbouring countries within Asia is growing in significance. Lim (1991:1-2) has described the increase in intra-Asian movement as follows

"Asia has emerged as an increasingly important destination. East and Southeast Asia, being the most economically dynamic region in the contemporary world, have attracted rapidly growing numbers from outside and within the continent. As the Asian countries themselves experience, on the one hand, significantly different rates and patterns of demographic and economic transition and, on the other, growing interdependence fostered by trade, capital investments, political relations, the operations of transnational corporations, social networks, etc., legal and illegal intraregional migration has also escalated".

Successful economic development and demographic changes in some Asian countries have caused the shortage of labour and has led them to seek foreign labour from labour surplus countries. Hugo (1990:23) argues that the growing economies have increased the number of educated people (school and university graduates) who are unwilling to enter low-paid or 'dirty' occupations. Consequently, in countries like Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong, the average annual labour force growth rates have declined and will continue to do so in the next few years. These countries will have labour shortages, particularly for less educated workers. For example, Table 4.4 shows the projected decrease in average annual labour force growth rates in Asian countries. For labour surplus countries like Indonesia, the employment opportunities that are likely to arise in those nations cannot be neglected.

As the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) face difficulties with worker shortages, the demand for workers needs to be met from other countries. Malaysia and Singapore are important destinations for Indonesian overseas workers. Moreover as Hugo (1990:5,20) has observed, the sharp fertility declines in those countries have helped exacerbate the labour shortages and consequently this condition has enhanced opportunities for international labour migration.

Table 4.4: Average Annual Labour Force Growth Rates, Asian Countries, 1980-2010

Country	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010
<u>Japan and NICs</u>			
Japan	0.9	0.4	-0.4
Singapore	1.6	0.6	0.3
South Korea	2.8	1.8	1.1
Taiwan	3.5	1.7	0.7
<u>China</u>	2.4	1.2	0.9
<u>Southeast Asia</u>			
Thailand	2.5	1.8	1.0
Indonesia	2.7	2.4	1.7
Philippines	2.8	2.8	2.6
Malaysia	3.2	2.9	2.6
<u>South Asia</u>			
India	2.2	2.1	2.0
Nepal	2.4	2.7	2.5
Bangladesh	3.5	3.6	3.3
Pakistan	3.9	3.7	4.3

Source: Hugo, 1990:22

Indonesia has sent more than one million documented workers to more than 38 countries between the First Five Year Development Plan (1969-74) and the Fifth Five Year

Development Plan (1989-94) (Table 4.5, Figure 4.2). Appendix 1 shows that the five main destinations were Saudi Arabia (664,389), Malaysia (205,389), Singapore (64,440), USA (23,849), and the Netherlands (19,994). Saudi Arabia is the dominant destination for the flow of Indonesian legal migrant workers, the majority of which were female (Table 4.5 and Figure 4.2).

Table 4.5: Number of Indonesian Overseas Workers 1969/74-1993/94 by Gender.

Year	Male	Female	Total OCW
Five Year Planning Periods			
I : 1969-74	**	**	5,624
II : 1974-79	**	**	17,042
III: 1979-84	**	**	96,410
IV : 1984-89	93,527	198,735	292,262
V : 1989-94*	209,962	442,310	652,272

1979/80	**	**	10,396
1980/81	**	**	16,186
1981/82	**	**	17,904
1982/83	**	**	21,224
1983/84	**	**	30,790
1984/85	20,775	26,319	47,094
1985/86	16,460	37,837	54,297
1986/87	25,982	42,378	68,360
1987/88	15,974	45,118	61,092
1988/89	14,336	47,083	61,419
1989/90	21,969	62,105	84,074
1990/91	36,304	49,960	86,264
1991/92	48,879	100,903	149,782
1992/93	60,189	111,968	172,157
1993/94	42,621	117,374	159,995

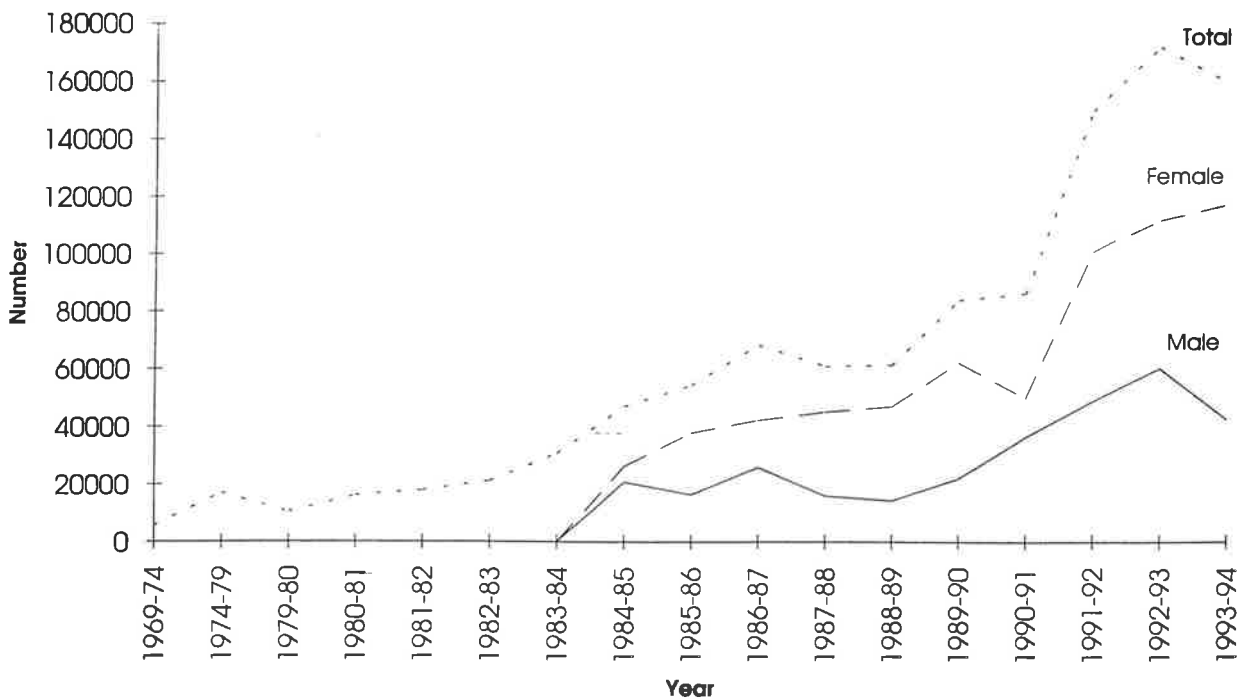
Note: * up to 31 March 1994

** no data

Source: Pusat AKAN n.d; Hugo 1994b

In general females worked mostly as housemaids, while the majority of males worked as drivers (Adi, 1986; RDCMD-YTKI, 1986; Cremer, 1988; Spaan, 1994). Table 4.6 shows the types of occupations of Indonesian overseas workers processed by Pusat AKAN during April 1989-January 1992. Generally female workers worked in the public service while males worked in the agriculture and transportation sectors. It was found that 92.6 percent of female OCWs in *Desa Sukasari* worked as domestic helpers overseas and a further 4.4 percent worked in child care, whereas most of the males worked as drivers (Chapter Seven).

Figure 4.2 The Flow of Legal Indonesian Overseas Workers 1979/80-1993/94 by Gender



Source: From Table 4.5

Migration to Saudi Arabia has long historical roots as Indonesian Muslims have long migrated to Mecca for the pilgrimage (*Hajj*). As Vredembregt (1962:92) has shown, Indonesian interest in the *Hajj* is very old. Every Muslim is obliged to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lifetime, unless he/she is prevented from doing so.

**Table 4.6: Number of Indonesian Overseas Workers
April 1989-January 1992 by Gender and Type of
Occupation.**

Main Industry	Male	Female	Total
1. Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting, Fishery	54,328	20,044	74,372
2. Mining and Quarrying	1,933	-	1,933
3. Manufacturing Industry	430	491	921
4. Electricity, Gas and Water	1,117	2,605	3,722
5. Construction	238	-	238
6. Wholesale Trade, Retail Trade, Restaurants	81	5	86
7. Transportation, Storage, Communication	42,054	22	42,076
8. Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services	226	189	415
9. Public Services	89	171,185	171,274
Total	100,496	194,841	295,037

Source: Pusat AKAN, n.d.

In Dutch colonial times when the free outflow of pilgrims to Mecca directly from the Dutch East Indies was restricted, it was reported that thousands of Javanese annually made the pilgrimage, usually organised by a

pilgrim broker (*hadji sheikh*) via Singapore (Spaan, 1994:95).

While the majority of Indonesian migrant workers going to Saudi Arabia are legal, Malaysia is the main destination for illegal Indonesian migrant workers (Spaan, 1994; Hugo, 1994b). The illegal Indonesian migrant workers are very significant in Malaysia and although they are not detected in any official statistics, it can be ascertained that their numbers are much higher than legal workers. While the Indonesian Government reported that almost a half of Indonesian workers in Malaysia are illegal migrants, other estimates are much higher (Country Report: Indonesia, 1992). Lim (1991:15) has pointed out that the number of officially sanctioned migrants is small in relation to those who have left Indonesia illegally. At the end of 1991, according to the Vice Prime Minister of Malaysia, there were more than 300,000 illegal migrants in Malaysia from Indonesia (*Tempo*, 11 January 1992). But the Secretary General of the Malaysian Labour Union Congress stated that the number of Indonesian illegal migrants had reached a million people (*Tempo*, 11 January 1992). Setyono (1992) estimated that the total number of Indonesian workers in Malaysia ranged from 300,000 to 1,000,000 workers.

Meanwhile, as Hugo (1993a) observed, the number of legal migrants working in Malaysia and Singapore increased in the early 1980s and especially in the early 1990s. In 1979/80 there were only 720 Indonesian overseas workers registered officially for work in Malaysia and Singapore, and this number increased to 51,638 in 1991/92. By 1992/93 the number of Indonesian overseas workers in Malaysia and Singapore processed by the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower had reached 62,535 (Hugo, 1994b:10). The increase in Indonesian legal workers to Malaysia is the result of the efforts of the Malaysian and Indonesian governments to regularise the flow of workers (Hugo, 1993a:42). For example, the effort to regularise the flow of workers to Malaysia in 1992 resulted in about 200,000 Indonesian illegal workers registering with the Malaysian Immigration Office and hence they became legal workers (*Tempo*, 11 April 1992; *Kompas*, 3 September 1992; Setyono, 1992).

If the effort of the Malaysian Government to give work permits (3 years) to illegal migrants who registered with the Malaysian Immigration Office and Indonesian Embassy in Malaysia before 30 June 1992 is successful, the number of illegal migrants should decline. However, Hugo (1993a:63) suggested that "not all (or even most) illegal Indonesian labour migrants in Malaysia have taken

advantage of the 1991-1992 initiatives". It is understandable because as Hugo (1993a:63-64) argued

- " . The migration itself is much quicker if one moves illegally since the bureaucratic delays in processing migrant worker applications are considerable at the Indonesian end.
- . The illegal channels of movement and the calo that facilitate the movement are often well established, well known and trusted.
- . It can be cheaper moving illegally and there are informal arrangements in place to allow the migrants to "work off" their migration expenses in Malaysia.
- . In the registration exercise it was only allowed for workers to be given working permits in sectors where there was perceived labour shortage - construction, plantations and domestic service. In manufacturing, judgements were to be made on a case by case basis. Hence there would have been no incentive for illegal migrants to register if they were working in sectors other than those designated as labour shortage sectors. For example, there was considerable concern expressed by the large number of Indonesian sidewalk vendors in Kuala Lumpur and other Malaysian cities who took their case to the Indonesian Minister of Labour (*Kompas*, 3 July, 9 July 1992). They explained that since they were self-employed, they did not have an employer who could vouch for them and pay the foreign workers levy."

4.3 Indonesian Government Policy on Sending of Workers Overseas

As mentioned earlier, Indonesia is a latecomer to the international labour market. In the Broad Outline of the Nation's Direction (GBHN) it has been stated that the sending of workers overseas is an export of services to decrease unemployment and obtain foreign exchange (*devisa*). Moreover, the GBHN has stressed the need to

make efficient use of sending Indonesian manpower to countries which need workers and the necessity of protecting them in their overseas work places. The policy, which is the basis for the program for supplying Indonesian workers to other countries which was formulated in REPELITA V (The Fifth Five-year Development Plan) was as follows (Soeramsihono, 1992:3-4):

(a) To raise the activities of distribution and make efficient use of the manpower within the country and to other countries;

(b) To increase the quality of workers who will be sent to other countries, especially relating to their skill and workers' security;

(c) Always to motivate the LSM (non-government organisations) that supply OCWs to increase skill levels and workers' security, to monitor and to seek employment opportunities in overseas labour markets;

(d) To send Indonesian workers to other countries they have to pay attention to the dignity, human values, good reputation of the nation and country and the domestic needs of the workers;

(e) In REPELITA V, 500,000 skilled workers are planned to be sent to other countries;

(f) For expanding employment opportunities, a fund collection system will be tried by collecting money from OCWs.

This program is continued in REPELITA VI (The Sixth Five-year Development Plan) where it is planned to send 1,250,000 workers to other countries, especially skilled workers. The responsibility for the implementation of that policy lies with the Center for Overseas Employment (Pusat AKAN) in the Indonesian Manpower Department. At

the provincial level, the Regional Centre for Overseas Employment (Balai AKAN) takes the responsibility.

Pusat AKAN has stated the objectives of overseas employment as follows (Pusat AKAN, n.d):

- . expansion of employment opportunities;
- . increase of workers income;
- . increase of foreign exchange revenue;
- . closer relationships among countries and nations.

For achieving those objectives, Pusat AKAN has targets to send the greatest possible number of Indonesian workers abroad and to ensure the highest quality of workers in order to meet the demand for workers by companies, agencies and individuals for a certain period of time based upon a work agreement.

4.4 Implementation of the Overseas Worker Program

In the implementation of this Overseas Worker program, the Indonesian Government still faces many difficulties. In particular two issues are prominent - those surrounding female migration and illegal labour migration. Every day during the month of July 1992, when the fieldwork for this study commenced, the mass media in Indonesia was busy reporting about Indonesian OCWs to and in Malaysia, especially those who entered Malaysia

illegally. Since 1 July 1992, Malaysia has begun a crackdown on illegal immigrants, mainly the illegal foreign workers who missed the June 30 deadline to register and legalise their stay for temporary employment. It was estimated that about 100,000 illegal migrants had missed the chance to register and were hiding for fear of being caught (*Sinar Pagi*, 3, 28 July 1992). Malaysia had given a time for illegal migrants to register and legalise their stay for temporary employment since 1 November 1991. During that time about 320,000 illegals had registered themselves. Most of the illegal migrants in Malaysia are from Indonesia (*Sinar Pagi*, 3, 28 July 1992; *Berita Buana*, 16, 29 July 1992,).

The Indonesian government has instituted regulations which attempt to make it easier for Indonesian workers who go overseas for work, such as access to cheaper airplane tickets than for the general public and freedom from paying fiscal charges² (*Pelita*, 8 August 1988).

The Indonesian government has stressed that in the overseas workers program, the workers (OCWs) are not objects that can be sold or bought as commodities (see for example, the Head of Pusat AKAN, in *Kompas*, 19 October 1992). However, the facts show that OCWs are

² By regulation, each Indonesian person who goes overseas should pay fiscal charges to the amount of Rp 250.000.

becoming a source of income to many people, including labour suppliers. The business of recruitment and sending workers abroad has been growing, while the government has not yet been able to deal effectively with problems of exploitation of workers. Benefits are certainly accruing to recruiters, senders and employers but they are not always enjoyed by the workers themselves. Accordingly, the Head of Pusat AKAN (*Berita Yudha*, 27 July 1992) has said that Indonesian Labour Suppliers (PPTKI) should take the wellbeing of workers into account and plan for the long term, not focusing on short term benefits only.

The implementation of the overseas employment program in Indonesia is still not well organised. The Head of the Center for Overseas Employment (the Chairman of the Inter-country Workforce) has stated that consequently, there have been some significant difficulties in sending Indonesian OCWs to other countries (*Kompas*, 11 September 1992). The Indonesian Manpower Supplier Association (IMSA) came into being to assist the government in co-ordinating the Indonesian Labour Suppliers (PPTKI) in carrying out the program of overseas employment (AKAN). However, in reality (based on reports in the mass media in Indonesia) there are conflicts concerned with financial matters (see for an example, *Ekonomi Indonesia*, 23 July 1992). Furthermore, the fourth IMSA Congress

(Musyawarah Besar ke-4 IMSA) in November 1992 (*Kompas*, 18 February 1993) warned against the uncertainties of utilising funds in the IMSA.

The human exploitation of Indonesian overseas contract workers has been reported by the mass media in Indonesia, especially the exploitation of female housemaids who work in Saudi Arabia. Reports and stories about successful and unsuccessful experiences (including violence by the employers and agents for overseas employment/middlemen, exploitation from other members of the society both in the country of employment and in Indonesia) highlight the pros and cons of sending Indonesian women as domestic help. The exploitation of OCWs begins in the place of origin and continues in the country of employment and after they have returned again to Indonesia.

Before departure, some exploitation of workers comes from the middlemen, agents for overseas employment (PPTKI), and the so-called "*oknum*" (a government official who abuse his authority). Middlemen have an important role in recruiting candidates for overseas contract jobs. The candidates have to pay³ what the middleman asks if they want a chance to work in another country. Moreover,

³ According to the regulations (Ministerial Regulation NO:PER-01/MEN/1991) the recruiter is prohibited to charge a fee from candidates of overseas workers. But the new regulation (Ministerial Regulation NO:PER-02/MEN/1994) give a right to the recruiter to charge the fee.

although the candidate has paid, it is generally not a guarantee for obtaining work overseas. The following news items illustrate this.

- . 168 Indonesian workers (male and female) from villages in Kendal Regency, Central Java, were stopped by police when they were going to Malaysia as illegal migrant workers. Generally they paid Rp 350,000/person to go to Malaysia (*Pikiran Rakyat*, 7 July 1992).
- . 24 Indonesian workers who were sent by PPTKI, were neglected with poor conditions in Batam. Whereas they had paid Rp 750,000/person (*Jayakarta*, 4 July 1992).
- . 32 Indonesian's OCW from Cilacap were neglected by PPTKI with poor conditions. They can not enter Malaysia because they do not have formal documents (*Jayakarta*, 24 July 1992; *Merdeka*, 24 July 1992).
- . 48 Indonesian's OCW from Lombok, were arrested in Bali before they entered Malaysia illegally (*Pikiran Rakyat*, 24 July 1992).
- . Departure of 172 illegal Indonesian workers from Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, with the destination of Malaysia, were stopped by the police of West Lombok. They had paid 350-400 thousands rupiah and borrowed that money from their families (*Kompas*, 21 April 1993).

Although the policy of the Indonesian Government was for employers in other countries to pay the recruiting fee and transportation costs to their countries, workers in Indonesia generally still have to pay an amount of money to the recruiter. As explained in a previous chapter, males have to pay more than females, while for PPTKI (Indonesian Labour Suppliers) there are more benefits for sending female workers.

PPTKI have been known to manipulate information concerning OCWs in order to make it possible for them to go overseas. *Pelita* (30 March 1988) has reported a story of a female OCW from the outskirts of Cianjur. She was only 19 years old when she went to Saudi Arabia. After she finished high school she tried to find work, but no one would give her a job. Meanwhile her parents were aged already and so she had a responsibility to help her parents. She decided to work in Saudi Arabia, although her parents and her brother and sister did not agree. Actually she was not eligible to work overseas by the regulation, that insists that such workers must be married. After discussion with the labour supplier (PPTKI) where she applied, she received a letter stating "widower status because her husband is dead" from her village head. Finally she went to Saudi Arabia and fortunately she had a kind employer and was able to send money to her parents.

In the host country, the exploitation especially, has come from the employers of household servants. As an example, *Sinar Pagi* (9 March 1985) reported the case of a female OCW working hard in Saudi Arabia as a housemaid, whose life was made unbearable. She ate only once a day at 15.00 p.m local time, the food was only bread and chicken meat, she worked hard from dawn and had to move up and down the three floors of the house.

This issue is frequently reported upon by the mass media in Indonesia. In the *Jakarta Post* (6 July 1992) for example, it was reported that thousands of female Indonesian workers in Saudi Arabia were treated inhumanely by their employers. The Indonesian Embassy and the Ministry of Manpower which provide recommendations to overseas workers could not do much about solving the situation. But the following day (8 July 1992) *Suara Karya* reported that the Minister of Manpower, Cosmas Batubara, had said that the report by RCTI (Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia) of the two TKW who had been treated inhumanely, was biased and RCTI had to also report the stories of successful migrants. On 11 July 1992 *Pikiran Rakyat* reported an unpleasant story of a female OCW who had worked in Saudi Arabia. Previously (4 July 1992) *Tempo* had reported the story of an Indonesian housemaid in Singapore who was tortured by her employer. The employer felt that she had bought the housemaid so she could do anything she wanted.

In Saudi Arabia these incidents are common because, as Paulus Wirutomo (Director of Penelitian, Pengembangan dan Dokumentasi YTKI) has argued, housemaids have difficulty getting out from their employer's house which generally has a high fence. Meanwhile the housemaids generally do not know the address of the Office of the Indonesian

Embassy in Saudi Arabia and consequently not all OCWs who want to escape from their employers can make their way to the Indonesian Embassy (*Suara Karya*, 20 March 1990).

According to the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower (*Suara Karya*, 16 February 1988), based on information from the Indonesian Embassy in Saudi Arabia, of the 59,362 Indonesian female OCWs who were sent in the year 1987, there were 600 (about 1 percent) who were exposed as negative cases and the rest were shown to be successful. Since then most of the negative cases had been dealt with. According to the Head of the Jakarta Regional Office of the Manpower Department, from 2,612 return Indonesian OCWs who were served by the Accompanying and Pick Up Service Unit (Unit Jasa Pelayanan Pengantaran dan Penjemputan TKI), there were only nine so-called 'indecent' cases, 56 work contract infractions and 536 in unbearable situations, while most went home because they had finished their work contract (*Merdeka*, 24 November 1986).

Therefore, during the time OCWs worked in other countries, some experienced difficulties, while most of them did not. In the case of Sukasari's OCWs, 63.3 percent said they had had problems while working overseas. Table 4.7 shows those difficulties, with the

four most common difficulties faced by the OCWs being: language difficulties (52.6%), family separation (28.1%), a fierce employer (26.3%) and work overload (23.1%). The differences in their experiences overseas meant the OCWs had different perceptions about working overseas.

Table 4.7: The Problems Encountered By Sukasari's OCWs

Kind of Difficulty	%
Communicating with their employer	52.6
Separation from their family	28.1
A fierce employer	26.3
Work overload	23.1
Food	5.7
Weather	5.7
An employer who did not pay their wage	13.2
Prohibition from going out of the house	11.3
Other	3.8

Note: n = 53

Source: Field Data, 1992

When OCWs return to Indonesia, at Soekarno-Hatta International Airport, they are sometimes confronted by "oknum" on their arrival. As the Indonesian Minister of Manpower has said, reports were made about cases where OCWs, upon their arrival, were robbed of their goods at the airport, or the goods they brought back were not released from the airport storehouse. Moreover, according to the Head of the Regional Office of Manpower Department, Jakarta the field employees of the Manpower

Department have been threatened by the "oknum" in the line of duty (Merdeka, 24 November 1986).

4.5 Studies of Indonesian International Labour Migration

There has been growing interest in international worker movement issues in Indonesia since the 1980s, as a result of an increase in the volume of Indonesian workers going abroad. Emerging issues concerning these groups have received much attention in the Indonesian mass media (for examples see newspapers in the section of references), and seminars⁴ have been recently conducted especially to discuss the policy of government, problems and conditions of overseas contract workers, workers' protection, the exploitation of workers especially women, such as domestic violence, sexual abuse, extremely long working hours, unpaid workers, etc. (not only by employers abroad, but also by agents and middlemen in Indonesia). Consequently, there are a variety of popular assessments about the program of sending Indonesian workers overseas. In colonial times, Indonesian emigration was on a very small scale and the impact in most parts of Indonesia was

⁴ For examples *Seminar Sehari 'Sumbangsih Perguruan Tinggi dalam Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia melalui Optimalisasi Mutu Tenaga Kerja Wanita Indonesia ke Saudi Arabia*, UNPAD, Bandung 18 November 1992 and *Seminar Nasional Wanita II*, Bogor, 5-6 Agustus 1992.

small also. They moved out of Indonesia mostly under contract-coolie recruitment programmes to provide cheap labour for plantations, while others moved out spontaneously (Hugo, 1980:117).

Aware of the need to know more about employment opportunities abroad because of the effort of the Indonesian government to increase the export of Indonesian workers, RDCMD-YTKI (Research and Documentation Centre for Manpower and Development - YTKI) conducted a study (March-October 1986) of the prospects in the labour market in Saudi Arabia for Indonesian workers (RDCMD-YTKI, 1986). The purpose of that study was to identify the prospects of employment opportunities in the Saudi Arabian labour market in the near future and describe the problems/obstacles associated with the procedures and mechanisms of recruitment and sending of workers. Data were gathered from interviews with the representatives of various institutes or organisations related to the study, both in Indonesia and the Middle East (especially Saudi Arabia) and prospective workers. The analysis also used data from 400 files of Indonesian workers who were sent to the Middle East in the fiscal year 1985/1986. According to RDCMD-YTKI (1986) the demand for semi-skilled foreign workers in Saudi Arabia will

increase while unskilled labour, especially domestic servants, will still be required.

Several aspects of Indonesian workers in the Middle East countries and the impact on the socio-economic well-being of the migrant workers and their families have been examined, by Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada (Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Gadjah Mada University, 1986) and Adi (1986). These studies were primarily based on field surveys in 17 regencies having 100 overseas contract workers or more (Adi, 1986) in the West Java Province, Central Java Province, and the Special District of Yogyakarta (Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1986). These studies provided...

- . An overall picture of Indonesian Overseas Contract Workers going to the Middle East as the main destination;
- . The consequences of working overseas for migrants and their families;
- . The process of Indonesian workers consignment to the Middle East.

More specific studies by The Rural Development Foundation, Malang (1992) and from West Java by Supangat (1992) have studied the causes and consequences of women

from East Java working as domestic helpers in Saudi Arabia. Supangat (1992) conducted a field study among women from West Java who worked in Saudi Arabia, in order to establish the factors that motivated them to work there. The Rural Development Foundation (1992) thoroughly analysed the issue of workers' protection, and the process and mechanism of recruitment of female domestic helpers from East Java. Relating to women's movement, Hugo (1992a) has examined the changing levels and patterns of Indonesian female migration, particularly to other countries.

The Indonesian Manpower Development and Research Centre (Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Tenaga Kerja Departemen Tenaga Kerja, 1991), using data from interviews with returned female overseas contract workers and the heads of government and private institutions that are linked to the flow of remittances, has indicated the mechanism for sending remittances and suggested a method for increasing the utilisation of remittances. Hugo (1993a) has also attempted to synthesise the nature, causes and consequences of the patterns of labour movement between Indonesia and Malaysia. He discusses the important issues relating to maximizing benefits to all of the people involved and minimizing costs and negative effects of the movement. The migration of workers from

Indonesia to Malaysia is not a recent phenomenon, and in this flow, the middlemen have an important role. Spaan (1994) particularly discussed the role of middlemen and brokers in stimulating the movement of people from Java to overseas destinations.

Singhanetra-Renard (1984), Juridico (1986), Kelly (1987), Marius (1987), and Hugo (1993d, 1994b) have analysed the Indonesian overseas contract workers in terms of broader issues using secondary data. Singhanetra-Renard discusses policy development relating to Indonesian overseas contract workers since 1976. Juridico (1986) has identified a list of policy alternatives which policymakers may wish to look into for the improvement of Indonesia's overseas employment programme. Kelly (1987) examined the contribution of overseas employment to the domestic economy in terms of: the reduction of under- or unemployment, increases in foreign exchange through homeward remittance of earnings, effects on income distribution (which can be either positive or negative), and upgrading of average skill levels through the experience gained abroad by returning migrants. Marius (1987) examined the Indonesian experience and potential in the areas of remittances and reintegration. He addressed the question of how to generate optimal benefits from remittances in the form of foreign exchange

and personal savings for the national economy, while limiting related costs due to reintegration problems. Hugo reviewed trends in Indonesian labour migration and pointed out that "the increasing outflow of Indonesian workers to overseas is part of globalisation trends which are impinging upon Indonesia in many ways" (Hugo, 1993d:122). He observed that there is still a lack of knowledge about the scale, patterns, causes and consequences of this phenomenon which can be used in the development of policy to maximise the advantages and minimise the costs of Indonesian international labour migration. Moreover, Hugo (1994b) pointed out that the family has an important role in influencing Indonesian international contract worker migration and explored the impact of international contract worker movement upon family well-being and shifts in family structure and functioning in Indonesia.

A study by Spaan (1992) examined the types of and changes in migration patterns in relation to the process of socio-economic transformation in East Java. He examined three rural communities in East Java with different socio-economic characteristics and levels of development in relation to circulation, both international and national. Additionally, Cremer (1988) examined the Indonesian overseas employment program in terms of

increasing overseas employment of Indonesians. Based on field research Adi (1987a) has identified the problems related to employment of returned Indonesian overseas contract workers.

Tobing et al. (1990), Bethan (1993) and Kelana (1993) have published books on Indonesian OCWs in Saudi Arabia. Tobing et al. (1990) painted a negative picture of female OCWs, in contrast to Kelana (1993) who presented a positive picture of the migrants experience. Bethan (1993) described the happiness and sadness of female housemaids in Saudi Arabia, their motivation to work overseas and the deceitful practices of *calo* (middlemen), agents for overseas employment (PPTKI) and 'oknum' AKAN employees in sending female workers overseas to situations which led to the exploitation of female OCWs .

Other studies of Indonesian migrants in overseas destinations include those of Guinness (1990), Adi (1992) and Dorall and Paramasivam (1992). Guinness (1990) examined the presence and employment of Indonesians in the southern area of Johor (Malaysia) and the responses of the Malaysian government and the public to this phenomenon. Adi (1992) explained the process of Indonesian movement to Australia and some characteristics of the migrants. Dorall and Paramasivam (1992) presented

research findings on illegal Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia, focusing special attention on female migrants. They considered the causes of, mechanisms, and processes of entering Malaysia illegally.

4.6 Conclusion

The increase of Indonesian labour flows overseas, especially migrant flows through legal channels, was one of the consequences of Indonesian government policies to increase the number of workers going overseas. Although Indonesian workers go to many countries, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia are the two countries where most go to work. These two countries both have labour shortages and need foreign workers, and there are long historical linkages between those countries and Indonesia. These linkages have played an important role in facilitating population movement from Indonesia to Saudi Arabia and Malaysia (Hugo, 1993a:39).

The impact of international labour migration on Indonesia at the individual, household, community and nation level can not be clearly determined from any of the studies above. The present study attempts to overcome this shortcoming in the existing literature.

Chapter Five

THE CONTEXT OF POPULATION MOVEMENT:

THE STUDY AREA

5.1 Introduction

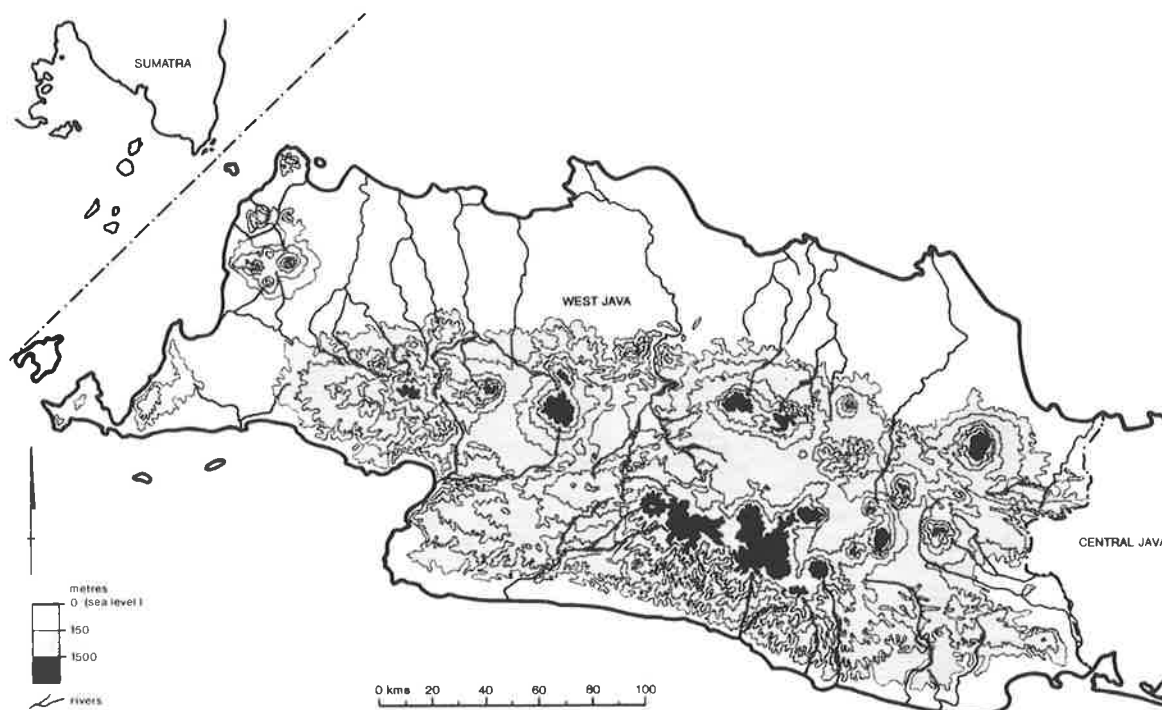
It has been recognised that examination of the context in which population movement occurs is a necessary part of analysing the causes and consequences of that movement (Hugo, 1978; Forbes, 1981; Bedford, 1981; Findley, 1987). Hugo (1978:41) in his study of population mobility in West Java, has argued that "the patterns of movement and their causes cannot be understood without a background knowledge of the basic features of the West Java people and the environment (social, demographic and economic, as well as physical) in which they live". Forbes (1981:69) in his Indonesian study has also argued that population mobility is "a reflection of the structure and processes within Indonesian society". To understand how rural development policy affects migration decisions, Findley (1987:4) maintains that "one must consider specifically the types of people in the community and the community characteristics or setting itself, as well as the types of governmental interventions".

In order to take full account of these important contextual considerations, this chapter presents a discussion of the changing demographic and socio-economic situation in the Province of West Java, shown in the last chapter to be the main source of official overseas labour migrants in Indonesia. In addition it analyses in some detail the situation of Sukasari village in *Kabupaten Cianjur*, West Java, in which the detailed fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken. This leads onto an examination of the causes of outmigration of OCWs from *Desa Sukasari* and the processes which are shaping that movement. In this chapter the analysis of the context of migration in *Desa Sukasari* is hampered by the lack of demographic and socio-economic information relating to the village. Like other village offices in *Kabupaten Cianjur*, data concerning the population and its potential are not well recorded and lack completeness and accuracy. Accordingly, data from these official sources has been used very carefully in this study and it has been supplemented with data from the National Population Census and the Village Population Registration of May 1991, which was collected for the general election of Indonesia on June 9, 1992.

5.2 The Physical Setting

The actual location of *Desa Sukasari* within *Kabupaten Cianjur*, West Java has been shown in Chapter Three (see Figure 3.10). West Java has a tropical climate with a high rainfall of more than 2,968 mm per year. It has fertile soil for agriculture in a wide plain in the north, a mountainous area in the centre and hilly and narrow seashore areas in the south. Figure 5.1 shows that it is traversed by five large rivers (Citarum, Cisadane, Cimanuk, Citanduy and Ciujung) on which a number of dams have been developed by government to assisted in irrigated agriculture (Nurdin, 1986). Twenty two percent of the land is used for wet-rice cultivation, 13 percent for plantation/estate and 22 percent is forest (Nurdin, 1986). Hence the West Java region is highly suited for agriculture and important in the agricultural development of Indonesia. However, because of the development of housing, industries and the expansion of government and commercial buildings, the extent of agricultural area has declined, with the wet-rice areas for example, decreasing from 27.3 percent in 1983 to 22.0 percent in 1986 and 20.2 percent in 1989 (Saefullah, 1992).

Figure 5.1: West Java: Physical Situation



Source: Hugo, 1978

The physical structure and climate of West Java varies considerably from one region to another. Although as a whole West Java has a high rainfall, with the highland areas receiving more rainfall than the lowland areas. During the dry season only the highland areas receive sufficient rainfall to ensure that the soil remains moist for most of the season (Hugo, 1975:35). The high rainfall in the wet season however, causes problems in the coastal areas, including the agricultural areas, due to flooding of the rivers. The quality of the soils for agricultural

activities differ in each region because "the northern and southern volcanic zones vary with the acidity of the volcanic ejecta" (Hugo, 1975:36). Moreover, the differences in ecological conditions within West Java have resulted in wide variations in the ability of each region to support its inhabitants.

Sukasari Village is located in the high rainfall highland area, in the northern part of *Kabupaten* Cianjur (Figure 3.10). This is a fertile area with trees and other plants growing rapidly (for example see Plate 5.1). With an area of 5.27 km², eighty two percent of the land is used for agricultural activities and ten percent for housing (*Desa* Sukasari, 1992). Sukasari Village consists of five sub-villages (*dusun*): Cilaku, Cilaku Hilir, Gegerbitung, Cijati and Palasari (Figure 5.2). Unfortunately, there is no data regarding the size of each *dusun*.

Figure 5.3 shows the transportation network of West Java. Sukasari is 9 km from Cianjur City, the capital city of *Kabupaten* Cianjur, 69 km from Bandung, the capital city of West Java Province and 131 km from Jakarta.¹ Cianjur City is located on the main roads linking Bandung-Bogor-

¹ In 1990, the population of Cianjur City, Bandung and Jakarta were 14,701, 2,056,915 and 8,222,515 respectively.

Jakarta and Bandung-Sukabumi, and is becoming a significant transit point for vehicles that go to Bandung, Sukabumi, Bogor or Jakarta. The road transport situation in West Java has improved dramatically over the last decade (Saefullah, 1992). The improvement in transportation now makes it easier for people to circulate (and in some cases, commute) from Sukasari to, for example, Sukabumi, Bogor, Bandung or Jakarta. This condition, moreover, is very important for prospective overseas migrant workers in Sukasari who need to obtain



Plate 5.1: A Wet rice field in Sukasari: green and fertile

information and apply for overseas work, since Pusat AKAN and most overseas agents are located in Jakarta. It is a sustained criticism of the Indonesian Department of Manpower's Overseas Worker Program that obtaining permission to go overseas is a long drawn out process involving visits to a large number of government offices (Hugo, 1993a:45, 63, 1993b:116; Spaan, 1994:109).

Figure 5.2: Sukasari Village

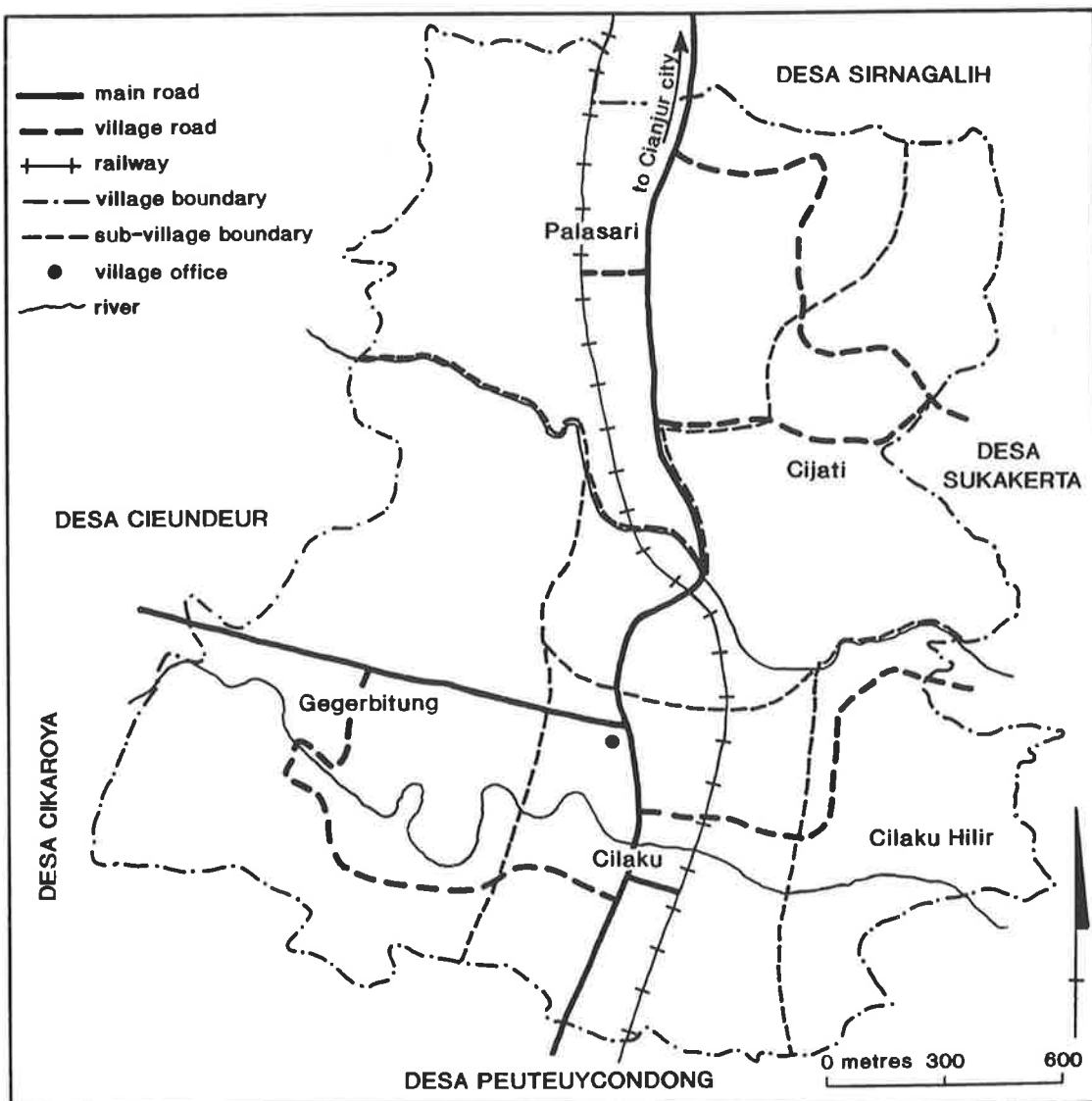
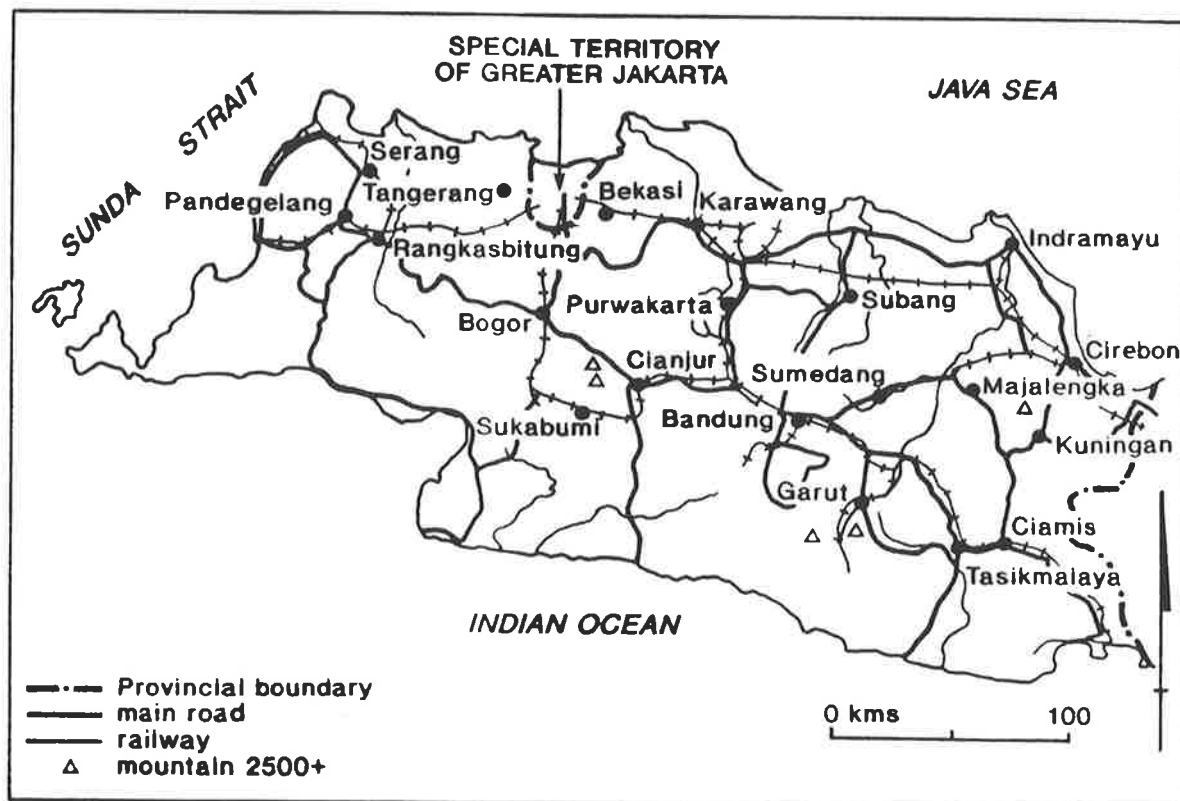


Figure 5.3: Transportation Networks, West Java



Source: Hardjono and Hill, 1989:254

5.3 The Province of West Java

5.3.1 Population Growth and Distribution

West Java is the most populous province in Indonesia with a total population of 35.4 million in 1990. During the 1980s it surpassed East Java as the largest province in Indonesia. In the 1970s East Java grew at a much slower rate (1.5 percent per annum) than West Java (2.7 percent per annum). While in the 1980s the population growth rate in East Java decreased to 1.1 percent while West Java's remained steady (2.6 percent) (Table 5.1 and Figure 5.4).

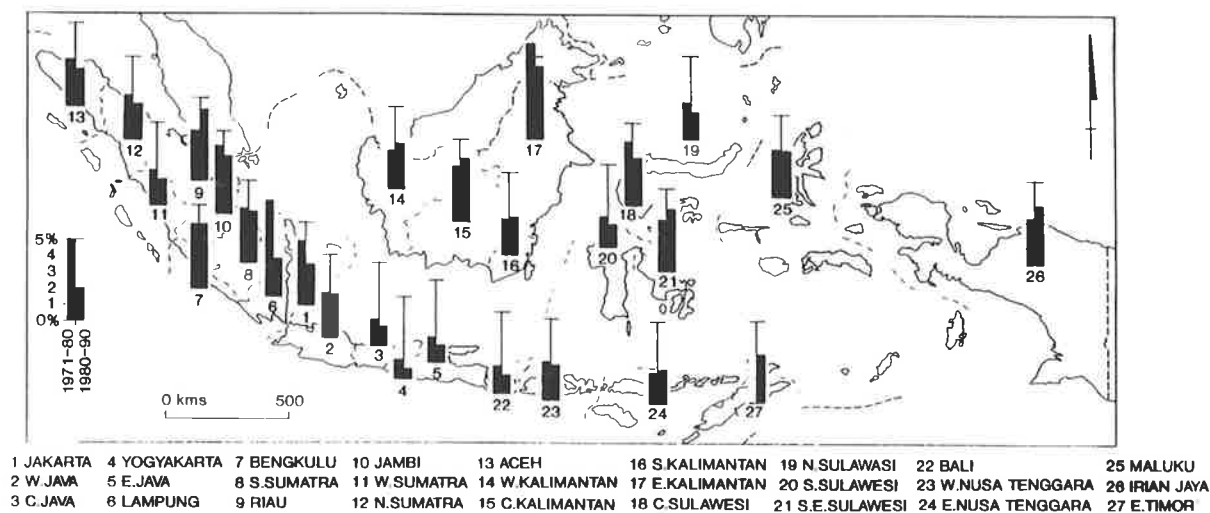
The Total Fertility Rate in West Java during 1976-1979 reached 5.1, making it the highest among the Java provinces and above the national average of 4.9 (Nurdin, 1986:36). Although by 1991 the Total Fertility Rate in this region had decreased to 3.6, but remained higher than other Java provinces and above the national average of 3.1 (Singarimbun, 1991:15). The high growth rate of West Java's population however is not only because of relatively high fertility, it is also because, as Hugo (1993b:40) points out, of the 'overspill' of Jakarta's urban development.

Table 5.1: Population Distribution and Growth Rate of Indonesia, 1971 to 1990.

Province	Number (000)			Growth Rate (%per annum)	
	1971	1980	1990	1971-1980	1980-1990
01 D.I Aceh	2009	2611	3416	2.9	2.7
02 North Sumatera	6622	8361	10256	2.9	2.7
03 West Sumatera	2793	3407	4000	2.2	1.6
04 Riau	1642	2169	3304	3.1	4.3
05 Jambi	1006	1446	2021	4.1	3.4
06 South Sumatera	3441	4630	6313	3.3	3.2
07 Bengkulu	519	768	1179	4.4	4.4
08 Lampung	2777	4625	6018	5.8	2.7
09 DKI Jakarta	4579	6503	8259	3.9	2.4
10 West Java	21624	27453	35384	2.7	2.6
11 Central Java	21877	25373	28521	1.6	1.2
12 D.I Yogyakarta	2489	2751	2913	1.5	1.1
13 East Java	25517	29189	32504	1.5	1.1
14 Bali	2120	2470	2778	1.7	1.2
15 West Nusa Tenggara	2203	2725	3370	2.4	2.2
16 East Nusa Tenggara	2295	2737	3269	2.0	1.8
17 East Timor	-	555	748	-	3.0
18 West Kalimantan	2020	2486	3229	2.3	2.7
19 Central Kalimantan	702	954	1396	3.4	3.9
20 South Kalimantan	1699	2065	2598	2.2	2.3
21 East Kalimantan	734	1218	1877	5.7	4.4
22 North Sulawesi	1718	2115	2478	2.3	1.6
23 Central Sulawesi	914	1290	1711	3.9	2.9
24 South Sulawesi	5181	6062	6982	1.7	1.4
25 Southeast Sulawesi	714	942	1350	3.1	3.7
26 Maluku	1090	1411	1856	2.9	2.8
27 Irian Jaya	923	1174	1649	2.7	3.5
Total	119208	147490	179379	2.3	2.0

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1994

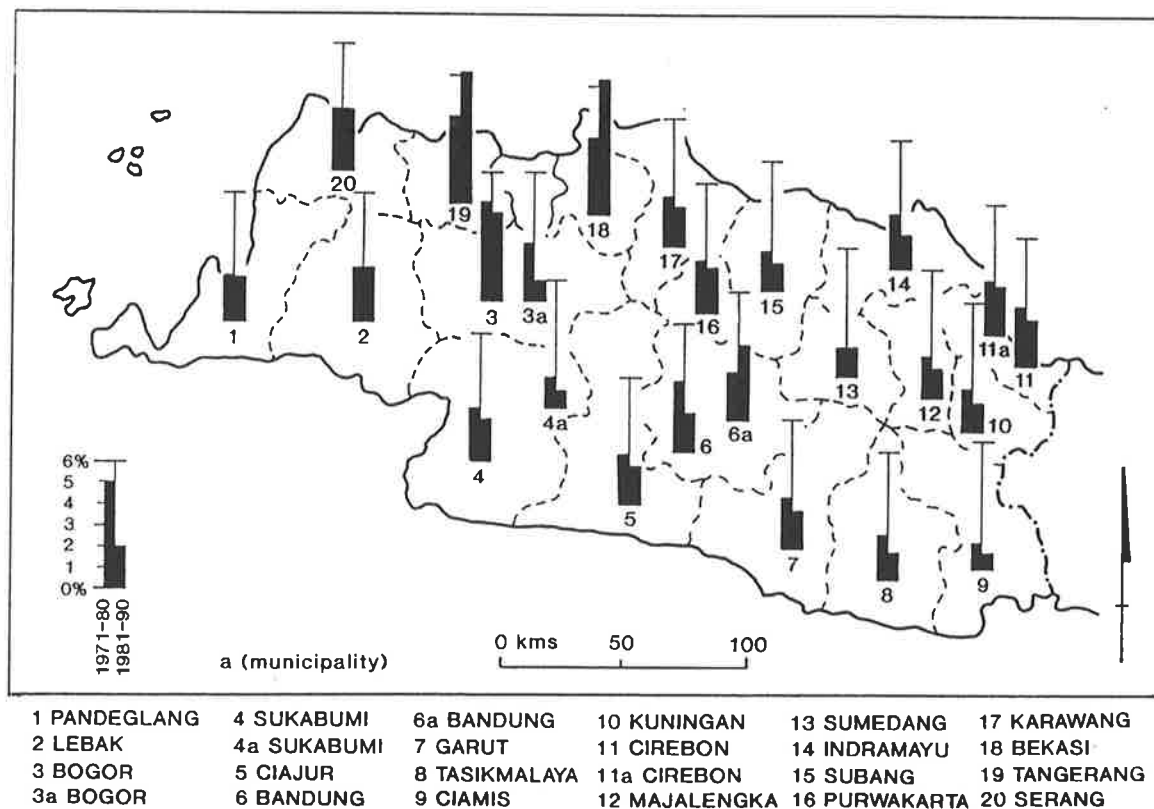
Figure 5.4: Annual Population Growth Rates in Indonesia by Province, 1971-1980 and 1980-1990



Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1994

Within West Java there are differences in the levels of population growth (Figure 5.5). During the 1970's the population growth rate in *Kabupaten* Cianjur was 2.4 percent per annum, below the average population growth rate of West Java during that period (2.7 percent) but significantly higher than the national rate (Table 5.2). During the 1980s the population growth rate decreased in most regions except the *Kabupaten* of Bekasi and Tangerang and *Kotamadya* Bandung. In these three regions the rate of

Figure 5.5: Annual Population Growth Rate in West Java by Regencies/Municipalities, 1971-1980 and 1980-1990



Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1974, 1983, 1993
Saefullah, 1992

population growth increased surprisingly from 3.6 (Bekasi), 4.1 (Tangerang) and 2.2 (Kotamadya Bandung) to become 6.3, 6.1, and 3.5 respectively. The population growth rate in *Kabupaten* Bogor decreased but the rate was still high (4.1 percent per annum) during 1980-1990. The increase of population in these regions (*Kabupaten* Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi and *Kotamadya* Bandung) was largely associated with Jakarta's residential and industrial development which has overspilled into the

adjoining West Java *Kabupaten* of Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi and *Kotamadya* Bandung (Hugo, 1993b:40, 1993d:47).

Table 5.2 Number and Growth Rate of Population and Urbanisation, *Kabupaten* in West Java, 1971-1990

Regency/Municipality	Number of Population (000)			Growth Rate of Population (% per annum)		Growth Rate of Urbanisation (% per annum)
	1971	1980	1990	1971-1980	1980-1990	1980-1990
Regencies						
01. Pandeglang	572.6	694.8	849.2	2.2	2.1	-0.1
02. Lebak	546.4	682.9	884.6	2.5	2.5	3.0
03. Bogor	1,667.7	2,493.8	3,750.7	4.6	4.1	26.4
04. Sukabumi	1,210.6	1,517.6	1,840.0	2.5	2.0	4.7
05. Cianjur	1,125.5	1,387.6	1,663.0	2.4	1.8	1.6
06. Bandung	1,985.4	2,669.2	3,219.9	3.3	1.8	16.4
07. Garut	1,200.4	1,483.0	1,733.8	2.4	1.7	2.2
08. Tasikmalaya	1,313.3	1,593.2	1,804.6	2.2	1.3	5.3
09. Ciarnis	1,225.6	1,367.6	1,450.7	1.2	0.8	3.5
10. Kuningan	658.6	786.4	884.6	2.0	1.3	10.4
11. Cirebon	1,041.9	1,331.7	1,663.1	2.8	2.2	19.5
12. Majalengka	749.1	897.7	1,026.1	2.0	1.4	5.9
13. Sumedang	637.9	723.6	849.2	1.4	1.4	1.4
14. Indramayu	985.4	1,237.5	1,450.7	2.6	1.6	8.9
15. Subang	898.2	1,065.3	1,203.1	1.9	1.3	3.9
16. Purwakarta	371.5	458.0	566.1	2.4	2.1	5.1
17. Karawang	1,003.7	1,236.6	1,486.1	2.4	1.9	8.9
18. Bekasi	830.8	1,143.5	2,123.0	3.6	6.3	38.3
19. Tangerang	1,066.7	1,529.0	2,760.0	4.1	6.1	39.8
20. Serang	859.4	1,109.2	1,486.1	2.9	2.9	7.3
Municipalities						
21. Bogor	195.1	246.9	283.1	2.7	1.0	nd
22. Sukabumi	96.2	109.9	106.2	1.5	0.9	nd
23. Bandung	1,200.4	1,461.4	2,052.3	2.2	3.5	-1.5
24. Cirebon	178.5	223.5	247.7	2.5	2.2	9.1
Total	21,621.0	27,449.8	35,384.0	2.7	2.6	13.7

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1974, 1983, 1993;
Saefullah, 1992; Dhanani and Sanito, 1994

As is the case in all Indonesia, the population in the urban areas of West Java has grown at a faster rate than that in rural areas. The proportion of people living in rural areas has decreased from 87.6 percent in 1971 to 79.0 percent in 1980 and 65.5 percent in 1990 (Table 5.3). Four factors are involved in this: net rural to

urban migration, the reclassification of former rural areas to become urban areas, higher fertility in urban areas than rural areas, and lower mortality in urban areas than in rural areas (Hugo, 1993f:47). Table 5.3 shows that the urbanisation rate in West Java is faster

Table 5.3: Population Distribution of West Java, by Urban/Rural Areas and Gender, 1971 to 1990

Urban/Rural	1971	1980	1990
Urban: male	1,331,574	2,893,998	6,132,675
female	1,351,549	2,876,870	6,077,040
Total	2,683,123	5,770,868	12,209,715
%	12.4	21.0	34.5
Indonesia	17.2	22.4	30.9
Rural: male	9,302,391	10,770,571	11,603,098
female	9,635,436	10,908,401	11,568,869
Total	18,937,827	21,678,972	23,171,967
%	87.6	79.0	65.5
Indonesia	82.8	77.6	69.1
Total	21,620,950	27,449,840	35,381,682
West Java	100.0	100.0	100.0
Indonesia	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1974, 1983, 1993
Hugo, 1993b

than Indonesia as a whole. Urbanisation in Indonesia, moreover, is "likely to increase faster than the Asian and Southeast Asian region as a whole" (Hugo, 1993f:48). The rapid growth of the urban population of West Java was to a large degree associated with the overspill of Jakarta into surrounding regions (Table 5.2).

The differences in population growth rates between regencies/ municipalities (*Kabupaten/Kotamadya*) has changed the balance of population distribution and density in the province (Table 5.4). The uneven distribution of population in West Java has been caused not only by variation in the population growth rate, but also by of considerable variation in the ecology of the province and consequently in the ability to support an agricultural population, proximity to the major urban complexes of Jakarta and Bandung, and differences in the Gross Domestic Product in each region (Table 5.4).

Imbalances in population distribution in Indonesia have been identified by the government as a significant barrier to development (Country Report: Indonesia, 1992:1-2; BPS, 1994:88). The population of Indonesia was estimated to be 184.35 million people in mid-1992 with an average growth rate of 1.6 percent. Although this is the fourth largest population in the world, sixty percent of the islands (there are about 17,500 islands in the Indonesian archipelago) are not inhabited or are very sparsely populated (Country Report: Indonesia, 1992:1-2). However, the reality is that the outer Islands are not ecologically suited for intensive settlement (Country Report: Indonesia, 1992:3).

Table 5.4: Population Distribution and Population Density of West Java, 1971 to 1990

Region	Area	Population Distribution (%)			Population Density (per km ²)			Dependency Ratio (ratio working to unworking)	GDP per Capita (Rupiah)	Growth Rate 1985-90
		1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990			
Regencies:										
01 Pandeglang	5.02	2.6	2.5	2.4	202	266	329	55	355,417	8.3
02 Lebak	7.41	2.5	2.5	2.5	175	219	280	53	343,977	8.9
03 Bogor	6.56	7.7	9.1	10.6	497	743	1,113	44	423,934	4.9
04 Sukabumi	7.69	5.6	5.5	5.2	308	386	470	58	238,444	2.8
05 Cianjur	11.18	5.2	5.1	4.7	325	401	480	59	355,810	5.9
06 Bandung	7.26	9.2	9.7	9.1	653	878	1,053	53	546,874	4.9
07 Garut	5.45	5.6	5.4	4.9	387	477	563	57	370,510	6.6
08 Tasikmalaya	6.30	6.1	5.8	5.1	479	581	662	76	331,328	5.4
09 Ciamis	7.05	5.7	5.0	4.1	486	543	587	94	365,372	4.2
10 Kuningan	2.50	3.0	2.9	2.5	590	704	799	64	283,725	0.9
11 Cirebon	2.25	4.8	4.9	4.7	1,070	1,367	1,693	49	321,380	3.1
12 Majalengka	2.18	3.5	3.3	2.9	620	743	854	75	395,975	3.3
13 Sumedang	3.66	3.0	2.6	2.4	449	509	585	67	440,683	7.5
14 Indramayu	4.59	4.6	4.5	4.1	509	639	748	53	2,025,562	1.0
15 Subang	4.70	4.2	3.9	3.4	482	572	647	67	384,412	4.6
16 Purwakarta	2.22	1.7	1.7	1.6	448	552	678	55	418,221	6.0
17 Karawang	3.96	4.6	4.5	4.2	636	783	1,333	47	347,319	2.4
18 Bekasi	3.66	3.8	4.2	6.0	647	891	1,639	48	560,281	5.5
19 Tangerang	2.94	4.9	5.6	7.8	1,022	1,465	2,648	49	577,021	5.4
20 Serang	3.07	4.0	4.0	4.2	458	591	784	45	917,236	9.9
Municipalities										
21 Bogor	0.05	0.9	0.9	0.8	8,629	10,899	11,953	40	596,602	4.9
22 Sukabumi	0.03	0.5	0.4	0.3	7,954	9,090	9,912	54	578,671	5.2
23 Bandung	0.19	5.6	5.3	5.8	14,820	18,057	25,394	54	643,324	7.5
24 Cirebon	0.08	0.8	0.8	0.7	4,774	5,983	6,804	48	994,838	5.4
West Java	100	100	100	100	501	636	819	55	520,528	4.7
Indonesia									622,092	4.4

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1974, 1983, 1993; Nurdin, 1986; Dhanani and Sanito, 1994

One of the efforts to "balance" Indonesia's population distribution is a government program to transmigrate² people from the relatively heavily populated regions of Java-Madura, Bali and Lombok to the more sparsely populated areas in the outer islands. In the last twenty five years about 1.3 million households (about 5 million

² Transmigration is the Indonesian term for an organised and sponsored transfer of the people from Java-Madura, Bali and Lombok to more sparsely populated areas in the outer islands.

people) moved from Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok to the outer islands (Hugo, 1993b:44). In the Sixth Five Year Development Plan (1994/95 - 1998/99), the Indonesian Government plan to transmigrate 600,000 families (REPELITA VI, Buku III). The transmigration program has been the subject of a considerable amount of criticism (eg. Hardjono, 1977; Titus, 1992). The problems faced by the program include, among other things, the problems associated with the isolation of areas; some transmigration areas are not sufficiently fertile; and transportation infrastructure is still limited (REPELITA VI, Buku III).

Between 1986/87 and 1990/91, transmigrants from West Java totalled 131,700 families, most of them being spontaneous migrants, that is not in receipt of any government assistance. From *Kabupaten* Cianjur 5,645 families transmigrated during that time (Table 5.5). The contribution of transmigration to bringing about balance in population distribution in Indonesia, nevertheless, is still very small. Hugo (1993b:45) points out that "transmigration is only one element (and not the largest one) in a substantial migration from Java to the other islands."

Table: 5.5: Total Transmigration of West Java and Kabupaten Cianjur 1986/87 - 1990/91

	West Java		Kabupaten Cianjur	
	-----		-----	
	No. of Families		No. of Families	
	Sponsored	Spontaneous	Sponsored	Spontaneous
1986/87	8,045	44,317	804	1,003
1987/88	3,901	50,729	459	2,100
1988/89	2,138	16,671	213	703
1989/90	989	3,845	57	178
1990/91	450	615	75	53

Source: Kantor Statistik Propinsi Jawa Barat, 1989, 1990 and 1991

Population distribution in Indonesia has changed significantly since the 1930 Census (Table 5.6). The proportion of the total population in Java has decreased from 68.5 percent in 1930 to 60.0 percent in 1990. The proportions living in West Java, however, increased from 17.9 percent in 1930 to 18.1 percent in 1961 and 1971, 18.6 (1980) and 19.7 percent in 1990. The growth of population has increased the pressure on agricultural resources. As a result, the people of West Java (Sukasari as well) are increasingly looking for work in the non-agricultural sector.

Table 5.6: Distribution of Indonesian Population According to Island (in 1,000,000)

Island	area (%)	1930		1961		1971		1980		1990	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Java	6.9	41.7	68.5	63.0	65.0	76.1	63.8	91.3	61.9	107.6	60.0
Sumatera	24.7	8.2	13.5	15.7	16.2	20.8	17.5	28.0	19.0	36.5	20.3
Kalimantan	28.1	2.2	3.6	4.1	4.2	5.2	4.4	6.7	4.5	9.1	5.1
Sulawesi	9.9	4.2	6.9	7.1	7.3	8.5	7.1	10.4	7.1	12.5	7.0
Other islands	30.4	4.6	7.5	7.1	7.3	8.6	7.2	11.1	7.5	13.7	7.6
Total	100	60.9	100	97.0	100	119.2	100	147.5	100	179.4	100
West Java	2.4	10.9	17.9	17.6	18.1	21.6	18.1	27.5	18.6	35.4	19.7

Source: Mantra, Harahap and Sunarti, 1988; Hugo, 1993b; Biro Pusat Statistik, 1994

5.3.2 Socio-Economic Conditions

The annual Gross Regional Domestic Product in West Java in 1986-1991 was the highest among Indonesia's provinces (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1994:620) although per capita GDP at 1983 constant prices (Rp 535,000 in 1991) was a little below some provinces. The respective Indonesian Censuses have indicated that the majority of West Java's people work in the agricultural sector (Table 5.7). However, the proportion decreased from 58 percent in 1971 to 47.8 percent in 1980 and reached 36.8 percent in 1990. Meanwhile, the proportion of people who worked in the non-agricultural sector has increased. "An increasing volume of rural people have begun to participate in the urban economy in recent years, especially in and adjoining Java's major cities" (Manning, 1987:52). The local people in rural areas who do not have either work

or land, seek work in the non-agricultural sector, especially in the urban areas of Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi (Hugo, 1993b:40).

Table 5.7: Population Aged 10 Years and Over by Occupation, West Java 1971-1990, Kabupaten Cianjur and Desa Sukasari 1990

Main Industry	1971	1980	1990		
			West Java	Kabupaten Cianjur	Desa Sukasari
01 Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting, Fishery	58.0	47.8	36.8	64.6	72.6
02 Mining and Quarrying	0.1	0.8	1.1	0.5	-
03 Manufacturing Industry	6.6	10.5	16.2	6.0	1.3
04 Electricity, Gas and Water	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	-
05 Construction	2.3	4.2	5.7	3.6	4.5
06 Wholesale Trade, Retail Trade, Restaurants	12.1	15.9	18.7	13.3	6.4
07 Transportation, Storage, Communication	2.8	3.6	5.3	3.0	-
08 Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services	0.2	0.6	1.1	0.3	-
09 Public Services	10.4	15.5	13.9	8.5	2.9
10 Others	7.4	1.0	0.9	0.1	12.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1974, 1983 and 1993
Mantri Statistik Kecamatan Cianjur, 1991

There has been a tendency for the proportion of females who were employed in both rural and urban areas to have increased since 1971, which shows that the proportion of female participation in economic activities has increased. Hugo (1993b:54) has pointed out that "the reason was a substantial increase in the proportion of women reporting themselves economically active between 1980 and 1990". Table 5.8 shows the activity of West Java's population (aged 10 years and over) and the participation of women in economic activities has

increased. However an important point here is that female workforce participation in West Java is still well below the rate for Indonesia as a whole. As is shown in Table 5.8, in 1990 female participation in economic activities was only 25.5 percent in urban areas (30.5 percent for Indonesia) and 29.3 percent in rural areas (48.3 percent for Indonesia). Although the female workforce participation rate is still low for West Java, the following must be considered:

- . "the Sundanese women are less likely to work outside the home than their Javanese counterparts" (Hugo, 1993b:60);
- . "almost certainly the large number of women working as *pembantu rumah tangga* (household domestic workers) were not included in the workforce but in the 'housekeeping' category (Hugo, 1993b:147);
- . there is a significant number of West Javanese women participating in legal international contract labour (Pusat AKAN, 1992);
- . "among the major migration streams to Jakarta, only that from West Java has a predominance of females" (Hugo, 1975:333). The increase of population and wealth of the middle and upper classes among Jakarta's residents, "has created a considerable demand for young females to be

employed in domestic work" (Hugo, 1975:335), and these are the opportunities West Javanese women take up.

Kabupaten Cianjur together with Kabupaten Ciamis, Tasikmalaya, Garut, Sumedang, Bandung, Sukabumi and Kotamadya Bandung and Sukabumi, are all included in one

Table 5.8: The Population of Aged 10 Years and Over by Activity, Place of Residence and Gender, West Java, 1971, 1980, 1990 Census.

Region		Working	Looking for a job	Attending school	House- keeping	Others	Total
Urban Area							
Male	1971	50.0	9.2	25.1	2.3	13.4	100
	1980	56.2	1.6	27.5	0.8	13.9	100
	1990	61.5	3.6	23.6	0.9	10.5	100
	Indonesia (1990)	57.9	3.5	29.3	0.5	8.8	100
Female	1971	13.5	6.1	19.3	49.8	11.2	100
	1980	18.8	0.6	22.1	47.6	10.9	100
	1990	25.5	1.9	20.5	44.1	8.0	100
	Indonesia (1990)	30.5	2.1	26.4	34.3	6.6	100
Rural Area							
Male	1971	61.5	7.9	13.1	4.7	12.8	100
	1980	68.1	1.0	16.9	1.1	12.9	100
	1990	70.9	2.0	15.7	0.9	10.5	100
	Indonesia (1990)	74.2	1.0	18.8	0.3	5.7	100
Female	1971	22.8	5.6	9.4	52.2	9.9	100
	1980	25.4	0.8	12.9	49.4	11.5	100
	1990	29.3	1.4	13.4	46.7	9.2	100
	Indonesia (1990)	48.3	0.7	17.5	26.4	7.1	100

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1974, 1983, 1993 and 1992

region that is called 'The Priangan Region' (Figure 5.5). The *Priangan* Region is usually associated with the homeland of the Sundanese People and Cianjur was the capital city of this region before 1864 (Saefullah, 1992). Saefullah (1992) has described some of the distinctive characteristics of the Sundanese community as

follows (see also Rosidi, 1984:133-4,155; Jackson and Moeliono, 1973:17-8; Suhamihardja, 1984:213-4):

- . the Sundanese community has been a democratic society and easily accepts changes from outside the community;
- . the Sundanese community has a strong tendency to respect and obey a person with high status, either for socio-cultural reasons or socio-economic reasons (patron-client relationship);
- . In the Sundanese community a woman is highly respected but somewhat restricted compared to other groups in Indonesia which have different languages, customs and traditions;
- . Leadership in Sundanese culture emphasises kinship, religion and economic status.

5.4 Desa Sukasari

5.4.1 Population Distribution and Density

The population density in Desa Sukasari is lower than in the urban areas within *Kecamatan* Cianjur. With an area of 5.3 km², the population density of *Desa* Sukasari is 1,649 persons per km² or 426 households per km² (Table 5.9). Generally the population density in other rural villages in *Kecamatan* Cianjur is not much different (the average is 1,325 persons per Km² or 331 households per km²). By comparison *Kecamatan* Cianjur's urban villages average 7,774 persons or 2,058 households per km². The average

number of household members in Sukasari (3.9) is lower than *Kecamatan* Cianjur's urban households (4.6) and slightly lower than *Kecamatan* Cianjur's rural households (4.0).

The area of *Desa* Sukasari (7 percent of *Kecamatan* Cianjur) is fairly extensive compared to other *desa* in *Kecamatan* Cianjur (Table 5.9). In 1990 the population of *Desa* Sukasari was 4.4 percent of the population of *Kecamatan* Cianjur (Table 5.10). Most of the land in Sukasari is used for agricultural activities, and only 10.9 percent is used for housing (*Desa* Sukasari, 1991:1).

According to Village Registration data, the population of *Desa* Sukasari in 1991 was 8,114 and of these 4,811 were aged fifteen years and older. Table 5.11 shows the distribution of people in each *dusun* of Sukasari in 1991 and the estimated number of OCWs (returnees and OCWs who were still abroad) in 1992. The largest representaken of OCWs both in numeral and proportional terms was in Cilaku.

**Table 5.9: Population Density of Kecamatan Cianjur
by Desa (Urban and Rural Areas), 1990**

Urban/Rural Village	Area	Population Density (per km ²)		Average Persons per House- hold
		Popu- lation	House- hold	
<u>Urban-village</u>				
01. Sawahgede	1.9	8,046	1,652	4.9
02. Pamoyanan	1.2	15,910	3,631	4.4
03. Bojongherang	2.6	7,418	1,658	4.5
04. Muka	1.2	18,502	4,058	4.6
05. Solokpandan	0.9	22,464	4,758	4.7
06. Sayang	2.5	15,520	3,222	4.8
07. Limbangansari	3.0	2,449	569	4.3
08. Mekarsari	2.8	3,593	852	4.2
sub-total	16.0	7,774	2,058	4.6
<u>Rural-village</u>				
09. Sukasari	7.0	1,649	426	3.9
10. Babakankaret	6.6	953	239	4.0
11. Nagrak	5.6	1,952	441	4.4
12. Rancagoong	4.7	1,564	383	4.1
13. Sirnagalih	8.3	1,763	420	4.2
14. Munjul	4.4	1,511	352	4.3
15. Sukamaju	4.6	1,459	346	4.2
16. Rahong	7.1	1,076	279	3.9
17. Ciharashas	6.5	1,241	296	4.2
18. Cibironghilir	6.8	909	239	3.8
19. Sukakerta	6.9	1,442	399	3.6
20. Sindangsari	8.9	955	264	3.6
21. Mulyasari	6.9	987	245	4.0
sub-total	84.0	1,325	331	4.0
Total	100.0	2,632	608	4.3

Source: Mantri Statistik Kecamatan Cianjur, 1991

**Table 5.10: Population Distribution of Kecamatan Cianjur
by Desa (Urban and Rural Areas) and Gender,
1990**

Urban/Rural Village	Male	Female	Total	%	Sex Ratio
<u>Urban-village</u>					
01. Sawahgede	5,528	5,761	11,289	5.7	96
02. Pamoyanan	7,332	7,369	14,701	7.4	100
03. Bojongherang	7,273	7,466	14,739	7.4	97
04. Muka	8,222	8,448	16,670	8.4	97
05. Solokpandan	7,347	7,569	14,916	7.5	97
06. Sayang	14,467	14,556	29,023	14.6	99
07. Limbangansari	2,706	2,775	5,481	2.8	96
08. Mekarsari	3,786	3,730	7,516	3.8	102
sub-total	56,661	57,674	114,335	57.7	98
<u>Rural-village</u>					
09. Sukasari	4,444	4,239	8,683	4.4	105
10. Babakankaret	2,441	2,328	4,769	2.4	105
11. Nagrak	4,190	4,047	8,237	4.2	104
12. Rancagoong	2,788	2,717	5,505	2.8	103
13. Sirnagalih	5,544	5,520	11,064	5.6	100
14. Munjul	2,488	2,495	4,983	2.5	100
15. Sukamaju	2,545	2,487	5,032	2.5	102
16. Rahong	2,863	2,905	5,768	2.9	99
17. Ciharashas	3,073	3,039	6,112	3.1	101
18. Cibironghilir	2,333	2,307	4,640	2.3	101
19. Sukakerta	3,729	3,747	7,476	3.8	100
20. Sindangsari	3,200	3,174	6,374	3.2	101
21. Mulyasari	2,511	2,647	5,158	2.6	95
sub-total	42,149	41,652	83,801	42.3	101
Total	98,810	99,326	198,136	100.0	100

Source: Mantri Statistik Kecamatan Cianjur, 1991

Table 5.11 The Population of Sukasari by Dusun, 1991

<i>Dusun</i>	Total popu- lation (May 1991)	Total house- hold	Overseas Contract Workers	
			Total	% from total household*
1. Cilaku	2,052	500	127	25.4
2. Cilaku Hilir	1,441	406	77	19.0
3. Gegerbitung	1,415	393	87	22.1
4. Cijati	1,844	443	54	12.2
5. Palasari	1,362	356	37	10.4
Total	8,114	2,098	382	18.2

Note: * With the assumption that no household has more than one OCW. The households with more than one OCW are small in number.

Source: Field data, 1992
Population Registration, Sukasari, May 1991

5.4.2 Socio-Economic Conditions

The majority of people in *Desa Sukasari*, as well as in West Java generally work as farmers (Table 5.12). The situation of Sukasari village 1991 shows that 492 (20.9%) males and 2,195 (89.3%) females were unemployed (aged 15 years old and over). The high proportion of female unemployment, as explained previously, is related to the definition of work where female participation in economic activities in agricultural areas is ignored. Moreover, as Hugo observed (1993e) in Java, the transplanting of rice,

harvesting, threshing, sowing and weeding actually tend to be dominated by women. Therefore, when the survey was done in late 1992, 76.6 percent of female OCWs in Sukasari stated that they were unemployed before working overseas. The proportion for male OCWs was only 30 percent.

Table 5.12: Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Employment Status/Type, Sex and Dusun, Desa Sukasari , 1991 (percentages)

Employment	Cilaku		Cilaku Hilir		Gegerbitung		Cijati		Palasari		Total (n)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
-Sukasari Village												
-Employee	0.7	-	0.3	-	0.6	-	-	-	0.9	-	9	-
-Farmer	24.5	10.3	52.0	28.3	53.9	74.5	54.9	84.2	44.7	-	853	122
-Entrepreneur	27.0	7.7	4.2	-	25.3	6.4	3.5	1.3	9.4	0.1	259	11
-Merchant	5.2	7.7	17.1	20.8	8.6	8.5	8.9	3.9	9.7	0.1	182	25
-Teacher	2.0	10.3	1.4	-	1.1	4.3	0.7	-	0.3	0.3	21	13
-Civil Servant	8.3	17.9	0.6	1.9	-	-	1.4	1.3	1.6	-	46	16
-State Enterprise												
-Employee	0.5	-	0.3	-	0.3	-	0.2	-	-	-	5	-
-Private Enterprise Employee	19.8	30.8	21.3	47.2	7.8	4.3	25.6	5.3	29.2	0.5	385	60
-Driver	5.5	-	0.6	-	1.4	-	3.5	-	1.9	-	50	-
-Craftsman	0.5	-	-	-	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
-Domestic Help	0.5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	2	5
-Midwife	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	1
-Pension	5.5	10.3	2.2	1.9	0.3	2.1	1.2	1.3	2.2	-	43	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
Sub-total:												
Work	400	78	356	53	360	47	426	76	318	10	1,860	264
No Work	176	564	119	417	41	385	79	436	77	393	492	2,195
Total	576	642	475	470	401	432	505	512	395	403	2,352	2,459

Source: Population Registration, Sukasari Village, May 1991

Female participation in employment is still low, especially in Palasari. In this sub-village, only 2.5 percent of females aged 15 years and over are working and half of them work in private enterprise. In Gegerbitung

and Cijati most females work in the agricultural sector, whereas in Cilaku and Cilaku Hilir they are employed in the non-agricultural sector as employees or entrepreneurs, merchants and teachers.

In Cilaku Hilir, Cijati and Palasari the researcher saw many females (including females under 15 years of age) making "*emping melinjo*" (bitter nut crackers). They pound the "*melinjo*" or "*tangkil*" (bitter nuts) with a stone and dried them in the sun. They did this work while sitting in a relaxed atmosphere. They worked for an "*emping melinjo*" producer (the owner of the bitter nuts) and received Rp 800 (about 40 cents in US dollar terms) as a wage for each 1 kilogram of dried "*emping melinjo*". Surprisingly, they were not recorded in the Village Office as workers, although they received wages for that job. If this work is classified as employment, then the proportion of female workers in Cilaku Hilir, Cijati and Palasari is much higher. Moreover, the "*melinjo*" tree itself is also not recorded as a productive resource. In the official village potential report, the only reported crops are coconut, clove, rice, cassava and mango, whereas thousands of "*melinjo*" trees are spread across Sukasari village (Plate 5.2). They also participate in some seasonal agricultural activity e.g. transplanting and harvesting of rice.

The other aspects of female participation in economic activities which are ignored in the village registration are:

- (1) the farmer's wife who helps the husband in agricultural activities;
- (2) the wife who has opened a small business such as making food for sale, opening small shop ("warung") at their house;
- (3) wives and other female overseas contract workers (more than 70 percent of overseas contract workers are female and in all of the *dusun*, females dominate males in participating in overseas employment).



Plate 5.2: Sukasari: Trees of "Melinjo"

In many rural settings, according to Findley (1987), women and children are called upon to continue and intensify their work in the agricultural sector, while men seek wage labour outside the village as migrant labourers. However in Sukasari, although the men moved out of the village for work and the women work overseas, it seems that their absence does not have an effect on the agricultural activities. It is because the amount of labour supply outweighs the employment opportunities available. This is similar in East Java villages (The Rural Development Foundation, 1992:116).

Manning (1987:73), in his case study of rural economic change and labour mobility in West Java, found that the majority of villagers who worked in the urban economy still continued to work in the rice fields on a seasonal basis. They returned to the village at harvest time or alternatively left it during slack periods in search of income in major cities. This mobility of workers has been facilitated by the improved transport system in Java (Hugo, 1985a:82). In Sukasari Village, fieldwork indicated that many of the owners of farmland or wet rice fields are engaged in work in the urban economy (both in the public and private sectors) while their farmland/wet rice fields are cultivated by "*buruh tani*" (farmhands) who are hired at planting and harvest times. Most Sukasari

village employees had a wet rice field and they were active in cultivating it. Here, agricultural activities provide additional income for some villagers.

Table 5.13 indicates that the educational profile of Sukasari's population is proportionally better than

Table 5.13: The Proportion of Population 10 Years of Age and Over by Educational Attainment, Villages of Kecamatan Cianjur, Kabupaten Cianjur, West Java and Indonesia, 1990

Urban/Rural Village	Never attended school/ not yet completed Primary School	Primary School	Junior High School	Senior High School	Tertiary Educational Institution	Total
Urban-Village						
01 Sawahgede	42.4	32.3	10.4	11.4	3.5	100 (11,289)
02 Pamoyanan	38.9	29.2	17.9	11.7	2.3	100 (14,701)
03 Bojongherang	26.1	47.8	15.5	8.7	1.9	100 (14,739)
04 Muka	49.1	26.7	13.5	9.7	1.0	100 (16,670)
05 Solokpandan	35.6	37.2	16.2	10.1	0.9	100 (14,916)
06 Sayang	42.6	20.2	24.3	12.2	0.7	100 (29,023)
07 Limbangsari	38.1	44.1	10.8	6.5	0.5	100 (5,481)
08 Mekarsari	31.3	59.5	6.5	2.4	0.2	100 (7,516)
Rural-Village						
09 Sukasari	28.2	48.3	12.0	11.4	0.1	100 (8,683)
10 Babakankaret	32.8	38.8	23.9	4.5	0.1	100 (4,769)
11 Nagrak	59.2	28.5	6.7	5.4	0.2	100 (8,237)
12 Rancagoong	32.4	28.2	32.0	7.1	0.3	100 (5,505)
13 Sirnagalih	45.5	47.1	4.5	2.8	0.1	100 (11,064)
14 Munjul	51.9	38.1	5.3	4.6	0.1	100 (4,983)
15 Sukamaju	45.4	43.1	8.8	2.6	0.1	100 (5,032)
16 Rahong	46.8	46.6	4.7	1.8	0.1	100 (5,768)
17 Ciharashas	68.7	26.0	2.7	2.6	0.0	100 (6,112)
18 Cibironghilir	45.1	46.8	2.5	5.3	0.2	100 (4,640)
19 Sukakerta	62.4	32.0	3.7	1.8	0.0	100 (7,476)
20 Sindangsari	52.5	36.6	5.2	5.5	0.1	100 (6,374)
21 Mulyasari	51.4	43.4	3.3	1.9	0.0	100 (5,158)
Total:						
Kecamatan Cianjur	42.9	35.5	13.1	7.7	0.8	100 (198,136)
Kabupaten Cianjur	43.0	47.3	5.3	3.9	0.5	100 (1,212,832)
West Java	46.3	34.5	9.1	8.7	1.4	100 (26,382,116)
Indonesia	44.3	33.5	11.6	9.3	1.3	100(135,714,449)

Source: Mantri Statistik Kecamatan Cianjur, 1991
Biro Pusat Statistik, 1992 and 1993

Kecamatan/Kabupaten Cianjur, West Java, and Indonesia as a whole. The proportion of Sukasari people who never

attended school/not yet completed primary school is only 28.2 percent, while in *Kecamatan/Kabupaten* Cianjur, West Java it is 46.3 percent and Indonesia as a whole 44.3 percent. Moreover, although only a small proportion of Sukasari's population (0.1%) have tertiary education, the proportion who have secondary education is quite high.

The higher education levels in *Desa* Sukasari have changed the attitudes of Sukasari's population so that they have more respect for a non-agricultural rather than an agricultural occupation. The researcher observed that young people, especially young educated persons, had a tendency to work in the non-agricultural sector. Some people claimed that their main occupation was in the non-agricultural sector (e.g. as a teacher or civil servant), although they had a wet rice field and they worked on it during planting and harvest time. They preferred to become drivers or other employees in the non-agricultural sector (see Plate 5.3). It seems that young people were embarrassed to work in the agricultural sector, and a similar process occurred among the young population in Malaysia (Hugo, 1993a:53):

"It is exacerbated by a pattern whereby young Malays who have experienced the education and related programmes of the New Economic Policy (NEP) perceive jobs in the plantation, other agricultural and some manufacturing areas as being low paying, low status, dirty, unattractive jobs. Accordingly they are willing to experience a period of unemployment and wait for a

suitable white collar job rather than take up the available (albeit unattractive) opportunities."

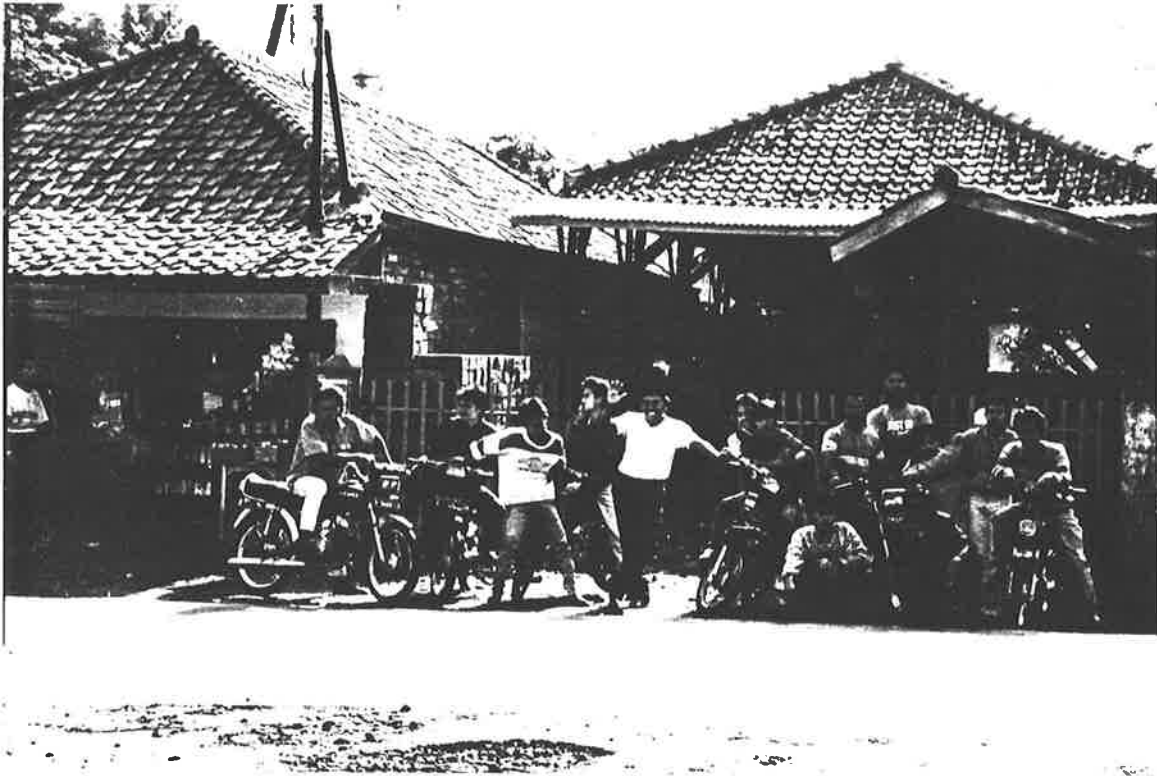


Plate 5.3: The young villagers as *Tukang Ojek* (motor cycle drivers for public transportation), Sukasari.

The services, utilities and facilities located in Sukasari at the time of the survey (1992) are shown in Table 5.14, which also shows that 189 households have television. This means that only about 9 percent of total households in *Desa* Sukasari have the benefit of television programmes, but a greater proportion of the villagers presumably watch television regularly. However, obviously

Table 5.14: Selected Services, Utilities and Facilities in Desa Sukasari 1992, and Kecamatan Cianjur 1990

Service, Utility and Facility	Type	Sukasari	Kecamatan Cianjur
Economic	Market	1	5
	Shop	24	3,709
	Small Shop	60	8,230
	Bank	-*	1*
	Co-operation	1	89
	Factory	9*	nd
	Repair Shop	3*	nd
Transportation/Communication	Electricity Office	-*	nd
	Post Office	-*	1*
	Telephone Office	-*	1*
	Train Station	1*	1*
	Bus/Colt Station	-*	2*
	Wartel (<i>Warung Telepon</i> =Small Telephone Office)	-*	nd
	Hospital	-*	2
Health	<i>Puskesmas</i> (<i>Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat</i> =Community Health Centre)	1	9
	Family Planning Clinic	1	5
	Chemist	-*	nd
	<i>Posyandu</i> (<i>Pos Pelayanan Terpadu</i> =the Community Integrated Service Post)	13	223
	PKK (<i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> =the Movement for Family Welfare Education)	1*	nd
	Primary School	4	130
	Junior High School	1	20
Education	Senior High School	1	27
	BLK (<i>Balai Latihan Kerja</i> =Job Training Centre)	-*	nd
	Agent of PPTKI (Indonesian Overseas Labour Supplier)	-*	nd
	Education Training Centre	-*	nd
	Pesantren (Religious Boarding School)	4*	nd
	Mosque/prayer houses	83	1,177
	Church	-	8
	Cinema	-*	4*
	Places for Recreation	-*	nd
	Property of Household	Car	19*	nd
Motorcycle	59*	nd	
Refrigerator	8*	nd	
Television	189	13,442	
Video	3*	nd	
Radio	380	19,994	
Tape Recorder	311	16,582	
Camera	3*	nd	
Bicycle	82*	nd	

Source: Mantri Statistik, Kecamatan Cianjur, 1991
* Field data, 1992

television and radio are not important sources for people in *Desa Sukasari* in obtaining information about working overseas. This will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

The mosque is very important in the life of Moslem people. It is an important place for people to obtain information, as was the case when this fieldwork was

conducted, when the mosque informed the community (using loudspeaker) that in Desa Sukasari the survey was underway. The total number of mosques and "langgar" (prayer houses) in all of the *dusun* in Sukasari village totalled 83, or about 7 percent of all mosques in *Kecamatan* Cianjur. Most of these mosques in Sukasari village were built by the mutual self-help effort (*usaha gotong royong*) of the villagers.

Considering that Cianjur city is nearby and transportation is available, it is easier for people in Desa Sukasari to use services, utilities and facilities in Cianjur city that are not available in their place of residence. Additionally, because Desa Sukasari is not very far from Metropolitan Jakarta and the urban centers of Bandung, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi where most education, trade

and industry activities are concentrated³, it is possible for them to commute there to obtain services. These

³ In 1989, in BOTABEK and Bandung, although they only account for about 20 percent of the area of West Java, they had between them 51 percent of the province's total trading companies, 57 percent of total hospitals, 59 percent of total Senior Secondary Schools, all State Universities and Advanced Schools and about 80 percent of Private Universities and Advanced Schools (Saefullah, 1992:100). The development of growth centres of education, trade and industry have increased the population mobility from rural to urban areas within the province.

regions have become the destinations of migrants from the surrounding areas (Hugo, 1975; Forbes, 1981; Saefullah, 1992).

5.5 Conclusion

In the West Java context, Hugo (1975, 1978) has indicated that economic factors have played a decisive role in initiating population movement. In turn, however, he has suggested that this mobility will enhance the process of development in the place of origin. *Desa Sukasari* is a fertile area, nevertheless, there has been a tendency for the volume of people who work in the agricultural sector to decrease. This tendency shows that people in *Desa Sukasari* are now more active in off-farm economic activities than before. The work overseas, moreover, has been seen by *Sukasari's* population as an opportunity to obtain work which could not be obtained in their homeland. The improvement of transportation to and from this village has enabled people to migrate more easily, including to other countries to obtain work with higher wages.

Chapter Six

THE CAUSES AND PROCESS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION IN WEST JAVA, INDONESIA.

6.1 Introduction

Migration involves at least three actors: the migrant, the area/country of origin and the area/country of destination (Adepoju, 1988). Although the internal migration process is complex, constraints on international migration such as political controls, distance, cost and socio-cultural differences between the origin and destination areas tend to make it more complex. Moreover, the two processes are often linked. Arnold and Abad (1985:15) conclude that internal and international migration are "inextricably linked and that it is entirely appropriate to formulate comprehensive migration theories that include both processes". Hence, in this chapter international labour migration in West Java is examined in the context of all mobility in West Java

International labour migration is one of several types of population mobility which exist in West Java and it is important to consider international movement in the context of all population mobility in the province.

Accordingly, this chapter firstly reviews the types and causes of mobility in West Java. It then proceeds to focus partially on the population of *Desa Sukasari* in order to seek an understanding of the causes of international labour migration and the process by which such migrants obtain work. Data collected in the survey described in Chapter Three are used to examine the causes and process of international labour migration.

6.2 Mobility in West Java

Population mobility in West Java has been studied in some detail by Hugo (1975, 1978) and more recently by Saefullah (1992). These studies demonstrated that non permanent forms of movement such as commuting and circular migration are especially significant in the province. However the volume of this mobility unfortunately cannot be estimated because the existing data collection systems fail to identify non-permanent movement (Hugo, 1982b). While the registration statistics do not record the incidence of circulation and commuting (Saefullah, 1992:64), census data provide information only about permanent migration between provinces.

In Indonesia the incidence of permanent migrants has increased. In 1971 4.9 percent of the Indonesian

population lived in a province other than that of their birth. In 1980 the proportion increased to 7 percent and to 8.2 percent in 1990 (Table 6.1). Some provinces, especially West Sumatra and Yogyakarta have consistently lost population due to an excess of outmigration over immigration. Whereas other provinces have had net gains of migrants. DKI Jakarta, Lampung and East Kalimantan were the main destinations for interprovincial migrants. Mantra (1992:39) pointed out that "the size of the flow of migrants to a certain province is very much influenced

Table 6.1: Indonesia: Outmigration and Immigration As A Percentage of Provincial Resident Populations, 1971, 1980 and 1990

Province	1971			1980			1990		
	Outmi-grants	Inmi-grants	Net mi-grants	Outmi-grants	Inmi-grants	Net mi-grants	Outmi-grants	Inmi-grants	Net mi-grants
01 DI Aceh	3.3	3.1	-0.2	4.5	5.6	1.1	3.8	5.7	1.9
02 North Sumatra	3.0	8.3	5.3	5.1	0.8	1.7	7.3	4.5	-2.8
03 West Sumatra	10.7	3.2	-7.5	14.6	4.0	-10.6	14.5	5.4	-9.1
04 Riau	2.8	13.2	10.4	4.6	16.5	11.9	4.7	21.0	16.3
05 Jambi	3.1	15.9	12.8	4.0	20.7	16.7	4.8	23.5	18.7
06 South Sumatra	6.0	9.7	3.7	7.7	13.3	5.6	7.6	14.8	7.2
07 Bengkulu	4.9	7.0	2.1	5.7	16.0	10.3	4.8	21.3	16.5
08 Lampung	1.7	36.2	34.5	2.0	38.0	36.0	3.8	28.8	25.0
09 DKI Jakarta	4.6	40.1	35.5	9.4	40.1	30.7	17.2	38.5	21.3
10 West Java	5.3	1.8	-3.5	5.3	3.7	-1.6	5.0	6.8	1.8
11 Central Java	7.7	1.2	-6.5	11.4	1.4	-10.0	13.9	1.8	-12.1
12 DI Yogyakarta	10.1	4.1	-6.0	9.0	6.6	-2.4	16.1	9.1	7.0
13 East Java	2.9	1.2	-1.7	5.3	1.6	-3.7	7.2	1.8	-5.4
14 Bali	2.7	1.1	-1.6	4.7	2.6	-2.1	1.1	4.1	-3.0
15 West Nusa Tenggara	0.6	1.5	0.9	1.6	2.6	1.0	2.8	2.1	-0.7
16 East Nusa Tenggara	1.1	0.6	-0.5	1.7	2.1	0.4	3.0	1.5	-1.5
17 East Timor	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.8	6.2	4.4
18 West Kalimantan	1.7	1.2	-0.5	3.0	4.5	1.5	3.7	6.2	2.5
19 Central Kalimantan	1.7	7.2	5.5	3.0	14.9	11.9	4.0	17.3	13.3
20 South Kalimantan	4.9	4.0	-0.9	8.1	7.0	-1.1	8.0	10.6	2.6
21 East Kalimantan	3.3	5.6	2.3	3.6	24.4	20.8	4.8	32.2	27.4
22 North Sulawesi	3.5	2.9	-0.6	5.7	4.3	-1.4	6.0	3.6	-2.4
23 Central Sulawesi	3.8	5.6	1.8	3.0	14.6	11.6	3.3	16.9	13.6
24 South Sulawesi	4.5	1.4	-3.1	7.9	2.0	-5.9	8.7	3.2	-5.5
25 South East Sulawesi	4.3	3.6	-0.7	9.7	11.3	1.6	8.8	17.6	8.8
26 Maluku	3.4	4.0	0.6	4.8	9.2	4.4	5.4	10.2	4.8
27 Irian Jaya	5.2	22.5	17.3	1.5	8.7	7.2	2.2	16.1	13.9
Total	4.9	4.9			7.0	7.0		8.2	8.2

Note: Population 1971: 118,367,850 (140,136 born abroad)

Population 1980: 146,776,473 (124,748 born abroad)

Population 1990: 179,247,783 (123,609 born abroad)

Source: BPS, Sensus Penduduk 1971, serie D; Penduduk Indonesia, Hasil Sensus Pensusuk 1980, Serie S2; Penduduk Indonesia, Hasil Sensus Penduduk 1990, Serie S2

by the ups and downs of the development of the province since their reasons to migrate are mostly due to economic matters".

In West Java, the flow of outmigrants has been relatively stable at around 5 percent since 1971 (Table 6.2). The main destinations for West Java migrants were DKI Jakarta and Lampung. The flow of outmigrants from West Java to Lampung is partly associated with the "transmigration" program, which is the Indonesian National Policy which aims to achieve a balance of population distribution by moving the population from high density areas to sparsely populated areas (Hardjono, 1977). West Java was the major source of migrants to DKI Jakarta in the 1960s and 1970s (Hugo, 1978) providing more than 45 percent of migrants to DKI Jakarta before 1971. It has since lost its position as the chief source of migrants to Jakarta to Central Java.

Whereas the flow of outmigrants has remained stable, the number of immigrants to this province has increased. Consequently, net migration losses declined from 3.5 percent at the 1971 Census to 1.6 percent in 1980 and by 1990 a reversal had occurred so that a 1.8 percent net migration gain was recorded. Table 6.2 indicates that immigrants from Central Java (34.6%) and DKI Jakarta

Table 6.2: West Java: Percent Distribution of Provinces of Destination of Outmigrants and Origin of Immigrants (lifetime migration), 1971, 1980 and 1990

Province	Migration, 1971			Migration, 1980			Migration, 1990		
	Outmi- grants	Inmi- grants	Net mi- grants	Outmi- grants	Inmi- grants	Net mi- grants	Outmi- grants	Inmi- grants	Net mi- grants
01 DI Aceh	0.2	1.0	0.8	0.2	0.7	0.5	1.0	0.6	-0.4
02 North Sumatra	1.9	3.5	1.6	1.8	3.9	2.1	1.7	4.8	3.1
03 West Sumatra	0.5	2.8	2.3	0.4	4.9	4.5	0.7	3.7	3.0
04 Riau	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.6	0.5	-0.1	3.1	0.7	-2.4
05 Jambi	1.3	0.9	-0.4	0.9	0.3	-0.6	2.6	0.3	-2.3
06 South Sumatra	5.6	4.0	-1.6	5.8	3.5	-2.3	6.4	3.0	-3.4
07 Bengkulu	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.6	0.2	-0.4	1.6	0.2	-1.4
08 Lampung	14.3	0.8	-13.5	18.5	0.9	-17.6	13.7	1.6	-12.1
09 DKI Jakarta	64.3	14.4	-49.9	56.3	26.1	-30.2	49.1	33.0	-16.1
10 Central Java	5.1	48.6	43.5	5.1	40.5	35.4	6.2	34.6	28.4
11 DI Yogyakarta	0.6	3.1	2.5	0.9	2.0	1.1	1.2	3.5	2.3
12 East Java	2.8	9.0	6.2	3.1	7.7	4.6	3.2	8.4	5.2
13 Bali	0.2	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.0
14 West Nusa Tenggara	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1
15 East Nusa Tenggara	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
16 East Timor	-	-	-	-	0.0	-	0.1	0.0	-0.1
17 West Kalimantan	0.2	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.6	-0.1	1.2	0.8	-0.4
18 Central Kalimantan	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	-0.1	0.8	0.1	-0.7
19 South Kalimantan	0.6	1.1	0.5	0.8	0.5	-0.3	1.0	0.3	-0.7
20 East Kalimantan	0.1	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.2	-0.5	1.3	0.3	-1.0
21 North Sulawesi	0.3	1.1	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.7	0.3
22 Central Sulawesi	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.1	-0.1	0.8	0.1	-0.7
23 South Sulawesi	0.4	1.5	1.1	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.5
24 South East Sulawesi	0.3	0.2	-0.1	0.9	0.1	-0.8	1.5	0.1	-0.4
25 Maluku	0.1	0.8	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2
26 Irian Jaya	0.3	0.1	-0.2	0.3	0.2	-0.1	0.7	0.2	-0.5
27 Abroad	-	3.2	3.2	-	0.8	0.8	-	0.7	0.7
Not Stated	-	-	-	-	3.1	3.1	-	-	-
Total	5.3	1.8	-3.5	5.3	3.7	-1.6	5.0	6.8	1.8

Note: Population 1971: 21,620,950; 1980: 27,449,840; 1990: 35,381,682

Source: BPS, Sensus Penduduk 1971, serie D; Penduduk Indonesia, Hasil Sensus Penduduk 1980, Serie S2; Penduduk Indonesia, Hasil Sensus Penduduk 1990, Serie S2

(33%) dominate the flow of immigrants to West Java. However the number of outmigrants from West Java to DKI Jakarta (49.1%) was higher than to Central Java (6.2%). The data in Table 6.2 does not include permanent migration within West Java and non-permanent migration, such as circulation and commuting. Circulation is movement outside the village or city involving temporary absences (usually for work or education) of more than 24 hours. When the absences are for less than 24 hours and movers return home within the same day, this is called commuting (Hugo, et al., 1987). In West Java, circulation and commuting often involve crossing provincial boundaries. Although these movements are not detected in the national censuses, a study by Hugo (1978) has shown that non-permanent migration between rural and urban areas in West Java is significant. Saefullah (1992:64) points out that "since the improvement in transport facilities, population mobility in West Java seems to be dominated by commuting rather than permanent and circular migration". People move to urban areas, especially to Jakarta and Bandung, for work or to attend an educational institution, and return to the place of origin in the same day.

Two decades ago, Hugo (1975:333) pointed out that "among the major migration streams to Jakarta only that from

West Java has a predominance of females. The increase of population and wealth in the middle and upper classes of Jakarta's residents has created a considerable demand for young females to be employed in domestic work" (Hugo, 1975:335) and these are the opportunities West Javan females take up. An important point here is that although female workforce participation in West Java is still well below the rate for Indonesia as a whole. There are a significant number of women participating in legal international contract labour and many are from *Kabupaten Cianjur* (Pusat AKAN, 1992).

Hugo, et al. (1987) have summarised the main types of population movement which occur in contemporary Indonesia in the typology presented in Figure 6.1. These include migration, circulation and commuting occur within the local community, outside the community but within the province, inter-provincial movement within an island, inter-island, and movement across country boundaries. Hence, the international movement under consideration here is only one subset of the totality of mobility in the province of West Java.

Figure 6.1 shows that the international labour migration under study here is only one type of international movement and can be viewed as a form of circulation over

relatively longer periods and occurring across country boundaries. Stalker (1994) defines international contract workers as people who are admitted to a destination country on the understanding that they will work for a limited period in that country and then leave. Circulation, commuting and the migration of overseas contract workers are all movements where persons do not have the intention of a permanent change in residence (Lee, 1966; Zelinsky, 1971; Standing, 1982). However such movement to another country will usually involve migrants in having greater contact with different languages, people and customs (Hugo, et al. 1987).

Figure 6.1: Typology of Population Mobility in Indonesia

	Patterns	Types		
		commuting	circulation	migration
1. Movement within the local community				
2. Movement outside the community but within the province				
3. Interprovincial movement within an island	Rural-->Rural Rural-->Urban Urban-->Rural Urban-->Urban			
4. Inter-island movement				
5. International movement	Legal Illegal			International Labour Migration

Source: Hugo, et.al., 1987:170

The Indonesian Inter-censal Survey of 1985 (*Supas*) indicated that migrants move mainly because of

employment-related reasons (Mantra, 1987:35). In the case of circulation, Forbes (1981:70) has stated that this strategy "is the only choice many poor people have to earn a subsistence income (*mencari nafkah*) and it cannot be closed off until alternative opportunities arise." Thus, the main reason for migration in Indonesia is economic. In other words, the main aim of population mobility is the search for employment, whereas education occupies second place in the reasons for migration. It is apparent that difficulties in getting work, the lack of educational facilities and the scarcity of agricultural land in rural areas have all caused rural-urban movement. Moreover, the 1990 Census indicated that the volume of migrant flows to urban areas was greater than the flows to rural areas. This is because the economic motivation of migrants is still dominant in their decision to migrate and the service and industrial sectors are generally found in cities. Therefore migration to cities is consequently higher than to rural areas (Mantra, Harahab and Sunarti, 1988; Hugo, 1993f).

Economic reasons of movements for West Javans have been dominant since precolonial times as Hugo (1978:296) pointed out:

"In precolonial times most West Javans were shifting agriculturists engaging in highly localized circulation and even after the changeover to sedentary wet rice

cultivation, temporary movements outside the village to harvest crops or to trade were common. Colonial rule resulted in many West Javans leaving their villages to work for limited periods on plantations or in cities."

The causes of mobility in the West Java context have been found by Hugo (1975, 1978) in his study of 14 villages. Some findings of his study were:

- In aggregate level, economic factors are the main factor to influence people to move.
- In individual level, decisions to move are influenced by i) the degree of uncertainty associated with moving, ii) the normative context of the village society, and iii) the personal characteristics of the migrant himself.

Similarly, Saefullah(1991) found a predominance of economic factors influencing population movement in West Java. Regional economic differentials influence the potential migrants in making the decision to move or to stay. However, migrants have made the decision to migrate after they have considered the positive and negative factors in both their place of origin and that of destination(Lee, 1966; Hugo, 1978; Mantra, Harahab and Sunarti, 1988).

6.3 Population Mobility in Desa Sukasari

In 1992 0.7 percent (58) of Sukasari's population were permanent inmigrants from elsewhere, while an almost equal number (57) had moved out of the village permanently during the year. However, many villagers move

Table 6.3: Selected Economic and Education Facilities in Cianjur City and Sukasari Village, 1992

Village	market shop	shop	small shop	bank	coope-ration	factory	repair shop	cinema	place for re-creation
Cianjur City:									
Sawahgede	1	29	215	2	3	1	25	-	-
Pamoyanan	1	297	58	3	25	3	8	2	-
Bojongherang	-	52	129	1	2	2	4	-	-
Muka	1	186	100	6	-	7	15	6	1
Solokpandan	1	150	96	1	4	-	18	1	-
Sayang	3	532	48	1	5	-	4	1	-
Limbangansari	-	5	68	-	1	2	3	-	-
Mekarsari	-	25	6	-	-	-	2	-	-
<hr/>									
Sukasari	1	-	41	-	1	9	3	-	-
<hr/>									
Village	Primary School	Junior High School	Senior High School	BLK1)	PTKI Agentkursus	Pusat-pusat	Pesan-tren2)	Mosque	Church
Cianjur City:									
Sawahgede	15	15	7	1	-	-	-	10	1
Pamoyanan	11	7	6	-	-	3	1	8	1
Bojongherang	10	2	-	-	-	2	2	69	-
Muka	7	-	-	-	-	4	-	41	2
Solokpandan	8	4	3	-	-	3	2	58	4
Sayang	8	1	1	-	-	5	3	33	-
Limbangansari	5	1	-	-	1	-	-	9	-
Mekarsari	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	10	-
<hr/>									
Sukasari	6	-	1	-	-	-	4	85	-

Note: 1) BLK=Job Training Centre;

2) Pesantren=Religious boarding school

Source: Field data, October 1992

villagers move temporarily outside the village to work or attend education institutions, especially in nearby Cianjur City where, as Table 6.3 shows, there are a substantial number of work and education opportunities.

The sample survey of 272 heads of households provides more information regarding non-permanent population movement in Sukasari. Table 6.5 shows that more than a fifth of working household heads work outside the village (generally as commuters). Most of the 'movers' are males who work as civil servants (13%), private employees (59.3%), or self-employed/traders (27.7%). Most of the 'movers' to other provinces go to Jakarta. This city can be reached in two and a half hours from Sukasari using public transportation (about 131 km).

Table 6.4: Place of Work of Working Household Heads

Place of Work	Return OCW		Non-OCW		Total	(%)
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
In the village	14	3	145	9	171	(76.0%)
In other village	3	-	17	1	21	(9.3%)
In other district	1	-	14	1	16	(7.1%)
In other regency	1	1	3	-	5	(2.2%)
In other province	2	-	10	-	12	(5.3%)
Total	24	14	201	33	272	(100.0%)
Not working	3	10	12	22	47	(17.3%)

Source: Field data, October 1992

The survey found that during 1979-1992 there were 350 overseas contract workers in *Desa Sukasari* (86 males and 264 females). Most of them (97,1%) went to Saudi Arabia (76 males and 264 females) and other countries mostly to Malaysia. Of the total OCWs, there were 147 returnees (54 males, 93 females) who were all staying in the village.

6.4 The Process of International Labour Migration From *Desa Sukasari*

The discussion in Chapter Two has shown that the causes of international labour migration are complex. The pull factor in receiving countries because of demand for immigrant labour apparently does not always make people want to work overseas. A desire to work abroad is not sufficient since working overseas depends on many other factors. The main reasons for international migration are economic (Kols and Lewison, 1983: 245). Most migrants move because they expect to find better jobs and higher wages at the destination. The Neoclassical economics approach suggests that, international labour migration occurs as a result of the differential in wages and employment conditions between countries which cause workers from a low wage or low employment country to move to a high wage/plentiful employment country (Wood, 1982; Clark, 1986; Massey, 1988; Hugo, 1991, 1993a; Massey, et

al., 1993). In *Desa Sukasari* the volume of people working in the agricultural sector is decreasing, and are more active in looking for non-agricultural work than before. Moreover, the work overseas has been seen by Sukasari's population as an opportunity to obtain work which could not be obtained in their homeland.

However, according to Piore (1979:3, 16-17), immigration is only caused by pull factors in receiving countries ie. (a chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers) and is not caused by push factors in sending countries. As he points out, "the migration process...seems to respond to the attraction of the industrial countries." The receiving countries, because they have a shortage of workers, recruit them from other countries. Employers in receiving countries need labour for jobs that the native workers refuse to accept. In other words, international labour migration is driven by conditions of labour demand rather than supply. Without labour shortages in other countries, workers will not migrate across national borders.

The basic cause of international labour migration is simple: workers go to other countries because, according to the perception of the workers (based on the information available to them), in the country of

destination there are greater opportunities than in their region of origin (and not vice versa). Although there may be a 'push' in the place of origin, if there is not any 'pull' in the country of destination, people will not move for work to that country. "The major, perhaps the sole, 'pull factors' which determines migration for foreign employment is the vast differences between wages/salaries offered for foreign jobs compared with those in Sri Lanka" (Athukorala, 1990:330). In Indonesia, low wages and high under- and unemployment will not cause Indonesian workers to move abroad for work if there is no demand for labour in another country. Hugo (1993a:65) has pointed out that "it would appear that labour shortages are becoming more widespread in the rapidly growing Malaysian economy...on the other hand, the forces in Indonesia to supply those labour shortfalls are increasing in significance".

However, a desire to move is not sufficient for overseas migration to occur since international labour migration depends on many other factors. For example, government policies directed at foreign workers in origin and destination countries can be influential. State policies of both receiving and sending countries have played a role in shaping migration patterns and processes in the region (Abella, 1991:22-23,29). Regulation of entry

through border controls and the balancing of labour markets through visas and work permits are some of the obstacles confronting workers wishing to enter a country for employment. On the other hand, some of the obstacles facing workers leaving their country include emigration controls through passport issuance, taxation, exit clearance procedures and restrictions on emigration to some countries of employment. Burma for example, bans the recruitment of all female workers except professionals, whereas Saudi Arabia, in its Fourth Development Plan, 1985-1990, sets out as one of its main objectives, a reduction in the number of foreign workers. The available employment opportunities could then be taken up by Saudi Arabians (RDCMD- YTKI, 1986:75-77).

Looking at the reasons for working overseas among returned OCWs in Sukasari village, the expectation of obtaining higher income was given as the main reason for migrating overseas (Table 6.5). Working overseas is not just for obtaining work, but rather the most important reason is for obtaining a higher income than they could obtain in the home area. However, the decision to work overseas was generally made by the OCWs themselves and not by their families. Here, a differentiation needs to be made between the decision to work overseas and

permission from the family, especially from the head of the family.

Table 6.5: Reasons for Working Overseas (Returned OCWs)

	Main Reason		Other Reason	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Obtaining work	22.6	28.8	3.2	11.9
Obtaining more income	35.5	30.5	12.9	10.2
Obtaining experiences	16.1	13.6	25.8	6.8
Pilgrimage to Mecca	19.4	15.3	25.8	39.0
Having a house	6.4	6.8	3.2	5.1
Other	-	5.0	3.2	10.2
Don't know/not stated	-	-	25.8	16.9
Total	100.0 n=31	100.0 n=59	100.0 n=31	100.0 n=59

Source: Field data, 1992

Note: There are some villagers working overseas for particular purposes, such as the medicinal treatment expenses of a household member or for the celebration of the *khitanan* (circumcision) of their son.

In 1984, Adi (1986) made a study of 571 Indonesian OCWs who were working in Middle Eastern countries. He found that most of the Indonesian OCWs had two objectives, which were to gain more earnings and have an opportunity to make the pilgrimage to Mecca (see also Bethan, 1993:81). Most were employed before migrating to work in the Middle Eastern countries.

To understand the cause of international labour migration, it is necessary to understand the socio-economic conditions of the migrants at the place origin. Obviously there is a significant inter-relationship between population mobility, economic development and social change (Hugo, 1982a; Hugo, et.al., 1987; Mantra, 1987; Bandiyono, 1988; Manning, Maude and Rudd, 1989; Guest, 1991).

In *Desa Sukasari* (see Chapter Five), while there is a tendency (especially among the young villagers) for people to prefer to work in the non-agricultural sector, the opportunities in this sector are limited. This situation is one of the factors which causes Sukasari villagers to move out of the village to work in other places, including overseas countries. A decreasing proportion of people work in the agricultural sector because of the decline in land available for agricultural activity due to the growth in population, labour displacing innovations in agriculture an increase in housing development, the tendency of people to have greater respect for a non-agricultural rather than an agricultural occupation and the increase in the participation of women in economic activity, are some of the factors which have influenced Sukasari's population to make the decision to work overseas. Making the

pilgrimage to Mecca was a second reason for them working in Saudi Arabia (Table 6.5). It is generally because of the lack of money that people are unable to fulfill the fifth pillar of Islam (that is, to make pilgrimage to Mecca), but by working in Saudi Arabia means they have the opportunity to do so. The pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the needs of life for a Moslem as an act of devotion. The main reasons for working overseas were similar for both males and females, however looking at their other reasons, making the pilgrimage was mostly given as the second main reason for females working in Saudi Arabia. The second reason for males is both the pilgrimage to Mecca and obtaining experiences.

A survey by Dorall and Paramasivam (1992) of illegal Indonesian OCWs in Malaysia found that the main source of information about the work situation in Malaysia and migration possibilities were from friends and relatives (word of mouth, letters written home, and return visits to home). Friends and relatives not only provided information, but could also be counted upon for material and financial support, and most importantly became guides to the process of entering, and finding a job in Malaysia. This is consistent with the social network explanation to migration which argues that, international labour migration increases with the closeness of the

relationship between those in the countries of origin and destination, for example having a brother, a cousin, a neighbor, or a friend in the receiving country (Massey, et al., 1993).

Social networks, according to Hugo (1993a, 1994b), have a central role in sustaining migration between Indonesia and Malaysia, but it is not only the links with individual family members, relatives and friends at a range of destinations but often also with potential employers as well.

"While networks have an important function of informing potential new migrants of the availability or lack of availability of job opportunities, one of the most important features of the networks established by migrants is the role they have in sustaining population flows quite independently of objective economic conditions in origin and destination" (Hugo, 1994b:28).

Having family or friends in the country of destination makes prospective migrants feel secure. In *Desa Sukasari* 44.5 percent of returned OCWs had contacts with family or friends before they went abroad (Table 6.6). However, since most female OCWs in Saudi Arabia worked as housemaids and were not free to go outside of the house of their employer, this was not such an important factor.

Table 6.6: Having Family/Relatives or Friends Overseas Before Returned OCWs Went Overseas for Work

Having family/ relatives/friends	Returned OCW			
	Male	Female	Total	%
Family/Relatives	7	17	24	26.7
Friends	10	6	16	17.8
Don't have	14	36	50	55.5
Total	31	59	90	100.0

Source: Field Data, 1992

In this case, the flow of OCWs from *Desa Sukasari* is more likely to be influenced by the situation which Massey and Espana (1987) have pointed out, where people in a community from which many members have migrated and in which a large stock of foreign experience has accumulated, are more likely to migrate abroad than people from a community in which international migration is relatively uncommon. Having a brother, cousin, neighbor, or friend in the receiving country, is likely to be a more important cause of illegal international movement. Legal migrants who are under work contracts which usually involve governments of origin and destination countries, have no need to worry about for example, material and financial support, a place to live or obtaining work.

Relating to the nature of movement, Hugo (1978) has pointed out that it is fallacious to characterise Sundanese people as being almost totally static. The Sundanese traditional advice to their people who intend to migrate *merantau* is as follows: "*kudu bisa pindah cai pindah lampian*" (Mustapa, 1991:172) which means that Sundanese people who want to be safe in their place of destination must be able to adjust to the culture of their destination. Besides that, Sundanese people must "*nyawa gagaduhan banda sasampeuran*", which means that they must be able to be loyal to their employer. These two pieces of advice suggest that for Sundanese people it has been the custom to move (*merantau*¹) since the time of their forefathers (*nenek moyang*).

In order to obtain overseas work, there is a cost to be paid by OCW candidates. The amount of money paid and the time spent in arranging the departure varies from person to person. *Tempo* (No. 14, 2 June 1984) stated that to obtain work overseas, an OCW candidate has to pay Rp 150,000 (about US\$ 100 at that time) to the middleman. *Kompas* (4 March 1990) conducted an investigation into this fee and found that a middleman in Sumenep, Madura, asked Rp 300,000 from OCW candidates. According to the

¹ The term *merantau* is most commonly applied in Indonesia to spontaneous out-migration of the Minangkabau people from their homeland of West Sumatra (Naim, 1979).

middleman, that money was only for transportation from Sumenep to Jakarta. The OCW candidate had to pay the PPTKI (agent for overseas employment) in Jakarta a total of about Rp 1,750,000. *Kompas* reported that the lowest fee that had to be paid to a middleman in Surabaya was Rp 200,000, whereas in Bogor it reached Rp 400,000. A survey by the Manpower Development and Research Center, Indonesian Manpower Department (1991) found that the cost which had to be paid by 100 female OCW households before migrating ranged between Rp 350,000 and Rp 800,000 (Table 6.7), however in *Desa Sukasari* most of the returned OCW had paid less than Rp 350,000.

Table 6.7: Administration Cost Paid by Female OCW Households Before Female OCWs Depart Overseas by Region

Cost (in thousand rupiah)	DKI Jakarta	West Java	East Java	Total	<i>Desa</i> Sukasari West Java
< 350	-	5	10	15	35 (11*)
350-500	6	5	18	29	7 (2*)
500-650	-	40	2	42	7 (7*)
650-800	-	10	-	10	4 (1*)
800 >	-	4	-	4	6 (8*)
Total	6	64	30	100	59 (29*)

Note: * Male OCWs

Source: Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Tenaga Kerja, 1991:65; Field Data, 1992

These facts contradict what the Head of Office for Overseas Employment (Pusat AKAN), Indonesian Department of Labour claims, which is that for working overseas the OCW does not need to pay anything because the employer overseas pays all of the costs (*Kompas*, 4 March 1990; Plate 6.1). Moreover, the agent for overseas employment will obtain a profit from the overseas employer for each OCW that they send, but because of competition between agencies, this situation no longer happens. "Competition among labour exporting countries, which is now becoming more keen, makes some of the labour exporting countries begin to lower the price each time and travel costs are borne by exporting countries" (Adi, 1987a:2).

In the case of *Desa Sukasari*, after people obtained information about overseas employment, the process of finding overseas work can be explained as follows:

(1) After they obtained information about working overseas, they made the decision to work overseas (by themselves or after discussion with their spouse).

(2) The OCW candidates went to the government agency of overseas labour (AKAN) directly or through a middleman and applied for overseas work. The OCW candidates, together with a middleman, arranged the required

documents (including skills test) before departure. The amount of time required to arrange the departure was between less than a month and more than 6 months, but mostly (38.6%) about 31-60 days (Table 6.9). In many cases they had to stay in a dormitory/barracks of the agency while waiting for their departure or while receiving training for the job they would do overseas.

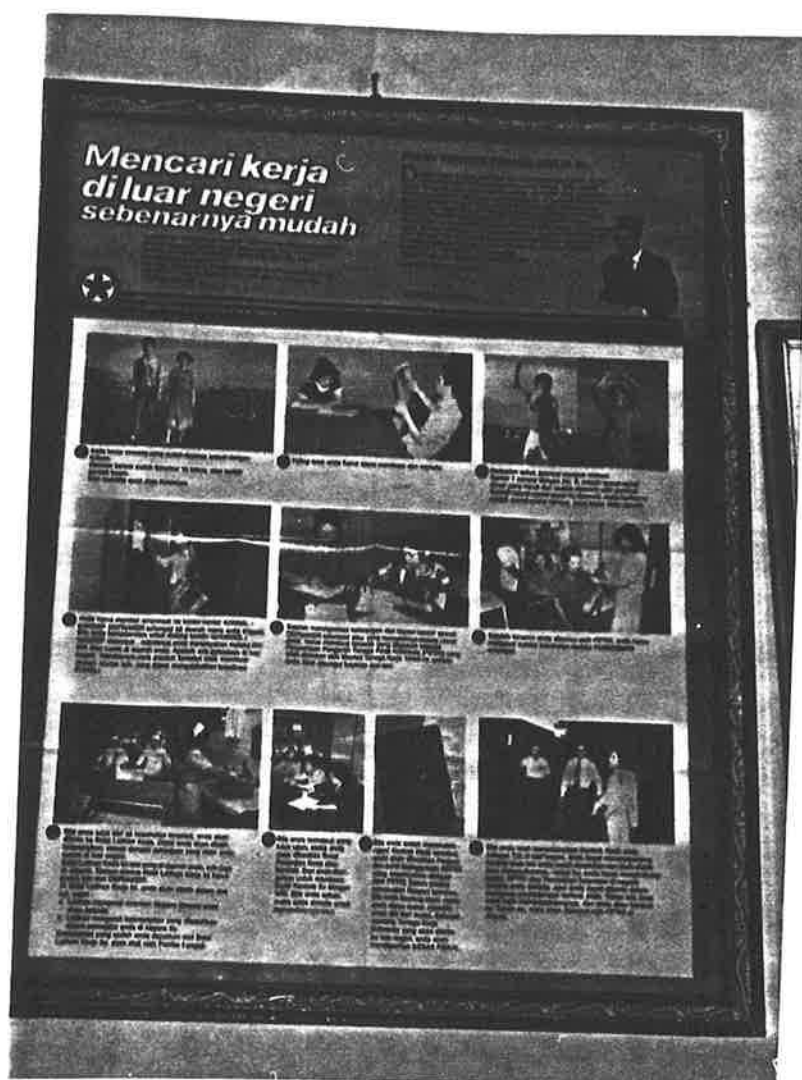


Plate 6.1: Looking for Overseas Employment: It is Easy (the poster explains the steps of overseas employment arrangements in Indonesia)

Table 6.8: Translation from Poster of Plate 6.1

1. You must be legally considered as an adult. Adult means 18 years old and over or who have ever married. 2. You must be able to read and write. 3. You must be spiritually and physically healthy.
- Number 1 to 3 are basic requirements which have to be fulfilled before you can proceed to the next stages of application.
4. You have to look for information at the local office of the Department of Manpower. If you can not do it or you have difficulties, you can do it through the head of your local community (RT/Rw) or head of your village. The officers should not make other rules that can cause *pungli* (that is a tariff which is collected without proper legal authority).
 5. After you have information from the local office of the Department of Manpower, you have to make an application to a legal recruiting company (PPTKI). For this you should not pay anything.
 6. After your application is accepted by the PPTKI, you have to go to the nearest community health centre (*Puskesmas*) for a health examination.
 7. After you pass the medical examination you will be brought to a work training centre (*Balai Latihan Kerja*) to be appropriately trained for the overseas jobs. These training centres must be licensed by the Ministry of Manpower. In the centre, you will be trained in (a) the orientation of the destination country and (b) specific skills. After training, you will be tested by the examiner board.
 8. After you pass the examination, you will be given a contract or a letter of promise for work. You must read carefully the contract letter. If you agree with the conditions you should sign it.
 9. After you already have a work contract, you can apply for a passport and social security (ASTEK) membership, all of which should be paid by the PPTKI. In the process of obtaining a passport, if you are a married woman you must have a letter of permission from your husband. All overseas workers are exempt from the overseas travel tax.
 10. After you have completed your contract time and wish to lengthen or renew your contract while overseas, you should do this through the PPTKI or an Indonesian labour attache at the destination. However, if you don't wish to renew your contract and wish to return to Indonesia, you will be met by the PPTKI at the airport in Indonesia.

Message from Minister of Manpower:

While you are in another country you have to be careful to protect the good name of the Indonesian people and nation. Obey all regulations which apply to workers. We must have the motto *TRADIMAS* (*Trampil, Rajin, Disiplin, MAwaSdiri*), which means that a worker must have skill, diligence, discipline, and introspection.

(3) On the journey², nine of 90 returned OCWs said that they had had an unpleasant experience because they felt frightened in the airplane and always remembered their

² Mass media in Indonesia have often reported the travel experiences of Indonesian OCWs, (especially those travelling by boat), their successes and failures, happiness and suffering, (*Pelita* 20-27 August 1988), *Media Indonesia* (6 August 1992), *Kompas* (29 November 1992)

family which they had left behind. When they arrived in the country of destination, eight OCWs had unpleasant experiences, because their employers were late in picking them up. Meanwhile they could not communicate with the local people because of language problems and did not know where they had to go. One OCW was only picked up by her employer after 2 days.

Table 6.9: Time Consumed in Departure Preparation for Overseas Work

Day	Returned OCWs	%
> 30	25	30.1
30-60	32	38.6
61-90	16	19.3
91-120	5	6.0
121-150	1	1.2
151-180	1	1.2
181 >	3	3.6
Total	83	100.0

Source: Field Data, 1992

6.4.1 The Decision to Migrate

The decision to migrate, it is argued, is often made by the family because the money that migrants send home adds to and diversifies the family income (Wood, 1982:312,314; Kols and Lewison, 1983: 245; Hugo, 1993c: 6-7; Stalker, 1994:33). However, the decision to move or to stay is also often made by the individual actor him/herself.

Nevertheless, in the decision to move, the influence of other members of the household cannot be ignored. When the Sukasari returned migrants were asked "who made the decision to work abroad for the first time?", generally their answers were that it was made by themselves (76.7%) and not by the family, although 17.8 percent of respondents decided together with their spouse (Table 6.10). Moreover, those who made the decision by themselves were asked "when you made the decision to work overseas, did you feel that there was any person who influenced?" Most of them (92.2%) were not influenced by others in making their decision and only 7.8 percent said that they were influenced by their spouse or friend. Before the prospective OCWs make their decision to work overseas, senior members of the family (usually the older males) are often involved (Hugo, 1994b:21). They can have a key role in giving permission to the prospective OCWs to work overseas. According to the Indonesian law (Pusat AKAN, 1992) someone cannot go overseas for work without (a letter of) permission from his/her parent/guardian/ husband/ wife. In Sukasari, the head of the family generally, will not order his wife or children to work overseas in order to survive under difficult economic conditions, or to improve their standard of living.

Table 6.10: Return Migrants by Decision to Work Overseas

Decision to Move	n	%
Themselves	69	76.7
Together with Spouse	16	17.8
Together with parents	5	5.5
Total	90	100.0

Source: Field data, 1992

Therefore, the decision to work overseas in Sukasari can be largely considered to be an individual decision, and the family in this context, is required only to support it.

6.4.2 The Role of Middlemen

As institutional theory argues (Chapter Two), private institutions and voluntary organisations (Indonesian Manpower Supplier, brokers and middlemen) have arisen to satisfy the demand created by an imbalance between the large number of people who seek jobs and the receiving country who seek workers (Massey, et al., 1993). They have facilitated international labour migration by increasing the awareness of overseas jobs, organising the actual migration, and providing loans (see Hugo, 1993a; Spaan, 1994). In *Desa Sukasari*, the middlemen have an important role in providing financial support. They first pay all of the necessary costs which are required in the process of working overseas. The OCWs pay back the

middlemen an amount twice that or much higher than the loan, depending on the agreement between them and the duration of the loan.

In *Desa Sukasari*, according to returned OCWs, who were financially supported by middlemen (Table 6.11), most of their loans were less than Rp 350,000. Some 38.9 percent of returned OCWs said that when they were going to go overseas for work they borrowed money from a middleman, 47.8 percent used their own money and 13.3 percent borrowed from others in the family.

Table 6.11: Total of Loan to be Paid Back to Middlemen, *Desa Sukasari*

Loan	Returned OCWs	%
> 350	24	68.6
350-500	4	11.4
500-650	3	8.6
650-800	2	5.7
800 >	2	5.7
Total	35	100.0

Source: Field Data, 1992

Unfortunately the researcher was unable to interview those middlemen in order to confirm the process of recruitment of OCWs, the amount and the use of the recruitment fee, their role in the process of recruitment, and their relationship with PPTKI. Two middlemen were not available each time the researcher went to their home. One middleman did not want to be interviewed and according to the informants, it was because there was competition between them in recruiting workers.

In *Desa Sukasari* there are three middlemen (all of them residents) and it seems that the relationship between OCWs and the middleman does not present a problem. Formerly, these middlemen were active in looking for OCW candidates. They offered work overseas with high wages and light work. Over a third of returned OCWs said that the first time they knew about working overseas, the information came from middlemen. Friends are also important as a source of information about working overseas, as 36.7 percent of returned OCWs said that they found out about working overseas from a friend (Table 6.12).

Table 6.12: The First Source of Information About Working Overseas and the Content According to Returned Migrants

Source of information	INFORMATION OBTAINED			
	Offer of work overseas with high wage	offer of work overseas with high wage and light work	saw the neighbour go overseas	other/ no answer
Newspaper	1	-	-	-
Radio	1	-	-	-
Depart of Labour	4	-	-	-
Middleman	17	4	1	11
Friend	13	5	2	13
Other	7	-	-	11
Total	43	9	3	35

Source: Field Data, 1992

"Brokers and middlemen have facilitated migration by increasing the awareness of employment possibilities overseas, providing loans and organising the actual migration" (Spaan, 1994:107).

During field work, it was observed that the middlemen in *Desa Sukasari* had no need to look for OCW candidates, because the villagers who wanted to work overseas came to them and asked for help. This was a changing situation as it seems that people in the village now know about working overseas and do not need to be encouraged by middlemen. The *Sukasari* middlemen work in cooperation with overseas labour suppliers in Jakarta.

A middleman in Indramayu, West Java, had a representative in each village to 'catch' OCW candidates. For each OCW candidate, the middleman received Rp 50,000 from the Rp 350,000 that was paid by the candidate. Rp 50,000 was paid for arranging the *surat kelakuan baik* (good behaviour certificate) and other documents and the rest of the money (Rp 250,000) was paid to the agent for overseas employment in Jakarta (*Kompas*, 4 March 1990).

6.5 Conclusion

The causes of international population mobility from Sukasari was not only because people moving spontaneously looking for a better place to live, but also because of other factors such as the government programs to move people overseas. Thus both macro- and micro-structural conditions may influence the individual to move overseas. Opportunity for improvement of the individual and family's economic situation are incentives that determine progress through the decision-making stage (Fawcett and Arnold (1987a)).

Middlemen are the people who connect the OCW candidates to the employers. Middlemen in Sukasari have an important role, not only in facilitating the prospective migrants,

but also as are a "bank" where prospective migrants can borrow money to pay the cost of the journey overseas (albeit with a relatively "high" interest rate). However, without them, it was impossible for people in *Desa Sukasari* to get opportunities to work overseas. This important role of middleman has been pointed out by Spaan (1994:109) who said that "brokers and middlemen have facilitated migration by increasing the awareness of employment possibilities overseas, providing loans and organising the actual migration". However, there are negative aspects as well.

Chapter Seven

IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

In examining the impact of international labour migration at the individual level one has to be cognizant of the varying characteristics of those individuals - their socio-economic status, education level, age, gender and even personality can influence both their propensity to move and the consequences of the move for them. In this chapter the focus is particularly upon the demographic, social, economic and welfare impacts of international labour migration upon OCW's from West Java. At the outset it is necessary to establish the characteristics of movers since this has a significant influence upon the way migration impacts upon them.

In assessing the impact of overseas labour migration upon individuals one of the crucial dimensions is the degree of success they achieve financially. However measuring this success is not a simple matter since perceptions of success can differ between individuals and groups and the perceptions of the success of an individual can vary between different observers of the same individual. The

structural framework for the analysis in this chapter is adapted from Hugo's work (1982a, 1985a, 1987). Only some selected aspects of the international labour migration impact are studied here since all of the elements in Hugo's framework are not appropriate for the examination of OCWs in the Indonesian context. It is important to adopt an individual level of analysis since, as was shown in the last chapter much of the motivation to move comes from the migrants themselves. The impact upon those individuals depends to some extent on the characteristics of migrants, their type of employment etc. Hence it is important at the outset to make some analysis of the characteristics of the migrant workers leaving Indonesia.

7.2 Demographic Characteristics of OCWs

7.2.1 Gender Selectivity

According to the United Nations, about half of all international migrants in the world are women (Shah, 1993:10). In Indonesia, the ratio of males per hundred females among official OCWs fell sharply from 141 in 1983/84 to 79 in 1984/85, 44 in 1985/86 and 29 in 1988/89 (Hugo, 1992a:182). Recent data from AKAN shows that females are dominant in international labour migration out of Indonesia: the ratio of males per 100 females was 35 in 1989/90, 72 in 1990/91, 48 in 1991/1992 and 59 in

1992/93. The increasing volume of Indonesian female international labour migration, is important because of the linkages between the mobility and the changes which are occurring in the roles and statuses of women (Hugo, 1992a).

Female OCWs outnumber males in *Desa Sukasari* where of the total number of overseas contract workers at the end of 1992 of about 382 persons, 70.2 percent were female. It is apparent that the demand for female workers in many receiving countries is greater than for males, especially in the Middle East countries (RDCMD-YTKI, 1986:101). The Indonesian government, unlike several other countries in the region has encouraged the international labour migration of women to work in the domestic service sector. Moreover, sending female workers is more attractive to Indonesian Manpower Suppliers than sending males (see Abella, 1990:14). In Indonesia there is a policy that employers in receiving countries must pay the cost of sending Indonesian workers abroad. Employers in Saudi Arabia, for example, have to pay US\$870 for a male worker and US\$1,350 for a female worker (RDCMD-YTKI, 1986:162). This money is paid to the recruiter for a plane ticket (US\$600), travel documents (US\$170), recruiting fee (US\$100 for males, and US\$300 for females), barracks fee for females (US\$100) and development and training fee for

females (US\$150). For the recruiting fee for a female worker only, a recruiting agent can obtain three times the amount they receive for a male worker (*Tempo*, 2 Juni 1984:13). However, because of strong competition between labour recruiters (Rural Development Foundation, 1992:187), the system has changed and recruiters are charging employers in Saudi Arabia much lower fees and making up the difference by charging the worker applicants a fee.

According to the Ministry of Manpower Regulations (*Peraturan Menteri Tenaga Kerja Nomor:Per-01/MEN/1991 Tentang Antar Kerja Antar Negara*), recruiters are responsible for the costs of sending Indonesian workers overseas and are prohibited from collecting money from OCW candidates, except if the Minister of Manpower determines otherwise. The fact, as one of the Directors of a recruiting agency said publicly, a male OCW candidate has to pay Rp. 1,500,000 to PPTKI while a female pays only Rp. 400,000 (*Tempo*, 19 December 1992). The government has not enforced at all its regulations prohibiting recruiters from collecting fees from OCW candidates. Whatever the reason, recruiters are profit making institutions and they often seek to maximize their profits by sending more females than males. Hence, the

recruiters themselves have played a significant role in encouraging female international labour migration.

In the survey village it was pointed out that many males in the village wanted to go overseas to work, but the cost is high and they could not afford to pay it. To apply for overseas work, males have to pay the equivalent of about US\$900 to agents, while females pay only about US\$250. It is similar in other countries like Sri Lanka, where agents' fees are lower for women than for men (Shah, 1993:11).

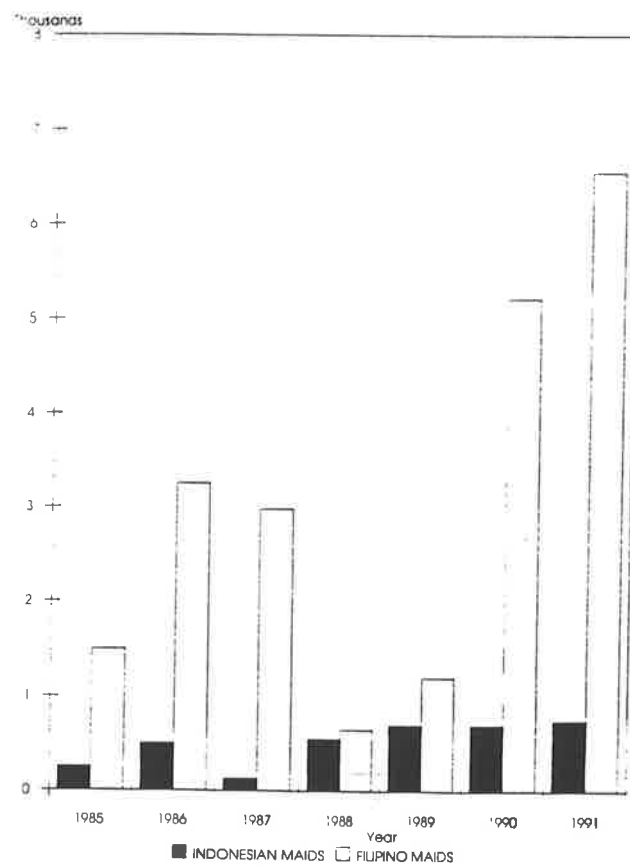
By way of illustration that the demand for females in the Middle East countries is high, in 1986/87 90 percent of the richest Kuwaiti households with incomes of US\$6,800 or more a month had at least one domestic worker and one-third of the Kuwaiti households with incomes less than US\$850 a month had at least one domestic worker (Shah, 1993:12). According to the Rural Development Foundation (1992:222), for workers with no skills domestic work in Saudi Arabia is regarded as the only available employment open for them. The flow of Asian female migrants from Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India and the Philippines to the Middle East involves annually some 95,000 women migrating through legal channels and another 50,000 to 60,000 migrating clandestinely (Abella, 1990; Shah, 1993).

Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong are also significant destinations for many Indonesian female OCWs to work in domestic service. There also is however, some demand for nurses, professional/ skilled workers and entertainers. Dorall and Paramasivam (1992:35) have explained that, "women migrant workers are likely to be increasingly in demand in the Malaysia of the 1990s as domestic helpers, service workers in restaurants, shops, petrol stations and cleaners, etc." However, Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia are still small in number compared with Filipino maids (Figure 7.1).

Each year around 62,000 women leave from the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand to Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei and Japan to work as housemaids and service workers in hotels and restaurants. The flow of Filipino and Thai women has been 35,000 a year, most of them leaving to work mainly as entertainers in Japan where, in 1988, 71,000 Filipino women were admitted legally. The migration of skilled and professional women (doctors, nurses), salespersons, clerical workers from the Philippines, Korea and India to the Gulf countries has involved at least some 28,000 Filipino women (mostly nurses). Asian women migrating to Australia, Canada, the United States and Europe, have numbers that are estimated to be 14,000 to 18,000

migrating legally and 35,000 to 50,000 are migrating through irregular channels (Shah,1993). It has been suggested that more than 320,000 Asian women migrate as workers every year, the majority to other countries within Asia (Shah, 1993:11).

Figure 7.1 Employment of Foreign Maids from Indonesia in Malaysia



Source: Dorall and Paramasivam, 1992:27

It is suggested that international labour migration, (Hugo, 1987, 1992a, 1993d; Lim, 1990) enhances the status of women and increases the level of modernity. In the Indonesian situation this issue has to be looked at carefully. The status and the roles of women in Indonesia as a producer or member of the paid or unpaid labour force, wife, mother, housewife, kin, community member and as an individual (Lim, 1990:7), differ from one ethnic group to another. Hugo (1992a:175) has pointed out that:

"The enormous cultural, ethno-linguistic, economic and geographical diversities make it difficult to generalise about the roles and status of women and how this is changing with the rapid shifts occurring in Indonesia's economy and society."

Traditionally *Desa Sukasari* has a patriarchal system with the male as head of the household leading household life, having official possession of, and control over resources of the household and decision making. However, rapid social and economic change in Indonesia has led to a decrease in the strength of patriarchal structures in families (Hugo, 1994b:5). With respect to this issue, this study analyses whether international labour migration will reduce this gender inequality.

By working overseas, there is a separation between the OCW and spouse, making one partner a single parent for a period of time. In the case of *Desa Sukasari*, of the

households who had OCWs still working abroad, 46.5 percent were the spouse of the OCW and 45.4 percent were parents of the OCWs, with the remainder in other relationships. Some 26.3 percent of households who had an OCW still working abroad, were headed by a woman. The proportion of "female headship"¹ among return households where the OCW was the head of household was much higher (36.8%) than in non-OCW households (4.8%) or households with returned OCWs who were not the head of the household (see Table 7.1). In the Indonesian context, headship of a household usually involves significant responsibilities both in family based decision making but also in representing the family at village meetings.

Female household headship in Indonesia is significant (Hetler, 1986) and can originate from a number of causes. It is clear from Table 7.1 that international labour migration has had an influence on the headship role of women in OCW households. Their participation in international labour migration shows other members of the household that they can and do play important

¹ The headship of household here is the head of household on the basis of a *de facto* (the 'head' of the family at the time of the survey). In a nuclear family (husband-wife-children) the husband is considered as the 'head' of family (*de jure*) although he is absent. Thus, where the OCW is still working overseas, the spouse left in the place of origin is considered to be a *de facto* headship. Whereas in the case where OCWs have returned, they can be a household head, if they are divorced or widowed.

breadwinning roles in the family. It has been noted in Sri Lanka, that migrant women achieve higher status due to their economic activity as they have become income-earning members of the household and community (Spaan, 1989). In *Desa Sukasari*, where females became the head of household while their husband's work abroad (26.3%), only one took up a job outside the household and she opened a small shop (*warung*). However, these women generally had to take on additional roles in the household which were usually done by their absent husbands.

Table 7.1 Headship of Households According to Type Of Household by Gender and Average Age.

Respondent Household Type	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total Age	Average N	
Return OCW as a Head of Household	63.2	36.8*	100.0	36.6	38
Head of Return OCW Household	94.2	5.8	100.0	40.4	52
Head of Household who has OCW still Abroad	73.7	26.3	100.0	44.9	99
Head of non-OCW Household	95.2	4.8	100.0	40.8	83
Total	82.7	17.3	100.0	41.6	272

* 64.3 percent has divorced status.

Source: Field Data, 1992

7.2.2 Age Selectivity

The age of female workers who are still working abroad is much younger than the age of males in that position. From the survey it was found that the average age of female OCWs is 10 years younger (26.9 years) than males (36.7

years). This difference is because most of the female OCWs leave their parents' household to go overseas while most male OCWs are the head of the households they leave. A study by Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada (1986:18) showed that both male and female OCWs from West Java were mostly aged 25-34 years old. In *Desa Sukasari* the average age of return female workers was 32.8 years old and for males 35.3 years old, while non-OCW household heads were older again (40.7 years old for males and 43.5 for females) (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 The Average Age and Age at First Marriage of OCWs and Non-OCW Household Head by Gender

	AVERAGE AGE			AVERAGE AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE		
	OCW still working overseas	Return OCW	Non-OCW household head	OCW still working overseas	Return OCW	Non-OCW household head
Male	36.7 (22)	35.3 (31)	40.7 (79)	22.7 (21)	22.4 (30)	24.8 (79)
Female	26.9 (77)	32.8 (59)	43.5 (4)	16.9 (64)	16.2 (56)	18.0 (4)
Total	29.1 (99)	33.7 (90)	40.8 (83)	18.2 (85)	18.4 (86)	24.5 (83)

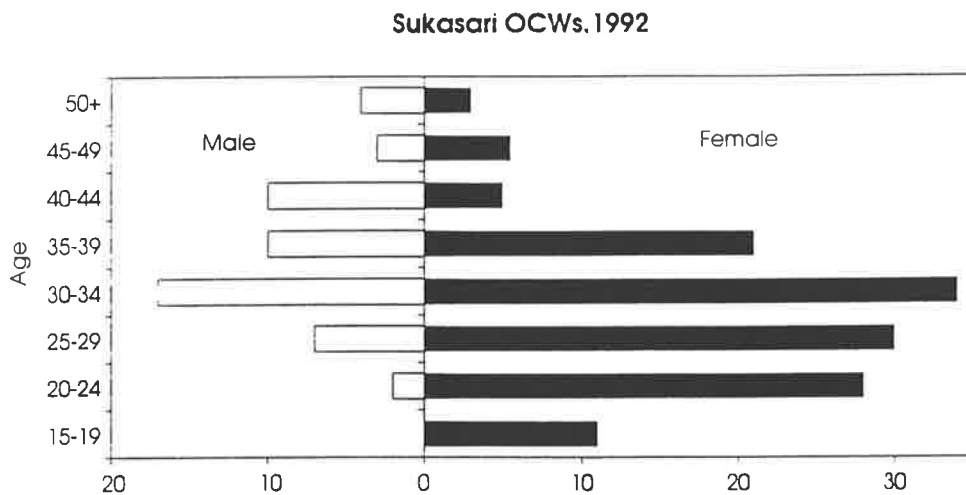
Source: Field Data, 1992

Note= Number of cases given in brackets

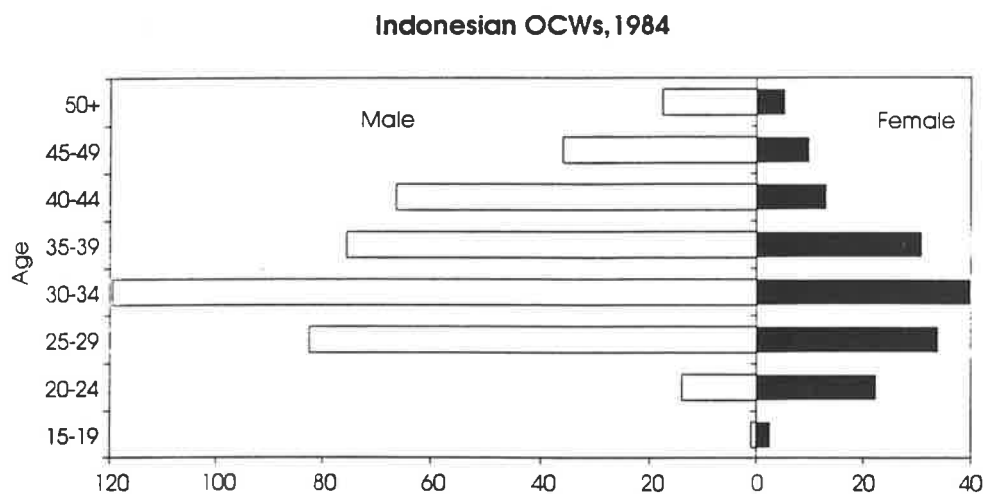
Figure 7.2 shows that the age distribution of OCWs in the study does not differ from the distribution of Indonesian OCWs (Adi 1986). Thus, the age range of OCWs is mostly in

the productive age group. Unfortunately Pusat AKAN do not produce age data for OCWs to allow us to establish the age of Indonesian OCWs as a whole. Table 7.2 also shows that the average age at which they first married was, for both male and female non-OCW household heads, about two years older than OCWs and returned OCWs.

Figure 7.2: The Age Structure of OCWs by Gender



Source: Field Data, 1992



Source: Adi, 1986

7.2.3 Marital Status

Table 7.3 shows that significant differences exist between the OCW population still away and their returned counterparts with respect to their marital status and living arrangements. None of the female absentees were household heads but a significant number of returnees were. It is especially noticeable that a significant proportion of female OCWs (especially among those still away) are currently divorced.

Table 7.3 OCWs According to Gender, the Status of the Household and Marital Status.

Status of household & Marital Status	OCWs		Returned OCWs		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Head	15	-	25	12	52 (27.5%)
Spouse	-	31	3	43	77 (40.8%)
Children	4	41	3	4	52 (27.5%)
Other member	3	5	-	-	8 (4.2%)
Total	22	77	31	59	189 (100.0%)
Married	20	41	28	47	136 (72.0%)
Unmarried	1	13	1	3	18 (9.5%)
Divorced	1	23	2	9	35 (18.5%)
Total	22	77	31	59	189 (100.0%)

Source: Field Data, 1992

This points to a significant relationship between overseas labour migration and divorce. There has been discussion of absence of partners being a factor initiating divorce, but in Sukasari, divorced women were

more likely to go overseas partly because of their family and economic situation. Many of these women move back to their parents' house upon divorce and left for overseas from that house. Hence, more than half of women absent were children of the household head of the family they had left, but some 40 percent were currently married and left behind husbands and children. It is interesting to note also that almost a fifth of those women still away have never been married, yet the official regulations state that women OCWs should be married. Almost all male OCWs still away are married and heads of the households they left.

Returned OCWs are somewhat older than those still away and among women, a fifth are household heads but most are spouses of the household head. Some 15 percent were divorced at the time of the survey. Most returned male OCWs, on the other hand are married household heads. These findings are similar to those of Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada (1986:20) among OCWs in West Java. This situation has to be seen against the background of the traditional pattern in West Java of marriage at young age and subsequent high rates of divorce among West Java people (Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1986:20). At the 1990 Census, the proportions of adults divorced in rural

West Java reached 13.6 percent for females and 2.6 percent for males (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1993).

Table 7.4 shows that the proportion of divorced persons in *Desa Sukasari* was high compared with the situation in rural West Java as a whole. The low proportion of divorces among the heads of non-OCW households is partly associated with many divorced persons among them remarrying. It is apparent that the relationship between international labour migration and divorce is complex. High levels of divorce are as much a cause as a consequence of women working overseas in *Desa Sukasari*.

Table 7.4 Comparison of Percentage of Divorce Between Rural West Java, Sukasari Village and Sample Survey

	% of divorce
Rural West Java (1971 Census)	7.2
Rural West Java (1980 Census)	9.1
Rural West Java (1990 Census)	8.1
Sukasari Village (Village Registration 1991)	10.2
Non-OCW Household (sample survey 1992)	3.6
OCW Household (sample survey 1992)	12.2

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1974, 1983, 1993
Field Data, 1992.

7.2.4 Level of Modernity

According to Inkeles and Smith (1974:16-25), modernity is a process of change of thinking, feeling and attitude by individuals from traditional to modern. Modernity of

an individual is measured by Inkeles and Smith (1974) using a number of indicators as follows:

- openness to new experience
- readiness for social change (change orientation)
- the realm of the growth of opinion
- information
- time orientation
- the sense of efficacy
- planning orientation
- calculability
- valuing of technical skill
- occupational and educational aspirations
- awareness and respect for the dignity of others
- particularism
- optimism

All of the concepts are linked to each other and form a 'modernity syndrome'. In this study, however, the level of modernity is measured in terms of (1) aspirations in education and occupation, (2) change orientation, (3) the sense of efficacy, (4) family size, (5) kinship obligations, and (6) attitudes toward women's rights. The differences in levels of modernity between returned OCWs, OCWs' households and non-OCWs' households hopefully can shed some light on the impact of international labour migration on the changing of attitudes of OCWs and changes in their way of doing things.

It is difficult to determine whether someone is a 'modern person' or a 'traditional person'. To identify the individual level of modernity of respondents, this study asked each respondent to respond to a number of statements (see questionnaire in Appendix 4). Each statement had three possible answers which ranged from traditional (scored 1), transitional (scored 2) and modern (scored 3). The scores which were obtained for each respondent were added and the result meant that each respondent would score between 12 and 36 from the 12 statements/ questions. Furthermore, this scale, was grouped to become: (1) < 18 = traditional, (2) 19-25 = transitional, (3) 26-32 = modern, and (4) $33 >$ = more modern in thinking, feeling and attitude.

Table 7.5 shows the frequency distribution of the modernity score of returned OCWs who were heads of households, heads of households which contained returned OCWs, heads of households which had OCWs working overseas and heads of non-OCW households. The table shows that the proportion of returned OCWs who were heads of households and heads of households who had returned OCWs was slightly higher in terms of modern attitudes than the heads of non-OCW households and heads of households who had OCWs still working overseas.

This suggests that the thinking, feelings and attitudes of returned OCWs and the heads of households which contained returned OCWs are more modern compared with the others. However, test statistics show that the differences between heads of OCW household and heads of non-OCW households are not significant in level of modernity (Chi-Square .19180, significance .6614).

Table 7.5 Modernity Score of Respondents

	Tradi- tional (< 18)	Transi- tional (19-25)	Modern (26-32)	More modern (33 >)	Total
Returned OCWs as head of household	-	23.7	71.0	5.3	100.0 n=38
Head of house- hold of re- turned OCWs	1.9	23.1	75.0	-	100.0 n=52
Head of house- hold of OCWs still abroad	-	32.3	64.7	3.0	100.0 n=99
Head of non- OCWs household	-	30.1	67.5	2.4	100.0 n=83

Source: Field Data, 1992

Although from this evaluation it seems that international labour migration has not had a role in initiating an increase in the level of modernity of OCWs, we have to consider that it is possible there was some change in the attitude of OCWs after they worked overseas. As Hugo

(1982a:196) pointed out 'some have suggested that population mobility has been one of the major vehicles whereby increased commercialisation and a growing emphasis on individualism has been spread into rural areas in Southeast Asia, often initiating major changes in traditional agricultural practices'. The results of the present survey were inconclusive in this respect.

7.3 Socio-Economic Condition

7.3.1 Income Level and Employment

The experience and money brought back from overseas provide a resource for the OCWs to utilize upon their return. They can potentially use the experience and skills gained overseas for re-employment in their homeland and use the remittances for fulfilling their needs for a certain period, or for investing in productive activities (Roongshivin, 1986; Smart, Teodosio and Jimenez, 1986). However, when returned OCWs in *Desa Sukasari* were asked "Do you think that your work experience overseas is useful for your work here in your village?", only 32.2 percent of them said that working overseas was beneficial for them. However, when they were asked "What do you think were the detrimental consequences for your household resulting from your work

overseas?" 81.1% suggested there was no detrimental impact.

Since many of the job opportunities overseas (especially in Saudi Arabia) are in the domestic service sector, most returned OCWs said that the usefulness of working overseas was that they became aware how the (rich) families look after their households and how modern appliances were used in household chores. The cleanliness of the house, food, ways of looking after the children, etc. which were different from what they knew before, were all new experiences for them. That they could now speak Arabic was also seen as a positive impact for Muslim OCWs since The Koran (The Holy Book of Islam) is written in the Arabic language. One returned OCW became a teacher of Arabic in *Desa Sukasari*. Another OCW often helped his neighbors or friends who had members working overseas in writing letters or in making a long distance call to Saudi Arabia (as a translator).

The main perceived positive impact of working overseas at the individual level was that the migrants received better wages compared with their place of origin. Logically, the OCW will not go to another country for work if he/she can find work with a good wage in his/her place of origin. Most (92.6%) female OCWs worked as

domestic helpers overseas and there were only 4.4 percent who worked as babysitters, whereas most of the males worked as drivers. Although they worked in low status jobs, they could obtain what was perceived to be high incomes. Most returned OCWs (61.3%) had an income less than Rp. 100,000 a month while 96.9 percent of OCWs received more than Rp.200,000 a month while they were overseas (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6: The Income of OCWs whilst Overseas and the Income of Returnees in Their Homeland

Income (in thousands)	OCW		Returnee	
	n	%	n	%
Rp.100 <	-	-	19	61.3
Rp.101-200	3	3.1	7	22.6
Rp.201-300	67	69.1	3	9.7
Rp.301-400	16	16.5	1	3.2
Rp.401 >	11	11.3	1	3.2
Total	97	100.0	31	100.0

Note: 2 OCWs and 1 Returnee had no answer, and 58 returnees had no jobs yet.

Source: Field Data, 1992

Haji Mahbub (35 years old) is one of the returned OCWs in Sukasari village. In his case, although he did not earn as much income as when he worked in Saudi Arabia, his life was better on his return compared with before he went overseas. He was willing to go abroad again. He returned from Saudi Arabia in 1992. After six months

unemployed he found a job as a bus driver in Bandung (Capital City of West Java Province), so he circulated once a week to Bandung and back to Sukasari village where his family remained. From this job he received Rp. 150,000 a month while in Saudi Arabia his wages were about Rp.400,000 as a driver. Although, he said that, the main reason for working in Saudi Arabia was to make the pilgrimage, by working overseas he has now been able to have a good house, 0.5 hectare of wet rice field and he has the prestige of having made the pilgrimage to Mecca. It was impossible for him to make the pilgrimage without working in Saudi Arabia, because the cost for this journey from Indonesia was very expensive . Now (1992) he has a title and term of address for such a pilgrim (*Haji*), whereas he only finished primary school and worked as a hawker in Jakarta before he worked overseas. As a *Haji*, the people in his village respect him since the Islam religion plays a significant role in the daily life of the villagers.

From the case of Haji Mahbub it can be seen that there is a strong relationship between international and internal forms of population movement. The experiences of movement of Haji Mahbub internally encouraged him to work overseas and upon return he worked in a large urban centre to which he circulated on a regular basis. The survey found

that among unemployed female return OCWs, 20 (41.7%) of them were not looking for work because they had to look after their children or their husbands and were not able to work outside the household (Table 7.7). However 58.3 percent of female return OCWs are still seeking work opportunities. Certainly the experience in Sukasari seems to be that females return OCWs in Sukasari are more likely to seek work outside the household as a result of their overseas experience. This was also the case with female Sri Lankan OCWs (Eelens et al,1990). Keely and Saket (1984) also observed that migrants who have returned to Jordan were more economically active than before their departure.

Table 7.7: The Reasons for Not Working Among Unemployed Returned OCWs

The reasons	Male	Female	Total
Still not found a job yet	4	13	17
Looking after their children	1	16	17
Want to take rest first	-	6	6
Their husband did not allow to work	-	4	4
Did not have capital for business	4	-	4
Did not give reason	-	9	9
Total	9	48	57

Source: Field Data, 1992

Most returned OCWs (66.7% from 33 working returnees) who were working at the time of the survey was undertaken, took less than 6 months to get a job on their return. The

waiting time before finding a job among returned OCWs in Sukasari village was between 1 and 36 months and this may be compared with returned Korean OCWs where a review of 1000 employee records conducted by Kong-Kyun Ro found that for 57 percent of returning migrants, the waiting time before finding a job in the homeland was between 7 and 11 weeks. In Go's survey of returning migrants to the Philippines, the median waiting time for those who found local employment was 5.5 months (ESCAP, 1986a:7). Meanwhile, among OCWs returning to Jordan almost two-thirds were back in the labour force within four months.

7.3.2 Social Welfare

In the case of Sukasari's OCWs 63.3 percent said that they had problems which working overseas, for example in communicating with their employer, separation from their family, having a fierce employer, work overload, food, weather, an employer did not pay the wage, prohibition from going out of the house and many more kinds of difficulties. But from all of the difficulties, four kinds were most frequently faced by the OCWs: language difficulty (52.6%), family separation (28.1%), fierce employer (26.3%), and work overload (21.1%). A study by Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada (1986:71) found that 85.4 percent return OCWs said that

the different customs were the main cause of difficulties in the country of employment. The differences in their experiences overseas resulted in individual OCWs having quite different perceptions about working overseas.

The remittances improved the economic conditions of the migrants themselves. But how long the remittances benefitted them is open to question. The OCWs contributed to meeting the costs of daily necessities of their families, paid debts, bought or renovated houses, supported the education of their children or other household members and assisted their family's welfare in other ways as well. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

7.3.3 Social/Political Participation Upon Return

One interesting aspect of the consequences of international labour migration is the social/political participation of OCWs upon their return. The migrant's experiences in the host country, it has been suggested, has had an impact on the migrant in terms of attitude and behaviour. Changing attitudes and behaviour obviously made them look different from before they migrated. What is attempted here is to compare the social/political participation of returned OCWs, OCWs' households and non-

OCWs' households, and also attempt to assess the ideas, money and manpower they have provided for village development efforts. The social/political participation in this study refers to whether the OCWs have participated in:

- the recitation of the Koran (*pengajian*)
- voluntary labour service (*kerja bakti*)
- sport (*olahraga*)
- the village program to educate women on various aspects of family welfare (*pendidikan kesejahteraan keluarga*)
- things having to do with art (*kesenian*)
- night watchman (*ronda malam*)
- information/elucidation for example in family planning agricultural extension, etc. (*penyuluhan*)
- policy of military personnel participating in village development projects (*ABRI masuk desa*)
- general election campaign (*kampanye pemilu*)
- head village election campaign (*kampanye pemilihan kepala desa*).

Besides that, this study also seeks to discover whether they are a member of the co-operation of village unit (*Koperasi Unit Desa*), a political organisation (*partai politik*) or social organisation (*organisasi sosial*),

whether they are a leader of a religious (*pemimpin agama*), or social organisation (*pemimpin organisasi sosial*), or leader of a political organisation (*pemimpin partai politik*). Any ideas that OCWs have given to the village development efforts, whether they gave money or manpower (*tenaga*) and the purpose for which that money and manpower was given, also been assessed in order to understand the social/political participation of the OCWs.

To measure the participation level of OCWs in the social/political life of the village upon return, a scale has been used similar to the one used to measure the level of modernity. In this case respondents were asked about their participation in the activities listed above. Each response is scored 1 for never participated in an activity, 2 for occasionally, 3 for often and 4 for always. The scores which were obtained by respondents were added and as a result each respondent was given a score between 12 and 48 (from 12 activities/questions). This scale, has then been grouped to become: (1) 12 = do not participate at all, (2) 13-16 = low participation, (3) 17-24 = high participation, and (4) 25-48 = very high level of social/political participation. Table 7.8 and Table 7.9 indicate that, most of the respondents have a high level of social/political participation.

Table 7.8: The Social/Political Participation of Respondents (percent).

	Low	High	Very High	Total (n)
Returned OCWs as head of household	7.9	73.7	18.4	(38)
Head of household of returned OCWs	1.9	86.5	11.5	(52)
Head of household of OCWs still abroad	4.0	88.9	7.1	(99)
Head of non-OCWs household	4.8	80.7	14.5	(83)
Total	4.4	83.8	11.8	(272)

Source: Field Data, 1992

Test statistics show that between heads of OCW households and heads of non-OCW households there is the same level of social/political participation (Chi-Square .00000, Significance 1.00000).

Table 7.9: The Role of Respondent in Social/Political Organisations

	Returned OCWs as head of household	Head of household of returned OCWs	Head of household of OCWs still abroad	Head of non-OCWs household	Total
As a member of social/political organisations:					
one	8	11	22	20	61
more	3	2	2	8	15
As a religious leader	5	-	3	3	11
As a social organisation leader	-	1	6	10	17

Source: Field Data, 1992

Furthermore, in looking at the association between the level of modernity and the level of participation and between income and the level of participation, test statistics show that the association between the level of modernity and the level of participation and association between income and the level of participation is not significant. Moreover, in the process of village development, observation indicates that both OCWs and non-OCWs in *Desa Sukasari* village have an almost equal role in the contribution of ideas, money and manpower. The Heads of all *dusun* and some village officers said that there was no difference between them in contribution to village development. Every returned OCW who had just arrived from overseas recently had been asked to give a donation (voluntary), of about Rp 15,000 for village development funds. However, Table 7.10 shows that non-OCW households tend to be more involved in village development activities than OCW households. They more often contribute ideas, money and labour to such activities.

Table 7.10: Contribution by Respondents of Ideas, Money and Manpower for Village Development

	Returned OCWs as head of household	Head of household of returned OCWs	Head of household of OCWs still abroad	Head of household non-OCWs
Contribution of ideas for village development:				
often	21.1	9.6	9.1	32.5
seldom	10.5	7.7	25.3	18.1
never	68.4	82.7	65.6	49.4
Contribution of money for village development:				
often	57.9	57.7	49.5	62.7
seldom	31.6	34.6	41.4	27.7
never	10.5	7.7	9.1	9.6
Contribution of manpower for village development:				
often	26.3	53.8	49.5	66.3
seldom	44.7	28.8	25.3	22.9
never	29.0	17.3	25.3	10.8

Source: Field Data, 1992

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Indonesian overseas contract workers generally are dominated by females, due partly to the nature of job markets overseas for which Indonesia competes requiring more females than males. Female OCWs are mainly the children and wives of household heads in *Desa Sukasari* and they have had an important role in

become more independent in fulfilling their daily needs. It also would seem that since many women go overseas before getting married overseas contract work has the impact of delaying the age of marrying and having children.

The negative and positive impacts of working overseas on individual migrants have also been discussed in this chapter. Generally international labour migration has had a positive impact at the individual level. The migrants obtained work with higher wages. Their remittances were used for both productive and consumption activities to fulfil their needs. Upon return, although the unemployment rate among them was still high, if all employment activities are looked at, like agricultural activities or making a small business, then most OCWs seem to be successfully absorbed back into the local labour market. Besides money, the returned OCWs brought back their experiences from the host country which were perceived as being useful by most of them. However, the level of modernity as a consequence of working overseas is still open to question since this study did not analyse the differences before and after working overseas. Statistical testing has suggested that the level of modernity of returned OCWs and non-OCWs in *Desa Sukasari* was not significantly different.

Lastly, it is interesting to consider a short story of a typical returned OCW by an Indonesian story writer (Radhar Panca Dahana) which was published in KOMPAS, 15 November 1992 with title "Titin Pulang Dari Saudi". The following is a summary of the story:

Titin, young and divorced, worked as a housemaid in Saudi Arabia for 4 years. Her father died 3 months after she left to work abroad. When she arrived in her village in Kabupaten Sukabumi, West Java, she was very happy, especially when the time came to give gifts to her mother, brothers and sisters, and relatives. The strain of 4 years in Saudi Arabia however, is gone after 3 days, and life returns to normal. With about Rp 14 millions she has from Saudi Arabia, she had planned to renovate her parent's house, pay off her father's debts, buy furniture, and open a small shop.

But after 3 weeks, her mind was confused: she only has Rp 4 million left while the renovations of the house are not finished. Her mother, sisters and brothers continually give their opinions on the renovation of the house, ...to change this or to use this. Every day Titin can not stop the requests of her mother and sister/brother about what they say are "important needs"...to buy colour television, bicycle, clothes, shoes, cosmetics, motorcycle, wristwatch, jacket, even to hire a minibus for picnic together.

Entering week seven, she only has a few hundred thousand Rp left, while the small shop is not realised yet. Her sister, 17 years old, is willing to go to Saudi Arabia. Her view since she was in Saudi Arabia "I will not come back to work to Saudi Arabia again", has now faded. Finally, she decided to back to Saudi Arabia with her 17 year old sister.....

Chapter Eight

IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION: THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

8.1 Introduction

The impact of international labour migration on the family/household is important because the family is the fundamental social unit in Indonesian society as well as often being an important economic unit. It is clear that the overwhelming cause of such movement is the lack of sufficient income in the origin area to sustain a family's perceived needs (Hugo, 1993c). By working abroad, the OCW attempts to improve the family's economic situation. However, the absence of the OCW (head of household/spouse/children or other members) also may produce changes in the family in some respects, especially if the OCW is the recognised head of the household or the spouse of the household head.

According to neo-classical economic theory, international labour migration occurs as a result of the differential in wages and employment conditions between countries, which causes workers from a low wage or low employment opportunity country to move to a high wage/plentiful employment country (Wood, 1982; Clark, 1986a; Massey, 1988; Hugo, 1991, 1993a; Massey, et al., 1993). However,

according to Hugo (1993c) this theory has limited explanatory power in Less Developed Countries, because the family as a unit of production has an important role in the allocation of the labour members of the family in response to economic stress (Wood, 1982; Stark, 1991; Hugo, 1993c; Massey et al., 1993). In this situation, some family members can work in the local/regional economy, while others may work in another country. Stark (1991) argues, that although there are differences in wages and employment conditions between countries, if the income in the country of origin is sufficient to sustain the family's perceived needs, the overseas labour migration would not have occurred (Wood, 1982:314). Thus the result of working overseas is very important for the OCW's family.

This chapter examines the impact of working overseas on the demographic and socio-economic situation of the family in the place of origin. The analysis in this chapter is based on a framework adapted from Hugo's work (1982a, 1985a, 1987) which has been presented in Chapter Two. In particular the analysis involves comparison of a range of conditions in OCW households to those in non-OCW households. Examination of the impact on demographic aspects of family will focus upon changes in family size and composition, marriage/divorce and fertility. Socio-

economic aspects focus on income level and distribution, employment, social welfare, social/political participation and kinship linkages in OCW and non-OCW households.

8.2 Demographic Impacts

8.2.1 Family/Household Size and Composition

The survey found, that (Table 8.1) the proportion of nuclear families of non-OCW households is higher than in OCW households. This contradicts the argument that international labour migration will reduce family size and place greater emphasis on the nuclear family (Hugo, 1987:158, Werner, 1991). Clearly, international labour migrants have come mostly from households composed of extended families. The larger number of household members enables them to allocate their members to work overseas. Of course this is a measure of *residential* nucleation or extension of the family and not the *emotional* nucleation or extension which is important in social change.

As theories of "household sustenance strategies" indicate, households will respond to economic stress in reaching and/or increasing their desired quantity and quality of consumption and investment, for example, by sending wives and children into the workforce moon-

Table 8.1: Household Composition of the Nuclear and Extended Family of the OCW and Non-OCW Households

	Households with re- turn OCW as head of house- hold	Households without return OCW as head house hold	Household with OCW still working abroad	Non-OCW house-
1. Head of household and spouse only	-	9.6	2.0	7.2
2. Head of household and spouse + children	44.7	51.9	49.5	61.4
3. Head of household and spouse + parents/ grandparents	-	-	1.0	2.2
4. Head of household and spouse + other members	5.3	5.8	1.0	4.8
5. Head of household and spouse + children + parents/grandparents	21.1	5.8	6.1	1.4
6. Head of household and spouse + children + other members	10.5	15.4	30.3	26.9
7. Head of household and spouse + parents/ grandparents + other members	7.9	3.8	-	3.6
8. Head of household and spouse + children + parents/grandparents + other members	10.5	7.7	10.1	11.4
Nuclear family (1+2)	44.7	61.5	51.5	68.7
Extended family (3+4+5+6+7+8)	55.3	38.5	48.5	31.3
Total	100.0 (n=38)	100.0 (n=52)	100.0 (n=99)	100.0 (n=83)

Source: Field data, 1992

lighting, or by engaging in short-term migration to take seasonal or temporary jobs in another country (Wood, 1982; Massey et al., 1993; Hugo, 1993c). The role of the family as a unit of production in LDCs is important in the allocation of their labour (member of the family) in response to economic stress (Hugo, 1993c, 1994). The fact that OCW families tend to be extended families more than non-OCW families suggests that extended families are more likely to allocate labour to overseas locations as part of their family strategy for maximising family income and

spreading the risk across a number of income generating sources.

Most female OCWs (53.2% of the sample survey) who were still working overseas were the children of OCW household heads and generally they were married or divorced (Chapter Seven). Thus, it means the structure, or composition of household members for the household which still has an OCW working overseas generally consists of the "head of household and spouse plus children" (49.5 percent) and "head of household and spouse plus children and plus other members" (30.3 percent) (Table 8.1). The "other members" mostly include son/daughter-in-law and grandchildren (three generations). However, in the households which have a returned OCW as head, the proportion of parents/grandparents who live with the family is higher compared with other kinds of households. This indicates also that international labour migration meant that the OCW families tended to be extended families which were taking care of parents/grandparents by bringing them to live with them.

The total number of household members in OCW households is slightly higher than in non-OCW households (Table 8.2). From this sample survey however, the average number of household of both OCW and non-OCW households was

higher than the average number of household members in *Desa Sukasari* as a whole. Table 8.2 shows also the distribution of household members according to age.

Table 8.2: Average Number of Household Members of the OCW and Non-OCW Households, Distribution of the Members According to Age and Sex Ratio

	Households with re- turn OCW as head of house- hold	Households without return OCW head of household	Households with OCW still as working abroad	Non-OCW house- holds
Average No. of household members	5.4	4.8	6.0	2.7
Sex ratio	80	94	99	102
0-14	39.2	36.1	32.7	30.4
15-29	26.5	25.4	31.0	25.6
30-44	22.5	27.4	21.3	24.5
45-59	7.4	6.3	8.8	7.7
60+	4.4	4.8	6.2	2.8
Total number of households	204	252	593	391
n	38	52	99	83

Note: According to Mantri Statistik Kecamatan Cianjur (1991), in 1990 the average number of household members in *Desa Sukasari* was 3.9 persons.

Source: Field Data, 1992

It shows that the age structure of OCW and non-OCW households was not much different. Additionally, the average number of members in both OCW and non-OCW households tends to be similar (2.7 for households with return OCW as head of household, 2.5 for household without return OCW as head of household, 3.1 for households with OCW still working abroad and 2.6 for non-

OCW households). Compared with the non-OCW households, there are more females in OCW households (Table 8.2). The sex ratio for non-OCW households in *Desa Sukasari* is 102 indicating a slight dominance of males while in all OCW household groups females outnumber males.

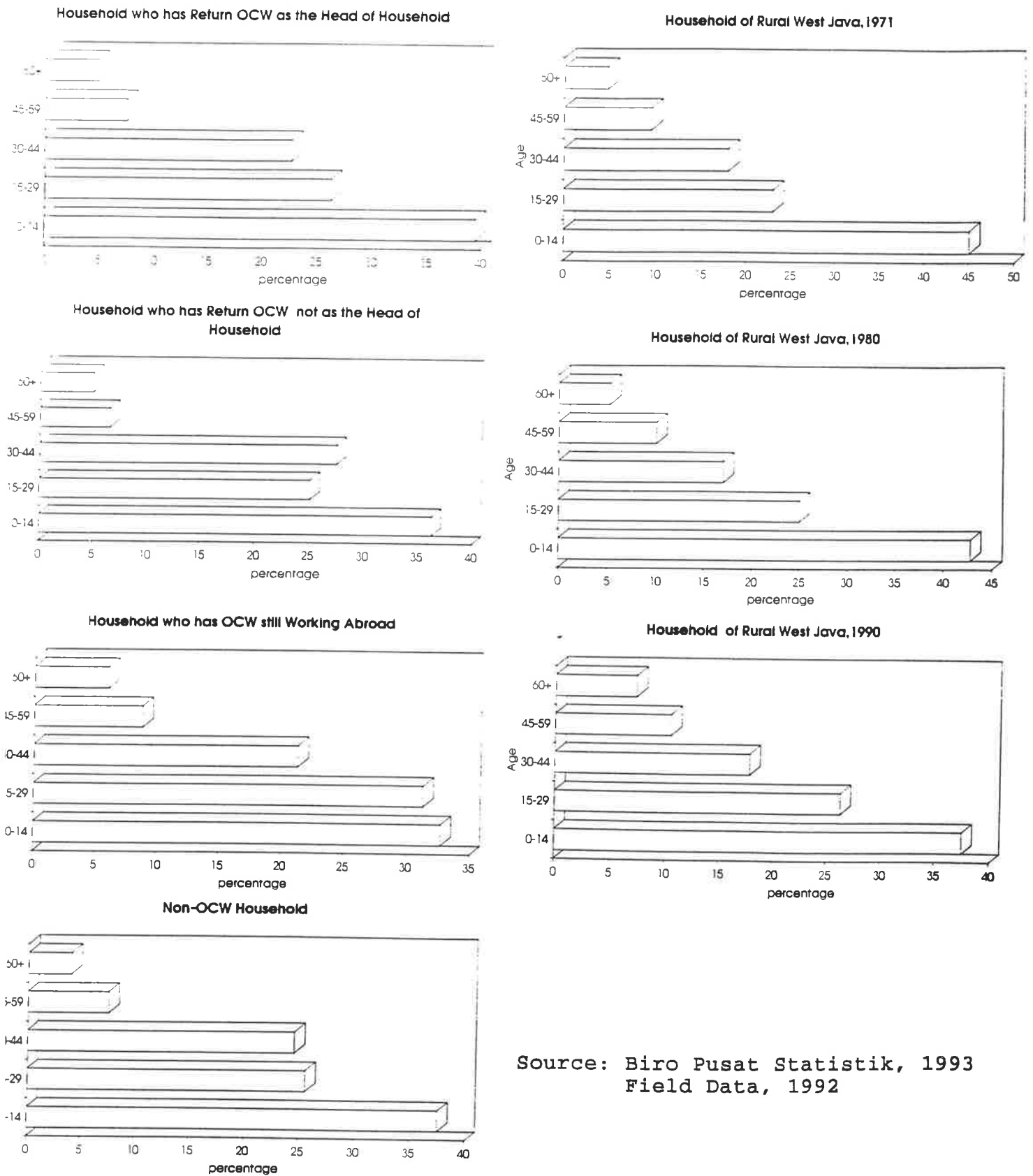
Table 8.3: Number of Persons in Each Household

Number of members of household	Household with re-turn OCWs as head of household	Household without return OCWs as head of household	Household with OCWs still working abroad	Non-OCW households	Total
3		5	6	5	16
4		7	13	19	44
5	11	10	18	19	44
6		14	11	15	30
7	4	12	21	12	38
8		2	14	7	19
9		1	11	3	16
10	2	-	4	2	7
11		-	4	1	4
12		-	4	-	4
13		-	1	-	1
14		-	-	-	-
17		1	-	-	1
Total	38	52	99	83	272

Source: Field Data, 1992

Generally, the total number of household members for non-OCW households was lower than for OCW households. It is shown in Table 8.3 that the average number of household members was 3.5 persons for non-OCW households and 5 for return OCWs as heads of households and households which have return OCWs and 6 for households which have OCWs still working abroad. Moreover, in *Desa Sukasari* the age structure of both OCW and non-OCW households differed little although the migrants themselves are a selective

Figure 8.1: Age Structure of Household Members of OCW and non-OCW Household in Sukasari and Rural West Java (percentage)



Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1993
Field Data, 1992

group of young working age people. In this study however, although the age structure of the OCWs and non-OCWs households members were similar, the households which have OCWs still working abroad have a higher proportion in the 15-29 age groups compared to non-OCW household or returned OCW household or for rural West Java as a whole (Figure 8.1). This perhaps reflects the fact that households with several young workers tend to deploy some of them overseas to work, while still housing some available to work in the village.

8.2.2 Marriage/Divorce and Fertility

It has been suggested (Chapter Seven) that international labour migration has not increased the incidence of divorce in the study village. The loss of harmony within a family due to the separation of the OCWs and their spouse and children, however, is seen as having a significant impact in international labour migration because the period of absence of OCWs from their family is quite long. Table 8.4 shows the length of time worked overseas, with most returned OCWs being away for more than 18 months. During the fieldwork, there were 8 OCWs still working overseas who have been away for more than five years. A study by Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada (1986) found that 75 percent of

OCWs from West Java and Central Java were under two year contracts while from Yogyakarta 63.4 percent move under a one year contract. The length of time working in another country often depends on the nature of the work contract, which are generally for two years. There were OCWs who worked only for a few months before the contract finished, while for others it was more than five years after the first extension of the contract (Table 8.4).

Table 8.4: Length of Time Working Overseas of Returned OCWs and OCWs still Working Overseas

(month)	OCW still working overseas		Returned OCW		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-6	17	17.2	2	2.2	19	10.1
7-12	22	22.2	4	4.4	26	13.8
13-18	7	7.1	5	5.6	12	6.3
19-24	19	19.2	40	44.4	59	31.2
25-30	4	4.0	7	7.8	11	5.8
31-36	9	9.1	7	7.8	16	8.5
37-42	2	2.0	2	2.2	4	2.1
43-48	7	7.1	8	8.9	15	7.9
49-54	-	-	2	2.2	2	1.1
55-60	4	4.0	2	2.2	6	3.2
61 >	8	8.1	11	12.2	19	10.1
	99	100.0	90	100.0	189	100.0

Source: Field Data, 1992

In the survey most of the respondents said that the absence of migrants did not create a problem in their households. Table 8.5 shows respondents who indicated that their households were experiencing problems and it is noticeable that households with migrants still abroad

had the highest rate of reporting that their household was facing problems. Almost a third of these households (31 out of 99) reported having problems, with more than a quarter of these indicating that these problems were associated with taking care of children. It is understandable that the separation of spouses means that the remaining spouse in the village will face greater difficulty as a sole parent in handling family problems and difficulties than would two parent families (Go and Postrado, 1986).

Negative impacts of the separation caused by working overseas were reported by several respondents. Separation from family caused 6.5 percent of OCWs to experience loneliness and both married OCWs and their spouse felt their biological needs were unfulfilled. Moreover, those who were left behind (spouse and children), were not as well organised as before. Single parents (male or female) had to look after the children and according to 29 percent of the respondents who had OCWs still working abroad, the children were not taken care of well enough (Table 8.5). Therefore, working overseas appears to frequently disrupt the harmony of family life in the village. In other words, the relationship among the members of the household could weaken. However, the fact that in *Desa Sukasari* the proportion of extended families

among OCW households was higher than non-OCW households (Table 8.1) suggests that the extended family substitutes for many of the roles played by the absent family members. Hence, the extended family acts as a cushion to the problems created by the absence of adults.

Table 8.5: Household Problems According to the Respondent

Household problem	Households with re-turn OCW as head of household (n=18)	Households with OCW still working abroad (n=31)	Non-OCW households (n=18)
Economy	72.2	51.6	55.6
Taking care of household/children	16.7	29.0	5.6
Quarrel (dispute) husband/wife	11.1	3.2	-
Debt	-	9.7	-
Loneliness	-	6.5	-
Others	11.1	16.1	-

Note: The percentage from the total respondents of each household who answered that they have a problem

Source: Field Data, 1992

An example is the Arifin family (not their real name) in Desa Sukasari. It seems that to look after the OCW's children left behind was not a problem. When the survey was being done, Arifin looked after the two children of his daughter, who was working (as a housemaid) with her husband (a driver) in Saudi Arabia. Arifin also looked after the wife of his son who was also working overseas. The wife of his son opened a small shop ('warung') in the front of Arifin's house and bought goods in the city and

sold them in the village. It seems that these activities were intended to keep herself busy to decrease her loneliness. At the time of the survey she did not feel free, as if an unmarried woman, to associate with society in her village while her husband was absent. Meanwhile, the Arifin grandchildren have grown up as fine children. They associate with good friends and no bad stories about them can be heard from their neighbours. However, according to Arifin's daughter-in-law, if she could choose, it would have been better for her husband not to have left her.

The relationship between Arifin, his grandchildren and his daughter-in-law is good with love and affection, because the loneliness due to separation has made them more careful to protect their relationship. Arifin pays more attention to his daughter-in-law and grandchildren because he feels his responsibility towards them is greater than if his son and daughter were present. On the other hand, his daughter-in-law and his grandchildren all need shelter. A study in Sri Lanka shows a similar pattern of extended family support coming into play when adult family members are overseas. Parents often call on the help of close or distant relatives for assistance in child care and the running of the household (Spaan, 1989:64).

A serial story (titled "Peni") in a popular women's magazine, FEMINA (no.1-5, xxi, 28 January - 3 February 1993) by Sasongko Adiyono, provides a vivid picture of how wider relationships than the nuclear family are important in supporting the families left behind by migrants.

Peni (grade 3 in Junior High School) has one brother (grade 3 in Primary School). Her father works in the city temporarily, depending on the job order. When her father stopped sending home money, and after all the things that could be sold were finished, her mother went to Saudi Arabia to work as a house maid. Peni had to look after her brother and manage the household. Because her mother never sends money, Peni works as a laundress in the village. When her father had to sell the house to pay the debt, Peni stayed with her teacher who met her needs. Her brother stayed with her father in city. The story has a happy ending: her mother returned after the work contract finished, her father obtained a permanent job in city, and they stayed together again.

The field survey also found that, as discussed in Chapter Seven, although in a rational sense, working overseas will cause a delay in having a baby for married OCWs and a delay in marrying for unmarried OCWs and consequently decrease the fertility rate, the facts show that the average number of children among OCW and non-OCW households is not much different. Nevertheless, Table 8.6 suggests that working overseas changes the attitude of migrants towards having children. In general, they preferred a small family size compound to non-migrants. Most returned OCWs who are heads of households (31.6%)

are aged between 20-54 years and have two children compared with only 21.1 percent of non-OCW heads of households. Most (26.8%) of non-OCW heads households are aged 20-54 years and have three children.

Table 8.6: Fertility Level of Returned OCW and Non-OCW According to Age Group

	Total Children																			Sub-total
	Returned OCW									Non-OCW										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
20-24	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
25-29	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
30-34	2	3	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	11	5	5	8	1	1	1	-	-	-	21
35-39	-	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	8	2	3	1	4	1	1	-	-	-	13
40-44	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	6	-	1	1	6	7	-	-	-	-	15
45-49	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	4	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	6
50-54	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	7
55-59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
60-64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
65+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	5	7	12	6	2	4	1	1	-	38	14	17	17	18	10	7	-	-	-	83

Source: Field Data, 1992

8.3 Socio-Economic Conditions of the Household

8.3.1 Income Level and Employment

The most important impact of working overseas is the flow of remittances from the country of employment to the country of origin (Russell, 1986, 1992). Remittances are the main means of making up for the insufficient household incomes of migrants. Remittances increase the household income and make it possible to encourage investment in the home country (Marius, 1987; Shrestha, 1988; Hugo and Singhanetra-Renard, 1991). In the case of

Desa Sukasari, a household which has an OCW still abroad obtains a much higher income than other households. Their household income can reach Rp 495.000 a month (including remittances), whereas other households only obtain about a half of this level or less (Table 8.7). This difference is due to the remittances from their household members who work overseas (the remittances could be sent regularly or irregularly). The average household income from remittances is Rp 332,600 a month, which means that 67.2 percent of the income of households who still have an OCW abroad is from remittances. A study in the Philippines (Go and Postrado, 1986) shows that the average income earned by families with an OCW was about 2.2 times larger than a non-OCW families' income.

Table 8.7: The Average Household Income (in thousand rupiah a month) According to the Main Job of the Head of Household

Main occupation of the household head	Households with re-turn OCW as head of household (n)	Households without return OCW as head of household (n)	Households with OCW still working abroad (n)	Non-OCW households (n)	Total (n)
Teacher	668 (1)	-	985 (1)	250 (4)	442 (6)
Farmer	129 (11)	131 (27)	404 (43)	111 (40)	221 (121)
Worker	229 (2)	188 (4)	470 (9)	461 (11)	404 (26)
Entrepreneur	575 (2)	-	-	-	575 (2)
Trader	254 (4)	225 (9)	542 (8)	218 (12)	303 (33)
Driver	250 (5)	207 (8)	464 (4)	209 (5)	264 (22)
Other	-	240 (2)	475 (8)	204 (6)	344 (16)
Unemployed/pensioner	269 (13)	158 (2)	611 (26)	281 (5)	459 (46)
Total	278 (34)	169 (52)	495 (98)	205 (82)	314 (266)

Source: Field Data, 1992

The income of heads of households in Sukasari tends to depend upon their occupation. The highest income is for entrepreneurs (Table 8.8), while farmers obtain the lowest incomes compared to other occupations. Table 8.8 shows the median individual income of return OCWs and non-OCWs according to occupation in *Desa Sukasari*. Looking at this situation demonstrates that remittances have an important role in international labour migration in terms of capital for opening a business upon return from overseas.

Table 8.8: Median Individual Income (Rp 1000/month) of the Head of Household from the Main Occupation

Main Occupation of the household head	Return OCW as head of household	Head of return OCW household	Head of household which has OCW still working abroad	Head of non-OCW household
Teacher	151	-	230	112
Farmer	42	31	38	41
Worker	130	110	105	146
Entrepreneur	400	-	-	-
Trader	90	150	60	90
Driver	160	165	150	90

Source: Field Data, 1992

Haji Ibin¹ (not his real name), for example, upon his return from overseas bought a piece of land in the upland

¹ Before he worked overseas he worked as a driver. His friend persuaded him to work in Saudi Arabia to earn a lot of money. He decided to go there and his wife urged

part of the village of about 30 hectares at the price of Rp 10 million and used it to open a business in mining by digging the hill to collect stone and sand for sale (see Plate 8.1). From this business he earns about Rp 500,000 a month and has hired 16 employees.



Plate 8.1: Return OCW business: digging a hill to collect sand and stone for sale

In *Desa Sukasari* the survey found that 79.9 percent of OCW households spent their remittances on consumption

him also. Besides the money, making the pilgrimage to Mecca was his second goal. Now, besides his business in stone and sand mining, he is also a contractor in housing and a "Ustadz" (term of address for Islam teacher). All of his six children are still in school and two of them are in university.

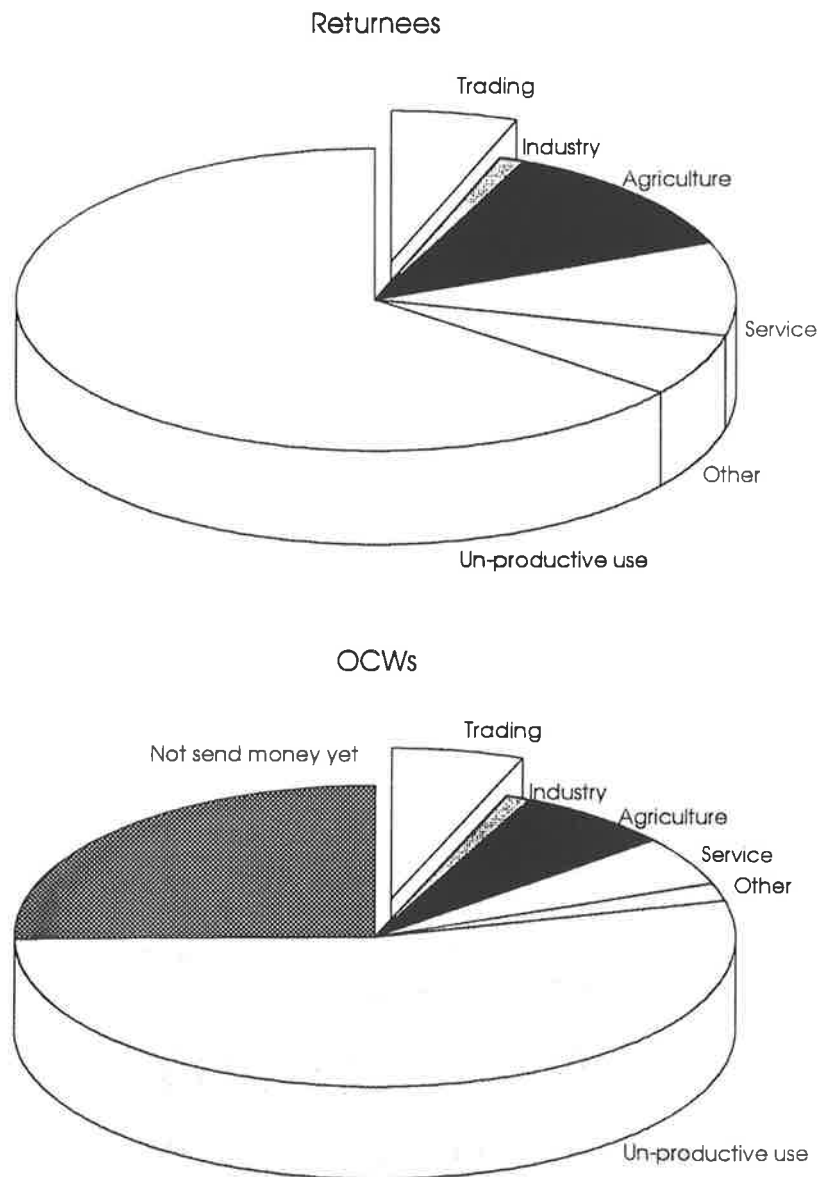
needs like building a house, paying debts, education and the daily needs of the members of the household. A small proportion used it for productive efforts like developing or opening a business (trading, industry, agriculture, service and other) (Figure 8.2). A study by Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada (1986) of returned migrants in Java demonstrated a similar situation.

Do remittances improve the standard of living of the family/household of OCWs? Swamy (1985:36) has argued that by working in another country OCWs are able to improve their standard of living. Purchasing a house, improving the household facilities, increasing consumption and supporting education for their children are some of the aspects of improved well-being that they obtain. To explore this dimension, this study analysed the socio-economic status of households using four variables: education and employment of the head of household and the income and property/wealth of the household.

Each variable is given a score from 1 to 5 as shown in Appendix 5. Scores of 1-2 are given for low socio-economic status, 3 for middle and 4-5 for high status. These socio-economic variables have been used by Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada (1986) to describe the socio-economic characteristics of Indonesian

OCWs to Middle East. However to measure the socio-economic level of the households a more concrete, index measurement was used in this study (see Effendi, 1989).

Figure 8.2 The Use of the Remittances in *Desa Sukasari*



Source: Field Data, 1992

Table 8.9 presents the results of the calculation of the scores for each household group. The proportion of non-OCW households which have low socio-economic status is higher (54.4%) than for OCW households. Generally, the socio-economic status of OCW households is in the middle range. However, the proportion of non-OCW households with high socio-economic status is much larger (17.6%) than households which have a return OCW (2.3%) and which have an OCW still abroad (6.4%). But of the households with a return OCW as the head of household, the proportion with high socio-economic status is 19.4 percent.

Table 8.9 Socio-economic Condition of Households

Socio-economic status of household	Households with return OCW as head of household	Households without return OCW as head of household	Households with OCW still working abroad	Non-OCW households
Low	22.2	34.9	25.5	54.4
Middle	58.3	62.8	68.1	27.9
High	19.4	2.3	6.4	17.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	36	43	94	68

Note: 31 missing observations

Source: Field Data, 1992

Moreover, statistical tests indicate that the differences in the socio-economic status of OCW households and non-OCW households are significant (Chi-Square=34.12094, Sig.=.0000).

In addition to socio-economic status, this study determined whether households could be regarded as wealthy or not. Observation in *Desa Sukasari* found that owning their own house, owning a permanent house, using electricity for house illumination, having wet rice fields and having television, are all looked upon locally as characteristics of wealthy/better off households. Owning a car in *Desa Sukasari* is also perceived by villagers to indicate a wealthy household, however almost all villagers do not own a car.

Table 8.10 describes some selective possessions owned by households at present and five years ago. It shows that the economic condition of the households in *Desa Sukasari* compared with five years ago has improved. But generally the changing economic condition of non-OCW households has been less than that for OCW households. The increase in the number of possessions is much greater for OCW households than non-OCW households, especially when it comes to wet rice fields and electricity facilities. Therefore it can be argued that international labour migration accelerates the improvement of the socio-economic condition of OCW households.

To further investigate changes in economic conditions, this study also asked heads of households to evaluate

themselves on their economic condition at present, compared with their conditions five years ago.

Table 8.10: Some Selective Possessions Owned by the Households

Some selective possessions	Households with re-turn OCW as head of household (n=38)	Households without return OCW as head of household (n=52)	Households with OCW still working abroad (n=99)	Non-OCW households (n=83)
Own house:				
5 years ago	52.6	67.3	71.7	66.3
Now	63.2	84.6	78.8	77.1
Development	<u>+10.6</u>	<u>+17.3</u>	<u>+ 7.1</u>	<u>+10.8</u>
Permanent house:				
5 years ago	57.9	32.7	31.3	32.5
Now	65.8	61.5	49.5	39.8
Development	<u>+ 7.9</u>	<u>+28.8</u>	<u>+18.2</u>	<u>+ 7.3</u>
Using electricity:				
5 years ago	52.6	59.6	50.5	61.4
Now	100.0	98.1	97.0	88.0
Development	<u>+47.4</u>	<u>+38.5</u>	<u>+46.5</u>	<u>+26.6</u>
Having wet rice field:				
5 years ago	23.7	21.2	27.3	16.9
Now	50.0	38.5	32.3	25.3
Development	<u>+26.3</u>	<u>+17.3</u>	<u>+ 5.0</u>	<u>+ 8.4</u>
Having television:				
5 years ago	50.0	25.0	28.3	27.7
Now	55.3	38.5	43.4	45.8
Development	<u>+ 5.3</u>	<u>+13.5</u>	<u>+15.1</u>	<u>+18.1</u>

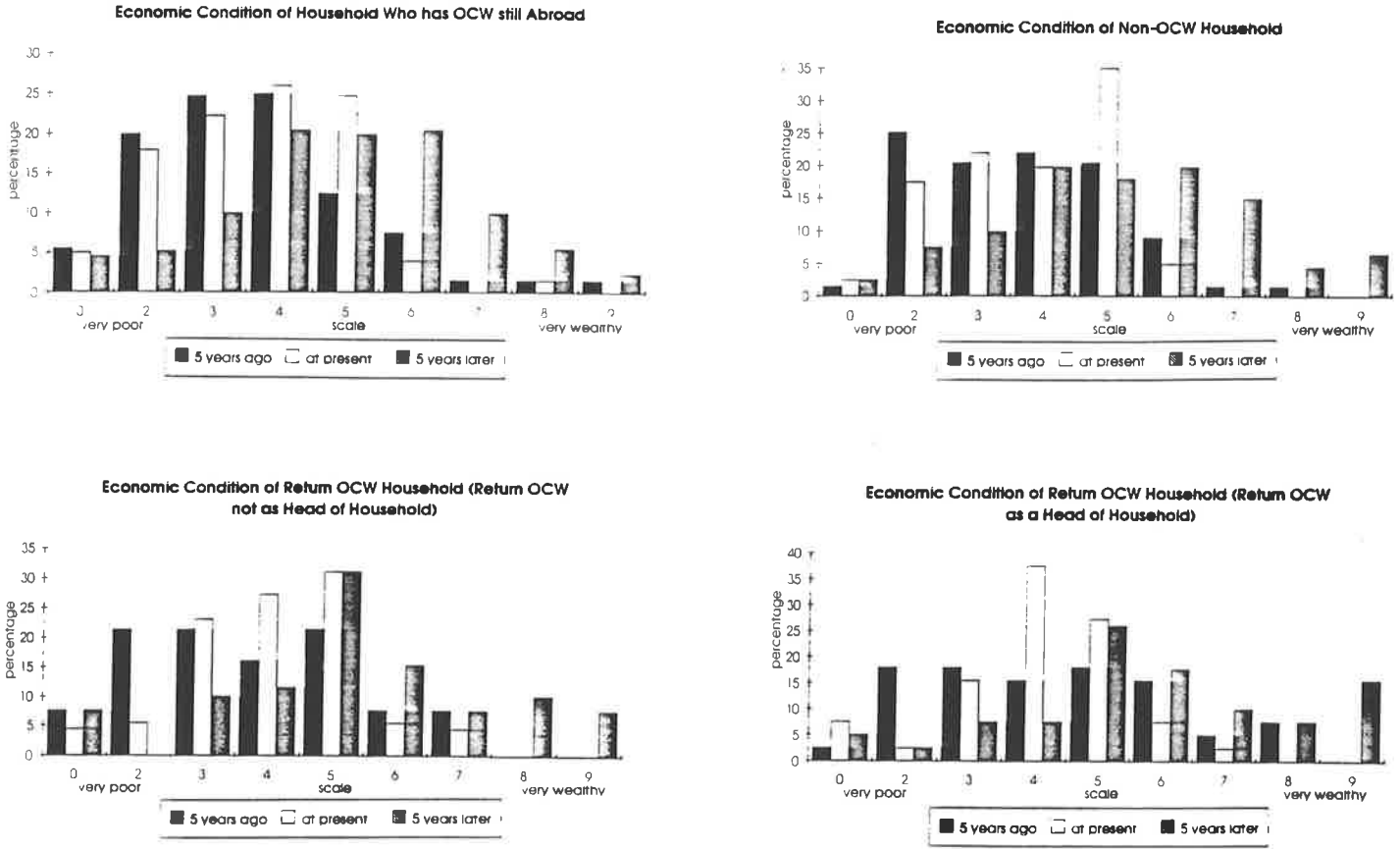
Note: The percentage from the total respondents of each household

Source: Field Data, 1992

Five years was used for comparative purposes because the respondents should still remember their conditions at that time and the changes that have occurred during the last five years. By using scores from 1 (very poor) to 9

(very wealthy), the results shown in Figure 8.3 were obtained.

Figure 8.3 Scale of Economic Conditions of the Household



Source: Field Data, 1992

It shows that generally all of the respondents perceived that their economic condition had improved. It also shows how they anticipated their economic condition would be five years into the future. Most of them were optimistic

that their economic situation would improve still more in the future.

Moreover, Table 8.11 describes the conditions of households according to the head of each household's perceptions of their household income, house, facilities and furnishings, food, clothes and fulfilment of educational needs of children at present compared with their condition five years ago. According to their perceptions, generally OCW households were much better off compared with non-OCW households. But the proportion of OCW households experiencing worse conditions also was higher than for non-OCW households. It would seem that working overseas has had some impact in improving conditions in some households. While in others their condition has worsened despite having been overseas.

The conditions with respect to food and clothing in all types of households was generally unchanged over the last five years. Only the households which were headed by return OCWs were much better situated than other types of households. The conditions of housing, fulfilment of educational needs of children and household income were also better for most households. The facilities and condition of household furnishings were better for most return OCW households only. This supports the conclusion

that generally the impact of international labour migration on the economic well-being of households is positive, especially for return OCW households

Table 8.11: Perception of Some Conditions of the Household Compared with 5 Years Ago

	better	unchanged	worse
Household income:			
Return OCW as Head of HHold	50.0	10.5	39.5
Head of Return OCW HHold	55.8	25.0	19.2
Head of HHold with OCW still Abroad	37.4	33.3	29.3
Head of Non-OCW HHold	39.7	34.9	25.3
House Condition:			
Return OCW as Head of HHold	50.0	23.7	26.3
Head of Return OCW HHold	51.9	38.5	9.6
Head of HHold with OCW still Abroad	55.6	31.3	13.1
Head of Non-OCW HHold	45.8	36.1	18.1
Facilities/household furnishings:			
Return OCW as Head of HHold	60.5	26.3	13.2
Head of Return OCW HHold	63.5	28.8	7.7
Head of HHold with OCW still Abroad	37.4	51.5	11.1
Head of Non-OCW HHold	44.6	48.2	7.2
Food condition:			
Return OCW as Head of HHold	39.5	42.1	18.4
Head of Return OCW HHold	30.8	59.6	9.6
Head of HHold with OCW still Abroad	22.2	67.7	10.1
Head of Non-OCW HHold	34.9	55.4	9.6
Clothing condition:			
Return OCW as Head of HHold	42.1	44.7	13.2
Head of Return OCW HHold	36.5	57.7	5.8
Head of HHold with OCW still Abroad	24.2	66.7	9.1
Head of Non-OCW HHold	30.1	63.9	6.0
Fulfilment educational needs of children:			
Return OCW as Head of HHold	42.1	21.1	10.5 (26.3*)
Head of Return OCW HHold	46.2	21.2	1.9 (30.8*)
Head of HHold with OCW still Abroad	34.3	22.2	11.1 (32.3*)
Head of Non-OCW HHold	21.7	16.9	4.8 (56.6*)

Note:*) = cannot be compared because five years ago they had not fulfilled educational needs of children.

Source: Field Data, 1992

8.3.2 Social Welfare

The definition of social welfare is very broad and it is difficult to measure all aspects of it (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1991). Hugo (1982a) has stated that to define social welfare in an operational way is difficult. In this study, social welfare is considered to be access to housing, schooling and services. What OCWs have obtained will generally be shared by the members of the household (eg.the house built by a returnee in Plate 8.2, is for the whole family).



Plate 8.2 Female returned OCW with her family and her new house

The goals of working overseas are to make a contribution to the economy of their family for daily necessities, such as paying debts, buying or renovating the house, supporting the education of the children and others (Table 8.12). The benefits and detriments that have been obtained by OCWs as individuals become benefits and detriments for his/her family as a whole.

Table 8.12: Benefits of Working Overseas According to the Head of the Household

Benefit of working abroad for household	Households with re-turn OCW as head of household (n=25)	Households without return OCW as head of household (n=37)	Households with OCW still working abroad (n=58)
Economy (increasingly of the fulfilment of daily needs/education costs)	64.0	54.1	60.3
Buy/build/renovate a house	20.0	51.4	20.7
Buy land/wet rice field	16.0	21.6	10.3
Capital for business	8.0	16.2	8.6
Buy goods (car/motor-cycle/TV/Jewelry/etc.)	12.0	10.8	1.7
Pay debts	8.0	2.7	15.5
Get experience/knowledge/OCW can speak Arabic	12.0	8.1	-
Children become independent	4.0	-	-
Can make pilgrimage to Mecca	4.0	-	1.7

Note: The percentage from the total respondents of each household which stated that the OCW provided benefit

Source: Field Data, 1992

A woman in Campurejo village, Kecamatan Panceng, Gresik, East Java whose husband was still working in Malaysia, for example, said "*biar berpisah, daripada di sini melarat terus*" (Its better separate, than poor forever in this village) (Tempo, 7 April 1984). Plate 8.3 shows an unfinished house where remittances are still needed to pay for the completion of the building due to the lack of sufficient income in the origin area.



Plate 8.3 Unfinished house of OCW household: waiting another remittance

Working overseas brings contributions in many respects and most of the respondents of OCW households (64%) stated that remittances were used especially in the

fulfilment of daily needs and to support the education of their children (Table 8.12). According to the neighbours of OCW households, who do not have OCWs in their own household, the conditions of OCW households were generally better than before the OCW went working abroad. The conditions of the house (eg. Plate 8.4), the clothes they wore and other facilities (Table 8.13) were all better than before as a result of remittances. For a small proportion of non-OCW households conditions became worse. According to non-OCW households, OCW households were often rich for a short time, because they used the remittances for 'extravagant expenditure' and they did not find a new job immediately. One (non-OCW) respondent said that returned OCWs did not want to work in the village as before.

Table 8.13: Opinions of Non-OCW Households About OCW Households

Some conditions of OCW households	Better	Unchanged	Worse	Total n=83
House	78.3	20.5	1.2	100.0
Clothes	69.9	30.1	-	100.0
Facilities and household furnishings	72.3	26.5	1.2	100.0
Economic condition	42.2	50.6	7.2	100.0
Fulfilment educational needs of children	42.2	51.8	6.0	100.0
Standard of living	57.8	42.2	-	100.0

Source: Field Data, 1992



Plate 8.4 Return OCW houses: the old and the new ... the new house (brick wall) was built beside the old one (bamboo/wood wall): outcome of overseas contract work

Another respondent (head of non-OCW household), said his neighbour sold his house to obtain overseas work, but he failed to make sufficient money overseas and consequently, he does not have a house anymore. Another said a female return OCW (wife) became more assertive towards her husband as a result of her experience as a migrant, while still another said a male returned OCW married again after he becomes richer than before. Nevertheless, benefits must outweigh bad experiences because many people still want to go overseas for temporary work from the village.

In some cases people do not want to work overseas, although they work in "low income" positions at home. A conversation on a motorcycle between an *Ojek* driver and the researcher during a ride from the main road to a village office is reported here to demonstrate this (English summary):

Researcher : Do you think many people from this village are working overseas?
 Driver : Many.
 Researcher : Why are you not going overseas?
 Driver : Ah, no, for what? Here is better.
 Researcher : Do you think working in another country is not enjoyable?
 Driver : Ah, for what? The money will finish in one year only.
 Researcher : Why?
 Driver : It's just for building a house.
 Researcher : Are they not working at home after working overseas?
 Driver : No. Some of them went back abroad.

In terms of access to schooling, remittances have been used by OCWs for the education of their children and other household members. The impact of working overseas on the formal education of OCWs themselves seems to have been zero. Generally the respondents stated that they did not continue their education because of the lack of money for supporting their further schooling. Others said that they had to work, were married, or continued attending religious school (*pesantren*). Thus, the education of OCWs largely has been obtained before they went to the other

country for work. In *Desa Sukasari* the most common level of education of returned OCWs who are the head of the household was higher than primary school (36.9%), whereas for the heads of households who have returned OCWs, or OCWs still abroad and the heads of non-OCW households, only 7.6 percent, 14.2 percent and 24.1 percent respectively had achieved a level of education higher than primary school.

The members of OCW households seem to be better educated than non-OCW household members. The proportion of those currently undertaking training among OCW household members tends to be greater than among non-OCW household members. Table 8.14 shows that the proportion of household members with returned OCWs as a head of household and who had finished Junior High School and above, is higher (22.3%) than non-OCW household members (17.3%) whereas the proportion of those aged 15 years old and over was similar (60.8% for household members which return OCWs as a a head of household and 61.4% for non-OCW household members). Compared to West Java as a whole, the proportion of OCW household members who had finished Junior High School and above was higher. In 1990, there was only 19.2 percent who had finished Junior High School and above in West Java (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1993).

Table 8.14: Level of Education of the Members of the Household

Education of the household members	Households with re-turn OCW as head of household n=211	Households without return OCW as head of household n=252	Household with OCW still working abroad n=591	Non-OCW households n=398
No Schooling	17.5	14.7	14.9	21.9
Primary School (unfinished)	27.5	44.0	37.1	30.2
Primary School	24.6	28.6	29.4	24.6
Junior High School (unfinished)	8.1	5.5	5.6	6.0
Junior High School	6.2	2.8	5.2	3.3
Senior High School (Unfinished)	3.3	2.4	2.2	2.5
Senior High School	9.5	2.0	4.2	7.8
University (Unfinished)	3.3	-	1.3	2.7
University	-	-	-	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Data, 1992

Related to this, as is shown in Table 8.15, household expenditure for education was also highest (Rp 30,400 per month) for returned OCW households. Based on these findings it can be concluded that international labour migration enhances the desire of returned OCWs to provide education for their household members at the highest level they can. Considering some of the possessions of households (house and electricity) in Table 8.15 and the proportion of household members who are receiving an

education, international labour migration may be seen to be of benefit in increasing the social welfare of family members.

**Table 8.15: Average Household Expenditure a Month
(in 1000 Rupiah)**

Household expenditure	Households with re- turn OCW as head of house- hold (n=38)	Households without return OCW as head of household (n=52)	Households with OCW still working abroad (n=99)	Non-OCW house- holds (n=83)
1. Food	108.1	81.3	80.6	100.2
2. Clothing	20.6	8.8	13.1	22.5
3. Household maintenance	25.9	5.3	10.5	26.0
4. Health	12.0	10.0	7.3	20.9
5. Education	30.4	10.3	19.4	13.7
6. Soap/toothpaste/ shampoo/powder and other items for makeup	7.7	6.9	6.3	18.5
7. Cigarettes	17.0	15.9	11.6	24.8
8. Transportation	16.1	3.5	6.3	23.4
9. Petroleum/ firewood/gas	9.1	9.5	8.5	21.1
10. Donations	6.6	5.7	5.7	18.8
11. Tax (television/ land and other)	2.3	0.9	1.3	1.4
12. Savings	28.4	1.3	6.7	8.4
13. Housing rental	3.7	3.6	1.1	2.5
14. Electricity	6.1	4.3	4.9	4.3
Total expenditure per month	292.8	167.6	183.2	191.3
Expenditure per capita per month	55.5	49.1	37.8	48.7

Source: Field Data, 1992

8.3.3 Social/Political Participation

Remittances and the experiences of OCWs from the host country, as well as the absence of OCWs, influence the activities of members of the household and their social/political participation. As Hugo (1987:147) has stated, the temporary absence of family members and the influence of money, goods, ideas, attitudes, behavior and innovations transmitted back to the place of origin must be adjusted to by the families of migrants. Chapter Seven has attempted to look at the level of modernity and social/political participation of returned OCWs and the ideas, money and manpower they have contributed to village development efforts, by comparing OCW households with non-OCW households. In this section, the social/political participation (this concept and how to measure it, has been discussed in Chapter Seven) of the members of OCW households will be compared with that of the members of non-OCW households.

The survey found that if every household was given a score of 0 for none of the household members participating in social/political activities and a 1 for one or more members participating in those activities, then many households which had an OCW still abroad (21.2%) had members who did not participate at all in

social\political activities in their village (Table 8.16). Statistical tests shows that there are significant differences between these four types of households in the level of social\political participation of their members (Chi-Square 34.69142; Significance .0000). The non-OCW household members are higher in social\political participation than OCW household members. The tests have also shown that the economic level of each type of household does not have a significant relationship with the level of social/political participation of household members.

Table 8.16: Level of Social/Political Participation of Household Members.

Participation	Return OCW as head of household	Head of return OCW household	Head of household which has OCW still working abroad	Head of non-OCW household
Not at all	7.9	1.9	21.2	1.2
Low (1-3)	63.2	80.8	45.5	63.9
High(4 >)	28.9	17.3	33.3	34.9
Total	100.0 n=38	100.0 n=52	100.0 n=99	100.0 n=83

Source: Field Data, 1992

Looking at each kind of activity for all members of the household, members of OCW households which were headed by a returned OCW generally participated more in the recitation of the Koran, in voluntary labour service, in

education programmes on family welfare and in information activities (Table 8.17), while members of non-OCW households participated more in sport, head of the village election campaigns, political organisations and the policy of military personnel participating in village development projects. It can be said that OCW household

Table 8.17: Household Members Aged 15 years and Over According to their Participation

Participation	Return OCW as head of household (n=124)	Head of return OCW household (n=161)	Head of household with OCW still work- ing abroad (n=399)	Head of non-OCW house- hold (n=240)
Recitation of the Koran	66.9*	54.0	51.1	60.8
Voluntary labour service	29.0*	19.9	23.3	27.5
Education program on family welfare	8.1*	6.2	1.3	7.5
Information	11.3*	8.7	3.8	10.0
Art	1.6	1.2	3.0*	1.3
Night watchman	8.1	3.7	10.0*	4.2
General election campaign	6.5	5.6	11.3*	10.0
Sport	11.3	8.1	12.3	15.8*
Policy of mili- tary personnel participating in village develop- ment projects	1.6	1.2	1.0	1.7*
Head of village election campaign	2.4	5.0	7.3	10.8*
Member of politi- cal organisation	4.0	6.2	2.5	8.3*
Member of cooperation of village unit	0.8	1.9*	-	1.7
Member of social organization	-	1.9*	0.8	1.3

* Highest percentages

Source: Field Data, 1992

members tended to participate in religious education and education for self development, while the members of non-OCW households participated more in sport and political activities. It is possible, however, that this situation is due to the nature of the migrant workers that they are more economically oriented than non-migrants.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to analyse the impact of international labour migration at the family/household level. The study found that the decision to work overseas was made by the individual (OCW) himself/herself. There was no evidence of compulsion from other family members to work overseas. The family as the basic social and economic unit in the society, has a role as supporter or provider of influence in the decision to work overseas. However, although the decision was made by the OCW himself/herself, the main purpose in working overseas was to achieve, or increase, the quantity and quality of consumption and investment of the family. Consequently, the impact of working overseas on the family/household was more significant than upon the OCW himself/herself.

International labour migration as an independent variable has an important role in increasing the desired quantity

and quality of consumption and investment of the family in the homeland. International labour migration has demographic and socio-economic impacts upon, changes in family/household size and composition, marriage, divorce and fertility, income level and distribution, employment, social welfare, social and political participation and relationships among OCW household members. These changes depend upon how the OCW family attempts to improve the family's economic situation to satisfy their perceived needs from working abroad. Remittances have been able to improve their standard of living or their well-being: their housing, improving household facilities, higher consumption and provide support for the education of their children.

Chapter Nine

IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION: THE COMMUNITY LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

9.1 Introduction

The impact of international labour migration on workers and their families has been examined in previous chapters; but what are the consequences for their communities of origin? Does international labour migration change the demographic and socio-economic structure of the society? Do Indonesian OCWs have an impact in enhancing social and economic development in their home communities? Do living standards among many residents of the home community rise, as Go and Postrado (1986) found in the Philippines? These are some of the questions which arise when we examine the impact of international labour migration in the communities of origin of migrants. There is little international migration research which addresses such issues. The net impact of out-migration in the place and country of origin are less clear (Hugo, 1985a:3; 1987:137), whereas population movement as an independent variable has an important role in the demographic and socio-economic change upon the home communities (Bilsborrow, 1981; Findley, 1982; Hugo, 1982a, 1985b).

The movement of community members, as Hugo (1982a:190, 1985b:166, 1987:138) points out, forces the community to adjust in one or more of three ways: (1) adjustment in many areas of life to the permanent or temporary absence of the out-mover; (2) adjustment to the permanent or temporary presence of the in-mover; and (3) adjustment to the reciprocal flows of money, goods, information, ideas, and attitudes which are initiated along the linkages established by movers between origin and destination. Therefore, a community level of analysis looking at the migration impact in the home communities is required for a comprehensive understanding of international labour migration consequences. Bilsborrow (1981:8) stated that "most of the community factors that influence migration decisions are in turn altered by that in- or out-migration. This refers to the consequences of migration on both origin and destination communities." According to Hugo (1985b:161), there are three basic reasons why community-level analysis should be undertaken:

"First, by aggregating individual and household level data into contextual variables for socially meaningful larger units, our understanding of the significance of those explanatory variables may be enhanced. Secondly, there are community effects which have an independent contribution to make to the explanation of population movement and its effects. Thirdly, the community-level perspective facilitates the incorporation of both macro structural and micro individual considerations into explanation in a way not possible if the focus is upon either individuals or large population aggregates."

The aim of this chapter is to examine the extent of demographic and socio-economic change in origin communities caused by international labour migration and to trace some of the implications of such changes. The role of this movement in the socio-economic development of the community is addressed, in addition to any social problems in the community which arise from the movement. In addressing these objectives, comparisons were made between five sub-communities, each with a different number of OCWs, in the study area of *Desa Sukasari*. The nature and extent of the change initiated by population movement in the mover's community of origin is a function of the scale of movement, the duration of absence of the movers and the degree and nature of mover selectivity (Hugo, 1985b:166; Lipton, 1980:1). To this should be added the fact that the degree and nature of movers' selectivity (especially with respect to age, sex and education) will greatly influence the impact of movement. Moreover the socio-cultural context in which the movement occurs will shape the response of individuals, families and communities to the presence or absence of movers. In addition, these and other factors influence the nature, strength and tenacity of origin/destination linkages maintained by movers and persons remaining at the place of origin. (Hugo, 1982a:190).

9.2 Demographic Impact on the Community

Data from the field survey (1992) shows that 382 Sukasari villagers have participated in overseas employment (48.7 percent of whom have returned). In Cilaku and Gegerbitung the proportion of villagers who have participated in overseas employment was 10.4 percent (Table 9.1). Palasari has the smallest proportion in this participation. Whereas, as has been explained above, in this sub-village female participation in employment is only 2.5 percent and it has the highest proportion in female unemployment of all the sub-villages.

Table 9.1: Overseas Contract Workers And The Population 15 Years Of Age and Over, Sukasari Village

Sub-Village	Population 15 Years of Age and Over, 1991 (X)	Overseas Contract Workers, 1992						Total	% from X
		Returnee		Still Abroad		Sub-Total			
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Cilaku	1,218	32	40	19	36	51	70	127	10.4
Cilaku Hilir	945	10	22	8	37	18	55	77	8.1
Gegerbitung	833	10	22	12	43	22	65	87	10.4
Cijati	1,017	7	25	5	17	12	41	54	5.3
Palasari	798	7	11	4	15	11	26	37	4.6
Total	4811	66	120	48	148	114	268	382	7.9

Source: Population Registration, Sukasari Village, May 1991; Field Data, 1992

Chapter Seven has indicated that in Indonesia, females are dominant among overseas contract workers. The survey

found that 70.2 percent of OCWs from Sukasari were female. The participation of females in international labour migration shows that females have an increasingly important role in the family as human capital, especially to spread the economic risk of the family across a number of sources of income. In Sukasari, although possession of, and control over, resources of the household and power to make decisions is rested largely with the male head of household, it has been concluded in Chapter Seven that international labour migration is one of the factors which makes females more independent in fulfilling their daily needs.

International labour migration may increase dependency ratios and loss of young population and reduce population pressure on the land. According to the available data, the population of *Desa Sukasari* decreased from 8,683 in 1990 (Mantri Statistik Kecamatan Cianjur, 1991) to 8,178 in 1992 (*Desa Sukasari*, 1992). Moreover, observation of population density in all of the *dusun* in *Desa Sukasari* showed that there is little evidence of excess pressure on the land as yet. To conclude that international labour migration reduces population density, this study needs to compare the situation in the five *dusun* in *Desa Sukasari* which have different numbers of OCWs. Unfortunately, there was no such data available. In the Philippines

however, according to Go and Postrado (1986:141-43), the labour force of the overseas worker household in the home place involves more females, more elderly males and more very young men than other areas. In *dusun* Rejodadi (East Java), which has a population of 325 persons, there were only 5 males left in the *dusun* while the other 150 males were working in Malaysia (Tempo, 7 April 1984).

The sex ratio in *Desa* Sukasari both in 1991 and from the sample survey was 96 (Table 9.2). The ratio is lower than Indonesia as a whole as well as for West Java, *Kabupaten* Cianjur and *Kecamatan* Cianjur in 1990 (Table 9.2). From this point of view, it can be said that there is a tendency that international labour migration has made the village more feminine. But among the five *dusun* in *Desa* Sukasari, *Cilaku* and *Gegerbitung* are identified as having a higher number of OCWs and a lower sex ratio. In other words, in these two *dusun*, females outnumber males to a greater degree compared with the other three *dusun* which have smaller numbers of OCWs. It is important to note that there is little divergence from the 1992 sample survey, in *Palasari* although the number of OCWs was smallest there among the five *dusun* in Sukasari, the sex ratio was also smallest (Table 9.2). Other factors might have effected that situation, for example, internal movement to other parts of Indonesia.

Table 9.2: Demographic Characteristics of Sub-Villages of Sukasari, 1991

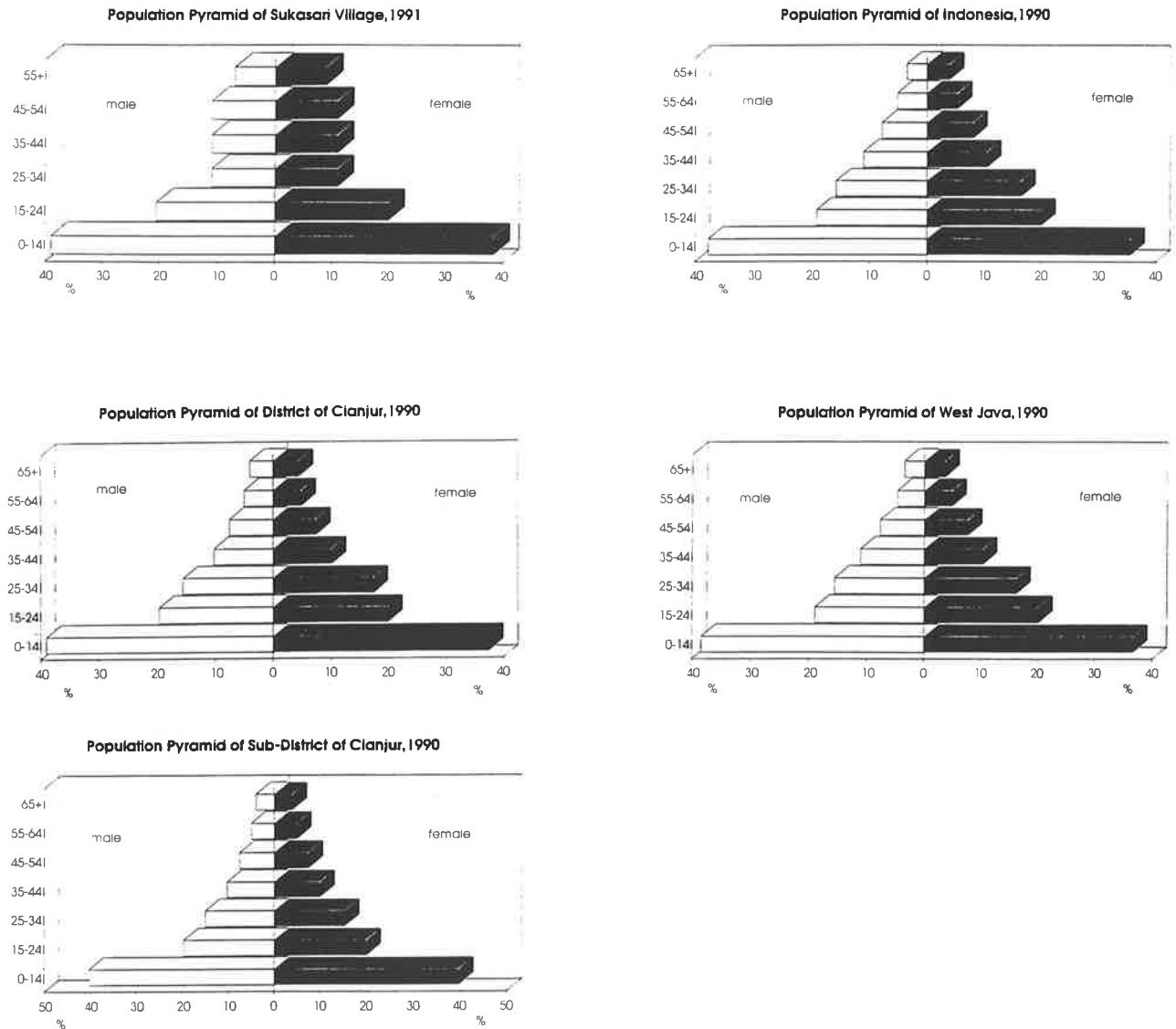
Characteristics	Cilaku	Cilaku Hilir	Geger-bitung	Cijati	Balasari	Total
Population	2,052	1,441	1,415	1,844	1,762	8,514
Number of Households	500	406	393	443	356	2,098
Population under 15 years of age	834	496	582	917	784	3,613
Population 15 years of age and over	1,218	945	833	1,017	798	4,901
% of Aged persons (55 >)	9.7	11.7	9.9	6.5	8.5	9.2
Number of persons per household	4.1	3.5	3.6	4.1	4.9	3.9
Number of children per household (%)	6.3*	4.8*	4.9*	5.0*	5.2*	5.3*
no child	12.7*	21.1*	9.0*	5.3*	11.9*	11.5*
1-3	46.8*	59.6*	74.6*	68.4*	61.5*	61.4*
4 >	40.5*	19.3*	16.4*	26.3*	22.6*	26.1*
Sex ratio	90	101	93	99	98	96
% of 15 years of age and over who are:	95*	109*	91*	99*	86*	96*
married	66.2	75.5	76.1	78.3	85.2	75.4
unmarried	51.6*	45.6*	44.2*	52.9*	53.1*	49.1*
divorced	22.0	15.1	10.3	11.3	10.2	14.4
Age of first marriage: male	42.1*	47.1*	46.3*	42.9*	43.2*	44.2*
female	11.8	9.4	13.6	10.4	4.6	10.1
Dependency ratio 1:	6.3*	7.3*	9.5*	4.2*	3.7*	6.6*
	24.0*	22.5*	31.6*	22.5*	11.8*	22.6*
	17.9*	17.3*	16.4*	16.8*	17.0*	17.1*
	102	86	105	106	100	100

Note: 1. ratio population under 15 and 55 and over years old per 100 persons aged 15-54
 2. * Sample survey 1992
 3. Dependency Ratio and Sex Ratio Indonesia 1990 (84, 99), West Java 1990 (85, 101), Rural West Java 1990 (91, 100), Kabupaten Cianjur 1990 (86, 101), Kecamatan Cianjur 1990 (92, 100)

Source: Population Registration, Sukasari Village, May 1991; Biro Pusat Statistik, 1992, 1993; Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Cianjur, 1991; Mantri Statistik Kecamatan Cianjur, 1991; Field Data, 1992.

Figure 9.1 indicates that the proportions in the very productive age groups of 25-34 and 35-44 years in Sukasari village tend to be smaller compared to Kabupaten Cianjur and West Java as a whole, while the older age group (45 and above) tends to be larger. Figure 9.2 shows the age structure in each *dusun* of Sukasari and despite the different numbers of OCWs they are quite similar.

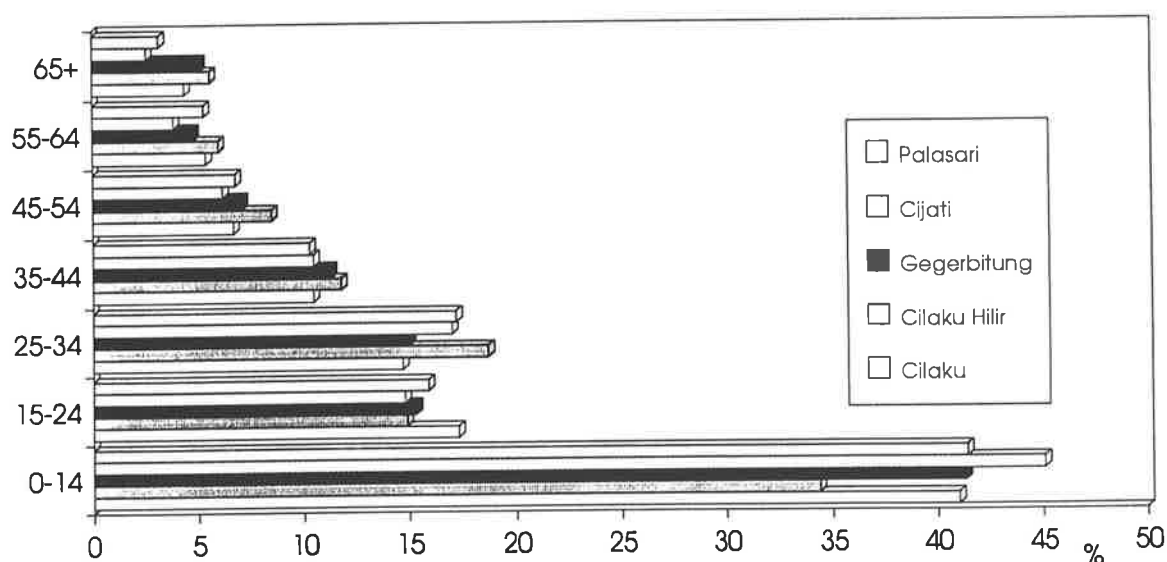
Figure 9.1 Population Pyramid of Sukasari Village, 1991, Cianjur Sub-District, Cianjur District, West Java, and Indonesia Population, 1990



Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1992, 1993; Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Cianjur, 1991; Mantri Statistik Kecamatan Cianjur, 1991; Desa Sukasari, 1992

Furthermore, the dependency ratios (ratio of population under 15 and 55 and over years old per 100 persons aged 15-54) in Cilaku which had the highest proportion of OCWs in Sukasari, is not much different from the other *dusun* with lower proportion of OCWs (Table 9.2). However when compared with Indonesia as a whole, West Java, Kabupaten Cianjur or Kecamatan Cianjur, the dependency ratio in Sukasari was higher.

Figure 9.2: Age Structure of Desa of Sukasari, by Dusun 1991



Source: Population Registration, Sukasari Village, May 1991

9.3 Socio-Economic Impact on Community

9.3.1 Income Level and Distribution

Lipsey (1984:536) has pointed out with respect to the demand for goods and services created by remittances:

"When output expands to meet this demand, employment will increase in all the affected industries. New incomes will then be created for workers and firms in these industries. When they in turn spend their newly earned incomes, output and employment will rise further. More income will be created and more expenditure induced".

In summary, community remittances were spent by OCW households on food, clothing, entertainment, television sets, houses, land, purchase of wet rice fields, education, businesses, and a range of commodities (Chapter Eight). It can be argued that the remittances gained by Sukasari's OCW households, then will increase the income of Sukasari villagers more generally and this was found to be the case in East Java by the Rural Development Foundation (1992). Among the domestic helpers it was found that the community was advantaged by the members of that community who worked abroad: (1) in rural areas, the OCWs bought farmland and cattle. Widows and singles would ask other people to operate their farms, or employ people to work in their cattle breeding or trading activities such as small shops selling daily consumption goods; (2) housing improvement created employment in

construction; and (3) in urban areas a few returnees saved their money in banks.

The flow of remittances from overseas to *Desa Sukasari* until November 1992 is estimated to have been about Rp 2,404,910,000 by 382 Sukasari OCWs (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3: Estimate of the Flow of Remittances to *Desa Sukasari* until 1992, by *Dusun*

	Returnees		OCWs Still Abroad		Total Remittances
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Cilaku	32	40	19	36	1,065,215,000
Cilaku Hilir	10	22	8	37	429,572,000
Gegerbitung	10	22	12	43	433,611,000
Cijati	7	25	5	17	324,535,000
Palasari	7	11	4	15	151,977,000
Total	66	120	48	148	2,404,910,000

Note: Total remittance is calculated from the total of OCWs (returnee or OCW still abroad and male or female) times the average of their remittances which have been sent or brought home (see Table 9.4)

Source: Field Data, 1992

If this amount had been calculated since 1980, when the Indonesian OCW program began, then in one year Sukasari received Rp 200,409,170 on average as additional income for the Sukasari community (or Rp 16,700,764 a month). Compared with the Sukasari Development Budget 1992/93 of Rp 45,294,675 (*Desa Sukasari*, 1992), which is involved in increasing the per capita income of the villagers, the

remittances from international contract workers are very important in the socio-economic development of the Sukasari community.

Table 9.3 shows that the distribution of those remittances across each *dusun* differs. This difference, besides depending on the total OCWs in each *dusun*, also depends on the amount of average remittances from each OCW. Table 9.4 shows that male returnees in Cilaku brought back more money from overseas than male returnees from the other four *dusun* (for female returnees it was Gegerbitung). Male OCWs still working abroad from Cijati sent more money home than male OCWs from the other four *dusun* who were still working abroad.

Table 9.4: The Average of Remittances Which Have Been Brought to Sukasari by Each OCW until November 1992 by Status of OCW and Sex (in '000)

	Returnees			OCWs Still Abroad		
	Male	(n)	Female(n)	Male	(n)	Female(n)
Cilaku	18.478	(11)	6.802 (13)	4.613	(9)	3.172 (15)
Cilaku Hilir	15.800	(3)	6.513 (10)	2.133	(3)	3.006 (14)
Gegerbitung	12.314	(8)	7.642 (11)	2.800	(3)	2.529 (16)
Cijati	12.700	(6)	5.992 (11)	10.333	(3)	2.010 (5)
Palasari	4.050	(3)	6.477 (9)	1.200	(1)	3.172 (5)
Total	14.114	(31)	6.700 (54)	4.659	(19)	2.837 (55)

Source: Field Data, 1992

Female OCWs still working abroad from all *dusun* generally each sent a similar amount of money home. Moreover, remittances from male OCWs were generally much higher than those from female OCWs.

The distribution of remittances among the five *dusun* shows that Cilaku, with the highest number of OCWs, obtained the greatest benefit in the total of remittances. It is certain also, that they will obtain more advantages in the economic situation of their people compared with other *dusun* with lower numbers of OCWs.

9.3.2 Employment

As discussed in Chapter Five, in Cilaku the proportion of the workforce who were farmers (24.5 percent of males and 10.3 percent of females) was less than the number of entrepreneurs (32.2 percent of males and 15.4 percent of females). Economic activities in this *dusun* are more concentrated in the non-agricultural sector. In Cilaku there are more small shops, factories (rice mill factories, concrete brick factories) and repair shops, compared with other *dusun*. The village office, "Puskesmas" (community health centre), a small railway station and a market (open Tuesdays and Fridays between 8am-12pm) are also found in this *dusun*.

As has been mentioned above, the villagers in Cilaku are more urban in their economic activities. Agricultural land in *Dusun* Cilaku is not as extensive as in the other four sub-villages. However, some villagers in Cilaku had *sawah* or farmland/estates in another *dusun*. The household where the researcher was staying during fieldwork, for example, had *sawah* in Gegerbitung and an estate in Cijati. The head of the household worked as a food trader. Together with the members of the household, she cooked certain foods and someone else (not a member of household) would sell the foods as a vendor. One of the sons worked as a public service employee in Cianjur city. At planting and harvesting time they worked together in the wet rice field or estate and also hired some farmhands to cultivate their land and to harvest the crop.

A study by Athukorala (1990: 333-5) showed that the proportion of unemployed among returned overseas workers can be as high as 16.2 percent in two high migration subdistricts in Sri Lanka, while the pre-migration level was 8.4 percent. However this difference tends to narrow with the passage of time. In addition, Athukorala found that among the returnees who are already employed, a significant proportion (35%) are willing to remigrate if there is an opportunity to do so. In Jordan, it was

found that among returned migrants one-third of them were willing to go abroad again (Keely and Saket, 1984). Athukorala (1990:335) pointed out however, that difficulties in finding a job upon return and dissatisfaction with long periods of job search do not appear to be important factors behind the desire to remigrate. However, the large wage differential between home and foreign employment seems to be the major, perhaps the sole, determinant of the desire to remigrate. A similar pattern has been observed with regard to migrant behavior in other labor exporting countries (Athukorala, 1990:336).

In the case of *Desa Sukasari* more than 60 percent of returned OCWs did not have a job before they went overseas to work (Table 9.5). The situation of *Desa Sukasari* in 1991 shows that 482 (20.5%) males and 2197 (89.4%) females were not employed (aged 15 years and over). The higher proportion of females not in employment, as has been explained earlier, is because female participation in economic activities in agricultural areas are often is not in the definitions of work adopted by official agencies or even by women themselves or their husbands and fathers who are often the respondents in censuses and surveys. Hence in response to the present survey many women regarded

themselves as not having a job. Even though as a housewife they were active in agricultural activities, helping their husband or, as some female returned OCWs do, they had a small business in selling clothes/foods and other items.

Table 9.5: The Occupations of OCWs Before and After Working Overseas

Occupation	OCWs still abroad	Returned OCWs	
	(last occupation in Sukasari)	Last occupation in Sukasari	Current occupation in Sukasari
Farmer	5.1	5.6	14.4
Trader	2.0	11.1	6.7
Driver	2.0	6.7	5.6
Worker	3.0	4.4	3.3
Religious teacher	-	-	1.1
Entrepreneur	-	-	2.2
Other	5.1	11.1	3.3
No-occupation	40.4	61.1	63.3*
Don't know/not stated	42.4	-	-
Total	100.0 n=99	100.0 n=90	100.0 n=90

Note: *) 84.2% of unemployed returned OCWs was female

Source: Field Data, 1992

As Hugo (1993e) has observed, transplanting of rice, harvesting, threshing, sowing and weeding tend to be tasks dominated by women in Java. Therefore, when the survey was done in late 1992, among female OCWs in Sukasari 76.6 percent stated that they were not employed

before they worked overseas. Meanwhile the proportion of male OCWs not employed was only 30 percent.

Among migrants who had returned, the proportion not employed was slightly higher than it was before they worked overseas. According to Adi (1987) the difficulties experienced by migrants in finding work upon their return are caused by: (1) lack of clear cut and detailed planning for where the workers could invest their overseas earnings upon their return. This is quite understandable since most overseas contract workers have no entrepreneurial experience. (2) Increased minimum wage expectation due to higher earnings received during their stay overseas which cannot be satisfied by prevailing wage levels in the home country. In the case of *Desa Sukasari*, another thing that can be added here is that because most of the returned OCWs were female, upon return they tended to continue being or became housewives. In Sri Lanka also it has been found that the majority of housemaids came from the non-labor market group of housewives and they became housewives again upon return (Athukorala, 1990:335).

Table 9.5 shows that some return OCWs work at their former jobs while others have changed their jobs or are still looking for a job. Many of those not in employment

before working overseas are in a similar situation after their return (63.3%). The bulk of this group are female (84.2%) because most of them considered themselves as housewives before they left and after their return from being housemaids in overseas destinations. However, in Sri Lanka Korale (1986:224) observed that among female return migrants from the Middle East although they were housewives before their departure, upon their return they sought out work opportunities outside the home in the home region. In Sri Lanka return migrants showed a strong preference to becoming self-employed (mostly by establishing service sector family businesses (Athukorala, 1990:335; see also Paine, 1974:111 and Stahl, 1983:884)).

Whether or not remittances help in strengthening the local economy in terms of productive investment, is a central issue in discussions of the impact of international labour migration upon labor sending countries. Athukorala (1990:336) has pointed out that "the impact of remittance income on the long term growth prospects of the economy depends crucially on the way it is utilized". It has been suggested that labour shortages in the place of origin caused by the loss of young population leaving to work abroad can effect productivity and production in the region of origin. There was little

evidence however of reduced agricultural production in Cilaku, which suggests that the marginal productivity of labour is near zero.

This study found that the proportion of OCWs in Cilaku who used the remittances in productive activities was small compared with other *dusun* in Sukasari (Table 9.6). Remittances tended to be used in agricultural activities, especially to buy wet rice fields. This situation is similar to findings regarding returned OCWs from East Java. The Rural Development Foundation (1992:142) found that utilisation of remittances on capital accumulation mostly involves the purchase of farm land.

Table 9.6: The Use of Remittances for Productive Efforts by *Dusun*

	Cilaku Hilir	Cilaku Geger- bitung	Cijati	Palasari	Total
Trading	3	4	3	1	11
Industry	-	-	-	2	2
Agriculture	4	3	2	2	18
Service	1	3	4	5	14
Other	1	2	2	3	8
Unproductive use	40	20	29	12	111
Not sent money yet	7	6	7	3	25
Total	56	38	47	28	189

Note: Each respondent was asked whether or not the remittances they used were for productive efforts as well as for consumptive matters (house, pay debt, education, daily needs and others.)

Source: Field Data, 1992

The use of remittances for productive activities has in fact created employment opportunities for many people in Sukasari (Table 9.7). From the sample survey some 189 OCW respondents had directly created 123 additional positions of employment. This of course does not include the multiplier effects of jobs created in house construction etc. due to expenditure of remittances in the village. Looking at these facts, this study concludes that international labour migration can improve the employment conditions of the home area. The study found, however, that the level of advantage differed from one sub-village to another. In Cijati for example, 46.4 percent of OCWs used their remittances in productive activities and had created 64 positions of employment, while in Palasari, 40 percent of OCWs used the remittances in productive activities and only directly created 5 extra positions of employment for the villagers.

Table 9.7: The Creation of Employment by Overseas Contract Workers* in the Place of Origin

	Cilaku	Cilaku Hilir	Gegerbitung	Cijati	Palasari	Total
Total jobs created	19	8	27	64	5	123

Note: * 189 OCWs (sample) of 382 OCWs of Sukasari
Source: Field Data, 1992

In Thailand, Roongshivin (1986) found that remittances have played a vital role in rural economic and social development through multiplier effects.

9.3.3 Social Impacts

Besides the economic consequences, international labour migration also has social consequences for the community which the OCW leaves. In Sukasari remittances resulted in most returnees having television sets and the accepted practice in the village was that households which did not have a TV could watch programmes in an OCW house which did have a set. The community had more access to mass media and other information as a result of the migration. In rural East Java, this was also found to be the case by The Rural Development Foundation (1992).

There are some city residents (*orang kota*) who have farmland/wet rice fields (generally very extensive) in or near Sukasari. This shows a pattern of "invasion" of land ownership in the village by absentee landlords and this is contributing to the push on villagers to search for income out of the village. One of the places where Sukasari villagers sought income was overseas. With respect to the relationship of the OCWs to the administration of their sub-village only two such areas kept track of OCWs. They were the heads of Cilaku and

Cilaku Hilir where every villager who leaves for overseas always says goodbye to their head of *dusun* and will report on their return to the home place. Most returned OCWs gave money to the head of their sub-village (a minimum of 10,000 rupiahs -about US.\$ 5) for the village development fund. The chairs and tables in the Village Office, when the researcher was there, had been provided by some returned villagers. In the East Java study, the Rural Development Foundation (1992) explained that returnees who have just arrived, usually were expected to make a generous contribution to the Village Development Programme (for example, infrastructure developments or village events such as Independence Day celebrations, etc.). Commonly, the Village Office would require some donation, mostly ranging from Rp 5,000 to Rp 10,000, all said to be for development purposes.

It seems that the mark of success from working overseas is having a modern house. As Athukorala (1990:338) points out,

"The heavy emphasis on real estate (mostly house construction) is understandable because such investment is instrumental in improving the social status of the family, which is the dominant motive behind the emigration decision (Ministry of Plan Implementation, 1985:59). Moreover, in an inflationary economic environment real estate is generally a good long term investment".

In *Desa Sukasari* returning overseas contract labours generally bought or renovated a house. Land or wet rice fields and capital for business are also important signs of success. To obtain this success some villagers worked overseas for more than one contract period. This is because the wage as domestic help or driver in one contract time (2 years) would not provide for enough to be saved to reach the migrants' target. The money they have spent for their departure must be calculated too. According to a head of the *dusun*, sometimes the villagers sell their wet rice fields in order to raise the capital to be able to work overseas. The cost of working overseas varied at the time of survey and was between 500,000 and 1,700,000 rupiah (for administration, training, transportation, etc.). Domestic help with a real wage of 600 per month (about 300,000 rupiahs), will receive Rp 7,200,000 in two years. With that money he/she can have a new house in *Sukasari*. The cost is about 1,500,000 rupiahs for 100 m² of land, building a permanent house (9x6m) will cost 3,500,000 rupiahs for building material and wages for the workers will be about 750,000 rupiahs. Thus, in *Sukasari*, the total cost for building a house (9x6m) on 100m² of land is about 5,750,000 rupiahs and the villager has to bring back about US.\$ 3,000 if they want to have a new house. If the overseas contract worker

wants to purchase wet rice fields then the price of a wet rice field is about 30,000 rupiahs per m².

To collect money from the villagers for making, building or repairing a mosque, a bridge, a road or for social activities, according to the head of the *dusun* of Cilaku Hilir, is not much of a problem. Before 1985, there was no access for cars and motorcycles to *dusun* of Cilaku Hilir. Together with the villagers the head of this *dusun* has made a thoroughfare under the railway with mutual self-help (Plate 9.1). Besides financial and voluntary labour support from the villagers, a group was founded by returned OCWs called a Mutual Self-help Effort of Moslems (known by the acronym "UGREM"). "UGREM" is a mutual self-help effort for making money. For example, someone will build a house and, as a contractor, the members of "UGREM" build that house. Or they work on the wet rice field of someone else. The payment for building the house or cultivating the wet rice field belongs to "UGREM" as a group. In this case, the members who worked on building the house, or worked on "*sawah*" (wet rice field), only receives a meal and cigarettes. The money collected from those activities is used for the development effort of the *dusun*.

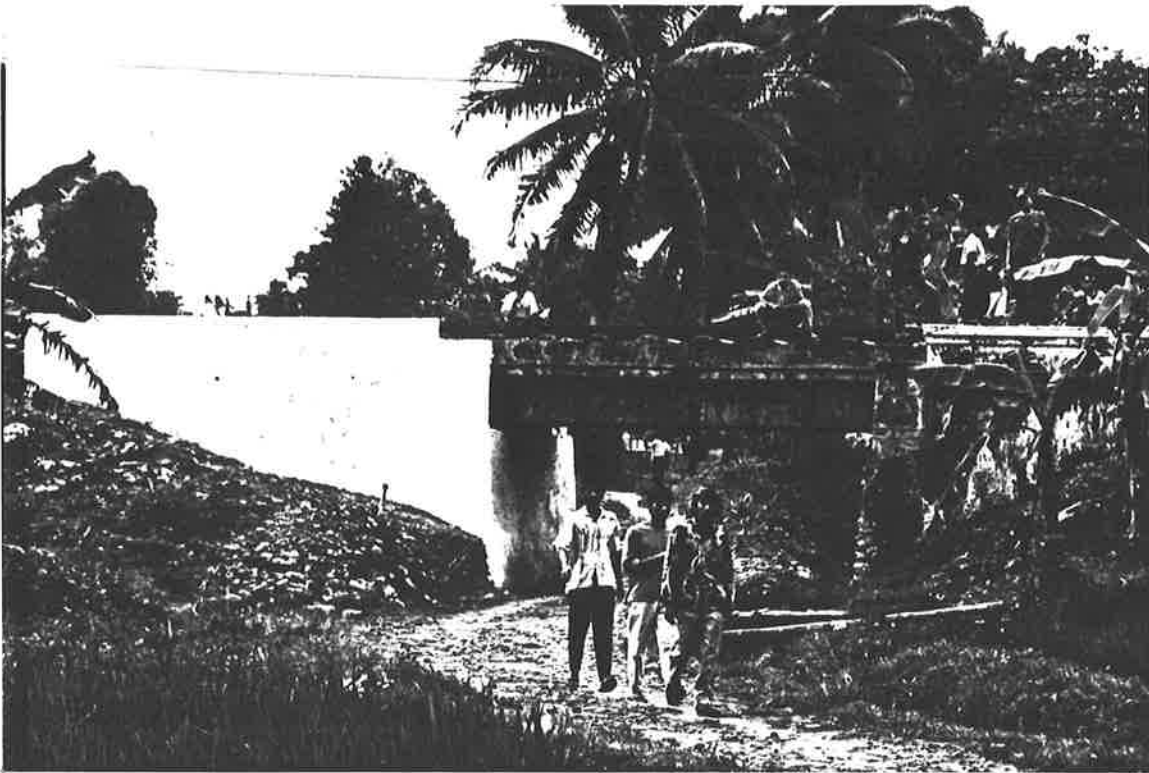


Plate 9.1: A thoroughfare under the railway to Cilaku Hilir: car and motorcycle can pass here

Although *Desa Sukasari* has already produced its own development plan, each head of *dusun* has a role in developing their community. "UGREM" is one example of community mobilisation and another example is the effort of *Dusun Cilaku* where the villagers have started giving numbers to the houses the same as houses in the city. At the time of this fieldwork, the task had not been finished. In *Desa Sukasari* every house does not have a house number and all mail is delivered to the Village Office by a postman. Besides this, in an effort to gain the Development Fund and to improve the standard of

living of the villagers, there was one small shop which was operated on a co-operative basis among the villagers of Cilaku. In this shop, goods for daily needs were sold.

There have been instances in Indonesia where a poor sub-village (*dusun*) became prosperous because of its international labour migration in a short time. *Dusun* Mojosir in Campurejo village, *Kecamatan* Panceng, Gresik, East Java was a poor *dusun* before 1980. As a fishing community, the average income of the fishermen was about Rp 1,000.00 a day (less than one US dollar at that time). Most of the houses were made from bamboo (*gedek*) with a thatched roof of palm leaves. Since 1979, many of the male villagers have gone to Malaysia for work. Less than five years later all the houses were of cement/brick construction with electricity (each house receives 10 watts) from an electric generator that was a donation from Mojosir OCWs and mosques and school building were also built from OCWs donations. Most of the households have televisions and tape recorders, and everywhere bright faces are seen.

In Campurejo, *Kecamatan* Panceng, Gresik, East Java, the exodus of OCWs to Malaysia began from a successful young return OCW. Because he could not find work after he finished at the Religious Teaching Institution (*Sekolah*

Pendidikan Guru Agama) in 1975, he went to Singapore with his friend and because he could not find work in Singapore, he went to Malaysia and worked as a coolie for a building contractor. After two years in Malaysia, he went home, built a house and married. When he went back to Malaysia, many young villagers accompanied him. Since then, he has become a guard and recruiter of OCWs and since 1979, thousands of people have been sent to Malaysia (*Tempo*, 7 April 1984). Meanwhile the name of *Dusun Mojosir* has been changed to *Dusun Rejodadi* (Rejodadi from the words *rejo* and *dadi*.....*Rejo* meaning 'prosperous' and *dadi* meaning 'become') meaning to "become prosperous".

In Gegerbitung, Cijati and Palasari it seems that the initiative village development still comes from the village centre, that is, from the Sukasari Village Government. In Gegerbitung, however, according to some village employees and other villagers, the implementation of the development program from the "centre" is not well accepted. In this place the religious leaders have more power than the formal leaders. The head (the owner) of the "*pesantren*" of Gegerbitung has been in a key position in receiving, interpreting and reacting to any kind of information and implementation of the development program introduced to the village.

9.4 Conclusion

The demographic consequences of international labour migration at the community level are difficult to assess due to the lack of statistics in the village to show the changes over time in the economic, social and demographic characteristics of the community. This difficulty was also faced by The Rural Development Foundation (1992) when they conducted their study in East Java.

Employment opportunities and the hope of making the pilgrimage to Mecca have made villagers search for income in Saudi Arabia and other countries. However in general, village and religious leaders remain somewhat ambivalent about the migration. Indeed the current research project concerning overseas contract workers in Sukasari may have raised the awareness of the significance of the impact of the movement on the village. While remittances have been used by some of Sukasari's OCWs in productive enterprises and have had multiplier effects on employment and enhanced productivity, remittances have also increased the income distribution not only of Sukasari villagers but also of people outside Sukasari who will sell goods and services to the village.

Remittances have been used for personal consumption, investment, debt repayment and saving and as a result have contributed to community development by improving the welfare of community members. Hence, in the main the impact of international labour migration on the community where migrant workers have come from has been positive in the Sukasari case. According to the Rural Development Foundation's study (1992:224), the community where OCWs come from enjoyed direct benefits, for example through the contribution to village development funds, provision of loans etc. and indirectly through the creation of employment opportunities. This is also the case in Sukasari.

On the other hand, some negative influences were evident. There were complaints for example that OCWs generally could buy *sawah* or other land at a higher price than the average villager had the ability to pay. International labour migration had increased the price of land and *sawah*. This situation can be seen as a negative impact for the non-OCW villager who is willing to buy land.

Nevertheless, Bilsborrow, Oberai and Standing (1984:295) have stated that returned OCWs generally are in rural economic growth with the balance of impacts being a net positive one:

"It is often claimed that return migrants stimulate rural economic growth, partly by virtue of their enhanced skills and experience and partly because they come back with accumulated savings and have sent back money beforehand".

Reviews of the impact of international labour migration have found that the impact varies from one place of origin to another. However, this study has found that among five *dusun* in Sukasari, West Java, there are no significant differences in the use of remittances, the integration in economic activities upon return, the level of social/political participation and the socio-economic level of the households.

Chapter Ten

IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION: THE NATIONAL LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

10.1 Introduction

Some macro level and asymmetrical growth studies have suggested that international labour migration will be harmful for the sending country. It is suggested that it has a disadvantageous effect on the development of the country of origin (Hugo, 1987, 1991, 1992b; Shrestha, 1988; Zolberg, 1989), whereas micro level and balanced growth approaches believe that workers' mobility can be an important contributor to the development effect of the sending country (Wood, 1982; Clark, 1986a; Hugo, 1987, 1991, 1992b; Massey, 1988; Shrestha, 1988; Zolberg, 1989). However, the empirical facts show that the impact of international labour migration varies from one sending country to the other. It depends upon many factors, such as how the remittances and human resources (OCWs) are used for development in the sending country. Moreover it is possible that for one country, at one point in time international labour migration will be of benefit and at another time will be harmful for the country. To illustrate this Bangladesh is a good example. As a sending country, Bangladesh is very dependent on

remittances from their overseas workers to alleviate their balance of payments problems and to solve the problem of unemployment. The movement of their workers overseas is beneficial for Bangladesh's development. However, this dependency also has had a negative impact for Bangladesh at a time when there was a decline in the export of their overseas contract workers to the Middle East. Because this country is very dependent on remittances from its overseas workers to alleviate their balance of payments, the decline in the export of workers during the Gulf War caused problems with their balance of payments. Another huge problem was how to provide employment for the thousands of workers who returned to Bangladesh, especially those who failed to earn enough money to meet the cost of their migration (Pelita, 29 August 1986).

This chapter examines these issues in the Indonesian context, including whether Indonesian labour migration to other countries will assist in achieving the development goals of the country. In particular this chapter analyses the demographic and socio-economic impact of labour migration at the national level in Indonesia.

10.2 Demographic Impacts

The objectives of sending Indonesian workers abroad were: (1) to reduce the pressure of unemployment within the country by (2) expanding employment opportunities and hopefully (3) enhancing the work experience as well as improving the quality of Indonesian workers. However, as the fourth most populous country in the world, the withdrawal of Indonesian labour to overseas, it is argued here, will have little demographic impact on the Indonesian population. The numbers of OCWs compared to the scale of unemployment and underemployment in Indonesia is very small.

Labour force growth in Indonesia is still relatively high (about 2.7% a year) and the creation of new employment opportunities cannot keep pace with the growth of the labour force. In fact, unemployment which has traditionally been low, has begun to increase (Pusat Akan, n.d). According to the Indonesian Manpower Department (Kompas, 2 January 1993), every year there are 2.4 million new persons entering the workforce in Indonesia, whereas new job opportunities are only being created at a rate of 500,000 a year. There are 1.9 million unemployed workers emerging in Indonesia and it is estimated that there are 11.9 million underemployed persons. This situation needs to be resolved if

Indonesian development is to advance. Clearly, the deployment of workers overseas only impinges partially on this problem.

At the national level, although the impact of international labour migration in reducing the unemployment rate for Indonesia is still small, this study has suggested that international labour migration has had a positive impact in reducing the pressure of unemployment. If the illegal Indonesian OCWs are included, the proportion of that contribution in reducing the pressure of unemployment is higher. At present the Indonesian Government is still trying to improve the quality of workers, mechanisms, and procedures of sending their workers abroad, as one way of creating employment. Since the Third Five Year Development Plan (1979-1984), the government has aimed to increase the number of Indonesian overseas contract workers as part of its policy for solving unemployment problems and for earning foreign exchange (Singhanetra-Renard, 1984).

10.3 Socio-Economic Impacts

There is a significant interrelationship between population mobility, economic development and social change (Hugo, 1982a; Hugo, et al., 1987; Mantra, 1987; Bandiyono, 1988; Manning, Maude and Rudd, 1989; Guest,

1991). Bandiyono (1988) has suggested that for improving the quality of life in Eastern Indonesia, there is a need to increase population mobility in the region.

According to the migration systems approach (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987a) state-to-state relations, mass culture connections and family and social networks are all conditions that have influenced individual migration decisions. International labour migration has influenced the Indonesian Government's political relationship with destination countries. The relationship between Indonesia and the host countries depends partly on the conditions experienced by Indonesian OCWs in the host countries. This section however, will not discuss that matter, rather the workers' income and foreign exchange earnings and their effects will be focused upon

10.3.1 Income Level and Distribution

An increase in autonomous expenditure, whatever its source, will cause an increase in national income. The change in national income divided by the change in autonomous expenditure that it brings about, is called a "multiplier" (Lipsey, et al., 1984; Sukirno, 1985; Boediono, 1982; Dornbusch and Fisher, 1981). In the previous chapter it was shown that the household income of OCWs households increases as a result of migration.

However, "it is not only migrants and their families who benefit directly from overseas employment. Indonesian Labour Suppliers (PPTKI) do as well" (Kelly, 1987:9). PPTKI is a licensed company for sending a labour force overseas for employment. In 1983 there were only 15 PPTKI, whereas in 1984 this increased to become 42, and one year later (1985) it has been noted that there were 228 PPTKI in Indonesia. However, according to the Ministry of Manpower, from those 228 PPTKI, only 50 were able to continue their activities (Kompas, 10 January 1986). According to the Center of Overseas Employment, in 1991 there were 247 licensed PPTKI which although present in some other cities in Indonesia, are concentrated in Jakarta (Table 10.1). In West Java, although there were only five PPTKI, this region sent the highest number of workers abroad. However, it seems that this region was not a major source of illegal migration. The mass media in Indonesia seldom report about this matter. A study by Dorall and Paramasivam (1992) found that only 0.7 percent of the sample of female Indonesian illegal migrants in Malaysia were Sundanese (ie. West Javan origin). Minang (33.3%), Java (26.2%) and Bawean or Boyan (22.7%) were the three ethnic groups which dominated the female illegal Indonesian workers in Malaysia. Table 10.1 shows the location of the places of origin in Indonesia of illegal worker migration to Malaysia. The distribution of

legal OCWs according to the place of origin from 1989/90 until 1991/1992 is shown in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: The Place of Origin of Indonesian Overseas Employment (PPTKI) in 1991, Legal Indonesian Overseas Workers 1989/90-1991/1992 by Sex and the Proximate Illegal Workers to Malaysia.

Province	PPTKI	Legal OCW		Illegal OCW
		male	female	
01 D.I Aceh	1	2,844	3	-
02 North Sumatera	-	408	64	-
03 West Sumatera	-	67	34	-
04 Riau	5	3,237	13,171	-
05 Jambi	-	9	-	-
06 South Sumatera	-	194	72	-
07 Bengkulu	-	-	3	-
08 Lampung	-	222	383	-
09 DKI Jakarta	221	12,037	6,130	-
10 West Java	5	27,231	98,717	available (1)
11 Central Java	-	7,999	46,205	available (2)
12 D.I Yogyakarta	-	447	1,635	-
13 East Java	6	8,972	29,538	available (3)
14 Bali	-	374	-	-
15 West Nusatenggara	2	1,309	5,997	available (4)
16 East Nusatenggara	-	3,040	1,622	available (5)
17 East Timor	-	-	-	-
18 West Kalimantan	2	360	85	-
19 Central Kalimantan	-	-	-	-
20 East Kalimantan	4	33,328	8,047	available (6)
21 South Kalimantan	-	26	99	available (7)
22 North Sulawesi	-	95	-	-
23 Central Sulawesi	-	-	-	-
24 South East Sulawesi	-	-	-	available (8)
25 South Sulawesi	1	4,920	1,163	available (9)
26 Maluku	-	24	-	-
27 Irian Jaya	-	9	-	-
		247	107,152	212,968

Note: 01 D.I Aceh: Lhoksukon 1

04 Riau: Pekanbaru 2, Tanjung Pinang 2, Dumai 1

09 DKI Jakarta: 221

10 West Java: Bandung 2, Sukabumi 1, Cianjur 1, Pondok Gede 1

13 East Java: Surabaya 5, Sidoarjo 1

15 West Nusatenggara: Mataram 2

18 West Kalimantan: Pontianak 1, Singkawang 1

20 East Kalimantan: Balikpapan 3, Botang Utara 1

25 South Sulawesi: Ujung Pandang 1

Sources:

- Pusat AKAN, 1991, 1992;
- (1) Berita Buana, 17 July 1992;
 - (2) .Berita Buana, 17 July 1992; Media Indonesia, 6 August 1992;
 - .Pikiran Rakyat, 7 July 1992 (villages in Kab. Kendal);
 - .Jayakarta, Merdeka, 24 July 1992 (Cilacap);
 - .Merdeka, 4 June 1992; Pikiran Rakyat, 7 July 1992 (Kendal);
 - (3) .Berita Buana, 16, 17 July 1992; Media Indonesia, 6 August 1992;
 - .Kompas, 14 July 1992 (Desa Nogosari, Kec Rambipuji, Kab. Jember);
 - .Suara Karya, 22 June 1991 (Kab. Jember);
 - .Kompas, 14 July 1992 (Desa Tamberu, Sampang, Madura);
 - .Tempo, 14 August 1993 (Desa Sokobonah, Sampang, Madura);
 - .Suara Karya, 7 January 1992 (Kab. Sumenep, Madura);
 - .Suara Karya, 22 June 1991 (Kab. Bangkalan, Madura);
 - .Suara Karya, 22 June 1991 (Kab. Pamekasan);
 - .Tempo, 14 August 1993 (Blitar);
 - .Waspada, 14 July 1992 (Ponorogo),
 - .Kompas, 29 November 1992; Tempo, 14 August 1993 (Tulungagung);
 - .Tempo, 14 August 1993 (Lumajang);
 - .Tempo, 14 August 1993 (Lamongan);
 - .Tempo, 11 April 1992; Angkatan Bersenjata, 4 August 1992; Suara Karya, 22 June 1991 (Banyuwangi);
 - .Suara Karya, 24 April 1992 (Kec. Genteng, and Kec. Clenmore, Banyuwangi);
 - .Suara Karya, 22 June 1991 (Pasuruhan);
 - .Suara Karya, 22 June 1991 (Bawean, Kab. Gresik);
 - (4) .Berita Yudha, 15 July 1992; Berita Buana, 16, 17 July 1992; Suara Karya, 19 August 1987; Media Indonesia, 6 August 1992;
 - .Pikiran Rakyat, 24 July 1992; Kompas, 21 April 1993 (Lombok),
 - .Tempo, 14 August 1993 (Kec. Batukliang, Lombok);
 - (5) .Berita Buana, 16, 17 July 1992; Sinar Pagi, 28 July 1992; Media Indonesia, 6 August 1992;
 - .Pelita, 23 July 1992; Kompas, 28 July 1992 (East Flores);
 - .Kompas, 28 July 1992 (Sikka);
 - .Kompas, 28 July 1992 (Lewoleba);
 - (6) Berita Buana, 16 July 1992;
 - (7) Berita Buana, 16 July 1992;
 - (8) Berita Buana, 16 July 1992;
 - (9) Suara Karya, 8 April 1992; Berita Buana, 16, 17 July 1992; Pelita, 17 July 1992; Kompas, 1 July 1987; Media Indonesia, 6 August 1992;

This shows that most of the legal Indonesian OCWs come from West Java and that females dominate in this migration flow. Most of them work in the informal sector as housemaids, drivers and plantation workers.

If the number of OCWs in each region of origin is known, then the distribution of remittances to each region of origin can also be estimated. As has been shown in Chapter Nine, male returnees in Sukasari Village (most of them drivers and housemaids) on average have brought money home of around Rp 14,114,000 (US\$7,057) while for female returnees it is Rp 4,659,000 (US\$2,330) on average.

In West Java during the 1989/90 to 1991/1992 period there were 27,231 male and 98,717 female OCWs who went overseas. If they brought back remittances equal to what Sukasari OCWs had brought home, the total remittances then can be calculated as US\$422,179,777. Thus, the distribution of remittances as an additional income for the place of origin depends on, among other factors, how many OCWs they have.

These remittances, moreover, are very important for the OCW families, especially for their day-to-day household subsistence. Studies in rural Mexico, according to Rubenstein (1992:129), suggest similar patterns of

utilisation. Mexican OCWs expended their remittances, usually for family maintenance and other basic family needs, such as the acquisition of land and livestock. In the Michoacan community of Huecorio, Mexico, some remittance income was used to support community religious rituals, the elaborate fiesta cycle, marriage ceremonials, ritual co-parenthood alliances, social and material obligations of close friendship ties, interhousehold hospitality, life-cycle rites (baptisms, weddings and funerals) and the education of children (Rubenstein, 1992).

10.3.2 Employment

The program for sending workers overseas is one of the alternatives to creating employment adopted by Indonesia's Manpower Department. This is not only employment in the host country, but in the place of origin as well. By leaving the country of origin there are work vacancies left behind. In addition, some returnees have created work in the place of origin as has been shown in the case of *Desa Sukasari*.

A central issue regarding the impact of contract migration on labor exporting countries is whether or not migrant remittances help strengthen the local economy in terms of productive investment (Athukorala, 1990:336).

Migrants who have returned to Jordan were more economically active than before departure (Keely and Saket, 1984:692). However, Athukorala (1990) observed that remittances are mostly spent on ostentatious consumption and "unproductive" investment, neither of which contribute directly to the process of economic development:

"It is interesting to note that, compared to other labor exporting countries in the region, migrant remittance seems to be less oriented to consumption in Sri Lanka. Studies conducted in Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines and Thailand have placed APC of remittances in the range of 55 to 80 percent, with the majority of estimates clustering at the upper end. In Sri Lanka, for the whole sample, the percentage of remittances spent on consumption (the average propensity to consume--APC--of remittances) is 44 percent....." (Athukorala, 1990:336-337).

However, it is also claimed that returnees stimulate rural economic growth (Bilsborrow, Oberai, and Standing, 1984). However, study in Mexico has shown that remittances seem to be contributing to the economic weakening of rural Mexico (Rubenstein, 1992:131), whereas development in Bangladesh has been dependent on remittances from their overseas workers (Pelita, 29 August 1986). A survey by BIDS (Lembaga Penelitian Pembangunan Bangladesh) as reported by Pelita (29 August 1986) has shown that after OCWs paid off their debts they bought agricultural land. However, the facts show that while the use of land for housing increased, that for agricultural land decreased. Moreover, the returnees who

opened businesses generally failed. This situation creates social problems.

In Indonesia, although the OCWs make only a small contribution to decreasing the unemployment rate and in obtaining foreign exchange (although still low proportion), Raouf Daboussi, an ILO official has maintained that...

"migration has always provided - and still does - a short-term solution to the problems of poverty and unemployment. It also helps to fill national coffers and contributes to the balance of payments. In Yemen for example, money sent home by workers is equivalent to up to one and a half times the export income of the country. At the same time, the changes that have completely altered society in these countries of origin need highlighting for. While emigration in the 1950s or 1960s involved the illiterate and unskilled, it now involves people with a higher level of education who can find no job opportunities at home. This is a matter of concern for governments, which see valuable human resources draining away." (Fromont, 1993)

10.3.3 Foreign Exchange

According to the Head of Pusat AKAN, foreign exchange is not the most important priority in the program of sending Indonesian workers to other countries. The main goals are to increase the income of the community and to make use of employment opportunities in other countries (Suara Karya, 12 August 1991). Russell (1992:267-269) has pointed out that remittances are central to the link

between migration and development. Remittances constitute an increasingly important mechanism for the transfer of resources from developed to developing countries. The important question relates to the extent to which remittances contribute to the development of a country like Indonesia. By way of example, for Indonesia, as the fourth most populous country in the world and a leading oil exporter, sending their workers overseas is likely to still far from being a major contributor to Indonesian development. As Kelly (1987:6) has argued, "it is equally clear that overseas employment will never be a leading source of growth for Indonesia".

Although the remittances from overseas are not a source of growth for Indonesia, remittances still bring benefits to the country in the form of foreign exchange (The Rural Development Foundation, 1992: 224). In some sending countries, remittances from overseas have an important role in contributing foreign exchange required for important expertise, capital and technology which must be imported. In Bangladesh, for example, it has been found that foreign exchange from remittances is very important: "they would not have been able to implement the import liberalisation policy which was successfully introduced in 1983" (Kelly, 1987:4).

The flows of remittances from Indonesian OCWs through the Indonesian Government Bank has shown an increase every year (Table 10.2). Those figures would be much higher if remittances from Indonesian OCWs, which are sent by friends or brought by themselves, were to be included in those figures.

Table 10.2: Flows of Remittances Through Indonesian Government Bank, According to Bank Indonesia

	Indonesia (US \$)	Sukasari (estimation)
1981	33,070,943	n.a
1982	47,951,469	n.a
1983	44,719,606	n.a
1984/85	63,844,200	n.a
1985/86	80,965,399	n.a
1986/87	52,888,223	n.a
1987/88	51,864,097	n.a
1988/89	113,797,686	n.a
1989/90	187,663,248	n.a
1990/91	179,971,583	n.a
1991/92	238,949,071	n.a
Total	1,095,685,525	1,202,455 (0.11%)

Source: -Pusat AKAN and Bank Indonesia
-Field Data, 1992

10.4 Conclusion

The impact of international labour migration on a nation is the totality of the effects of international labour migration on the migrants themselves, their family/household and their home region. But no one study has evaluated the international labour migration at the

national level. This is because changes in the development process of the country are caused by a large range of factors. One of the goals of national development in each country is to improve the life of its people. To send their labour to work in other countries is one way to achieve these goals in conjunction with other strategies such as those designed to solve domestic unemployment and underemployment and to improve the balance of payments deficit.

The flow of Indonesian workers to Malaysia generally consists of illegal migrants, although the proportion moving there illegally is increasing. Males predominate in this movement and most work in construction and on plantations, while Indonesian workers to Saudi Arabia are largely legal females and work in the domestic sector. Singapore is the third major place of destination for Indonesian female OCWs, after Malaysia (Tempo, 27 November 1993). Indonesia's neighbours, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand are labour-short economies which will continue to need foreign workers. Unfortunately there are still many problems in Indonesia in maximising the benefits to be gained from this.

The Indonesian Government has recognised that international labour migration leads to some social

problems although economically OCWs are better off than they were before migrating (Country Report: Indonesia, 1992). The important problem that has to be solved is that of "human exploitation", because it is harmful to the workers and their families. Meanwhile, the single most effective strategy to fight against poverty is to create employment which is as widespread as possible (Tempo, 8 May 1993:31). Another problem relates to middlemen, overseas employment agents, and "oknum" who are the cause of many problems of exploitation whereas in the country of employment, the problems often come from the employer in the domestic sector, especially in the exploitation of housemaids.

The mass media in Indonesia frequently show that the exploitation of housemaids predominantly comes from employers in Saudi Arabia. According to Prihatmi (1990), housemaids who have a positive migration experience are less in number than those who are disadvantaged. To protect and to control the workers from the violence of the employer, OCWs can report to the representative of the agent of overseas employment, or to the Indonesian Embassy. The question is why OCWs are not obligated to report to the representative of the agent of overseas employment, or to the Indonesian Embassy, once a month (by phone for those who are far away from the

representative of the agent or Embassy), especially about their conditions and relations with their employer (especially housemaids)?

Most Indonesian OCWs are in low paid jobs. As the International Labour Organisation observed:

"...the failure of Indonesia's attempt to bid for Middle East contracts, its efforts to send workers abroad have been concentrated in the domestic service sector. Thus 85 percent of migrants to the Middle East (especially Saudi Arabia) are female domestic workers from the rural areas aged between 30 and 35 years. Their level of education is very low, only about 2 percent having completed secondary school and they are mostly unskilled. The few males that go abroad are also employed in the domestic service sector as drivers" (Sarmiento, 1991:198)

This is because many Indonesian Labour Suppliers (PPTKI) and their organisation, IMSA (Indonesia Manpower Supplier Association) do not fully work under the existing regulations, as well as middlemen and "oknum". They want to maximise profits without considering the needs of their workers which they sell as a commodity (Wirotto, 1985; Sadik, 1986; Kompas, 2 Juli 1987; Mashar, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c; Suara Karya, 21 April 1989; Djidin, 1989; Widiyono, 1990; Tim Kompas, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1990e, 1990f; Basnoer, 1991; Sukamto, 1992; Guhardi, 1992; Aritonang, 1992; Asnawie, 1992; Purwanto, 1992; Hendrowijono, 1992a, 1992b; Sutardjo, 1992; Muhammad, 1992a, 1992b; Ekonomi, 14 July 1992; Kompas, 14 September

1992; Kompas, 11 September 1992; Tempo, 19 December 1992; Tim Tempo, 1993).

From the equilibrium perspective, it is not impossible that, one day the development in Indonesia will need foreign workers. Massey (1988:383) has argued "when standards of living are equalised through development, the economic incentives for international movement will disappear and large-scale migration will end." So, the problem is not how to make "sending overseas workers" a primary source of foreign exchange and an important way of solving the unemployment problem within the country. The important thing for Indonesia, in participating in international labour migration, is how to use the remittances as "foreign capital" in developing the country and in creating employment for returnees.

Chapter Eleven

C O N C L U S I O N

11.1 Introduction

This thesis has departed from the traditional focus of studies of international labour migration which have concentrated on its causes. Here attention is directed to consideration of population mobility as an independent variable and on the consequences which international labour migration has not only for the migrant him/herself and his/her family, but for the community and nation as well. Detailed examination of the impact of international labour migration on individuals, families, communities and the nation has been very limited. However, as Hugo (1993d:122-123) points out:

"From the perspective of welfare of Indonesian labour migrants themselves, their families and communities and the Indonesian economy as a whole, it is important that policies be developed to maximise the advantages to be derived from such movement. At the same time, the exploitation and other negative elements associated with the movement must be identified and minimised. This can only be achieved if there is a base of sound knowledge regarding the scale, patterns, causes and consequences of existing flows. At present this is largely lacking."

This study has attempted to clarify this issue in Indonesia in a number of ways. Although the present study does not cover all aspects of the consequences of

Indonesian labour movement overseas, it is maintained that the field investigation and secondary data have made some contribution to the present limited knowledge of international labour migration in Indonesia. In particular the adoption of an approach which has attempted to integrate analysis at the individual, family, community and national levels has shed some light on the nature and extent of the impact of labour migration in Indonesia.

This chapter present a summary of the findings of the study and discusses some of its implications for policy development in Indonesia and for theory. Some suggestions for further study in this area, including some recommendations with regard to the strategy of collecting data in the field are also presented.

11.2 Findings and Implications Regarding the Scale, Pattern and Causes of International Labour Migration

There are many factors which have caused people move to other countries for work. Some of those factors are the growing internationalisation of capital, the great improvement in the ease and cost of international travel and the activities of multi-national corporations (Massey, 1988:394; Hugo, 1989:24, 1990: 5,20; Hugo and Singhanetra-Renard, 1991:1; Lim, 1991:1-2). For Indonesia, those causes can be added, as it was found in

this study, that the level of unemployment and underemployment in Indonesia is an important influence. These lead people to seek work not only in their own country, but overseas as well. This is the argument of neoclassical economics theory- that the differentials in wages and employment opportunities between countries cause workers from low wage or low employment opportunity countries to move to the high wage/plentiful employment countries.

The volume of the flow of legal Indonesian OCW is increasing significantly. This is especially due to the effort of the Indonesian Government to enlarge the volume and improve the quality of its overseas workers. However, the flow of illegal Indonesian OCWs cannot be ignored and still substantially outnumber the legal flow, although the data are not available for obvious reasons

The movement of Indonesians to seek work overseas is especially focused upon Saudi Arabia and Malaysia. and are quite different flows. Indonesian OCWs moving to Saudi Arabia are dominated by female housemaids, while that to the neighboring country of Malaysia, tends to be mainly males working in the agricultural and construction sectors. The legal worker movement to

Malaysia is much smaller in numbers than the illegal flow.

The analysis of Chapter Four has indicated that historical linkages and cultural homogeneity have played an important role in the pattern of Indonesian OCW movement. Social networks between countries of origin and destination is an important factor causing prospective migrants in the place of origin to migrate. The social network between Indonesian people in Malaysia and Indonesia has a central role in the flows of Indonesian OCWs to Malaysia (Hugo, 1993a). The case in Campurejo village illustrates this. In this case many young villagers went to Malaysia because a successful migrant from Campurejo put them in direct contact with employers in Malaysia (see Tempo, 7 April 1984). This implies that the official Indonesian OCW program should pay more attention to such social networks to enlarge a number of OCWs deployed. There is a need to have a knowledge about the characteristics of Indonesian migrant workers in other countries and how they interrelate with their families/relatives/friends in the places of origin.

The analysis of Chapter Five and indicated that, in the context of *Desa Sukasari*, West Java, insufficient local household income in conjunction with knowledge of work

opportunities in other countries have influenced the prospective migrants to migrate overseas to work. The government program in sending overseas workers and middlemen have important role in encouraging prospective overseas migrants. However, as Wood (1982) points out, although it is a fact that the decision to move or to stay is made by the individual actor him/herself, that decision is constrained, to a greater or lesser degree, by a number of considerations. In the decision to move, the influence of other members of the household cannot be ignored.

However, although the main purpose for working overseas is to reach or increase the desired quantity and quality of consumption and investment of the household (Wood, 1982:312,314; Kols and Lewison, 1983: 245; Hugo, 1993c: 6-7), there are large numbers of Indonesians who have insufficient income and do not seek to migrate overseas to work. This is partly because they have some obstacles preventing them going overseas caused by, for example, financial problems for paying the cost of travel, or not having the social networks to facilitate that movement. A greater understanding of these factors is needed if a successful program to increase the deployment of workers overseas is to be developed during the current Sixth Five Year Plan.

11.3 Findings and Implications Regarding the Impact of International Labour Migration

11.3.1 Individual and Family

The analysis of Chapter Seven has indicated that work overseas on a temporary basis has a net benefit for the migrant. However, exploitation of workers by employers and middlemen can and does create difficulties for many such migrants. The temporary absence can make for a closer relationship between the migrant and his/her spouse and other members of the family. By working overseas the migrant obtains a job with a better wage which can be used for productive activities upon their return. Besides money the returned OCWs bring experiences: open mindedness, new ideas, a broad knowledge, changed attitudes, more skill, from the host country which are useful for most of them. Overseas contract work has had an impact in delaying marriage and as a consequence, delaying having children. Female migrants and those females left behind are likely to become more independent in fulfilling their daily needs as a result of migration. Female migrants obtain money to increase their household income or become the principal breadwinner, while females left behind have responsibilities which were previously taken care of by

her husband. All of these factors have made a contribution to enhancing the role and status of women.

Work overseas has mostly improved the standard of living of the OCWs' household, through greatly enhancing the quality of their housing, improving household facilities, increasing levels of consumption and support for the education of their children. Remittances have been used for personal consumption, investment, debt repayment and saving. This study found that, international labour migration had made no change to OCWs' household/family size and composition in *Desa Sukasari*.

11.3.2 Community and Nation

Benefits are passed on by OCWs to their communities directly through contributions to village development funds and indirectly through creation of employment opportunities. The analysis of Chapter Nine has established this clearly. Remittances have been used by some of Sukasari's OCWs in productive enterprises and have had a number of multiplier effects through employment creation and enhanced productivity. The survey found that Sukasari's OCWs have created employment opportunities for many people in the village. Remittances have also increased incomes not only to Sukasari

villagers, but also to people outside Sukasari where goods and services purchased by Sukasari people are produced.

Bilsborrow, Oberai and Standing (1984:295) have stated that "return migrants stimulate rural economic growth, partly by virtue of their enhanced skills and experience and partly because they come back with accumulated savings and have sent back money beforehand". This study found that community leaders have an important role in encouraging OCWs in using their remittances and experience to further develop the village. The involvement of community leaders enhances the benefits obtained from international labour migration in relation to the economic growth of rural areas.

The demographic consequences of international labour migration at the community level are difficult to assess in Sukasari, due to the lack of statistics in the village to show the changes in the demography of the community during the period that international labour migration has been significant. Additionally, because the impact depends on "its scale, the length of the period of time over which it has been occurring and the socio-cultural structure and composition of the society affected" (Hugo, 1982a:189), there is a need for a longitudinal study of

the impact of international labour migration in different types of areas in Indonesia.

At the national level, Indonesia actually obtains benefits from the flow of workers' remittances in the form of foreign exchange and this has significant employment creation effects. Hence the Indonesian Overseas Worker Program has made a contribution to the solution of domestic unemployment and underemployment problems and improved the national balance of payments. Nevertheless, the impact in these areas is still small in the Indonesian context due to the massive size of the national population. It also leads to some social problems caused by "human exploitation". Middlemen, overseas employment agents, and *oknum* are the cause of these problems.

11.4 Some Policy Implications

The Indonesian Government has attempted to create employment by sending workers to other countries which need foreign workers. However, this program is still not widespread in the society. Generally, it was found in the present study that the head and staff of the villages in *Kecamatan Cianjur* do not know about the government program or about the regulations relating to the sending

of overseas workers. Moreover, there is no registration, as yet, of OCWs and returnees in all of the villages. In fact, many Indonesian overseas employment agencies (PPTKI) active in the study area did not fully work under the existing regulations. This causes overseas workers to be treated as a commodity export and tends to lead to exploitation. This exploitation of workers causes harm to them and their families and creates a social problem within the country. There is a need to address directly the welfare and rights of migrants who are overseas to ensure that they are treated fairly and not exploited.

To maximize the benefits of sending workers overseas and to minimize the negative effects some actions have to be considered by Indonesian Government:

- (1) to send workers only to those countries where the host government can provide protection from exploitation by the employer;
- (2) then, in Indonesia, a heavy punishment is needed to be put into effect for recruiters who violate the law;
- (3) to provide all information relating to overseas workers directly to the people as a whole through the Head of the Village (*Kepala Desa* or *Lurah*) in labour surplus areas throughout the whole of Indonesia
- (4) in order to avoid manipulation or deceit in the

recruiting and sending of workers overseas, all of the institutions, especially the agents of sending overseas workers (PPTKI), must be open to everybody, including researchers who need information about sending overseas workers;

- (5) in order to analyse the growth and impact of Indonesian movement overseas and remittances, all OCWs and returnees at the level of *desa* need to register, computerise, that information and publish the data from Indonesian Worker Identification Forms and Departure and Arrival Cards, and Indonesian Banks should publish regularly about the information on sending money from Indonesian OCWs;
- (7) as it is an important question for Indonesia, serious consideration should be given as to how to effectively use the experiences and remittances as "assets" in creating employment and assisting the development of the nation.

11.5 Some Suggestions for Further Study

International labour migration is a complex phenomenon. There has not yet been formulated a satisfactory theory of such movement. Indeed there are difficulties in developing an adequate conceptual framework for this type of population movement. The empirical findings of the

impact of international labour migration on the sending country presented here show that they depend upon many factors. A framework of the impact of rural-urban migration developed by Hugo (1982, 1987) and used in this study is very useful in determining the impact of international labour migration, but needs to be further tested and refined.

However, because existing data of Indonesian international migration, especially for international labour migration is still far from adequate, the satisfactory assessment of such movement for the purposes of development of policy is not possible as yet. It is important therefore, to conduct further research. The present researcher intends to conduct a further study in *Desa Sukasari* five years after the initial study to investigate changes in the scale and composition of international labour migration and the changing demographic and socio-economic conditions in this particular place of origin. The reason for this is that the impact of such movement depends considerably on the length of the period of time (Hugo, 1982a:189).

The present study has found that, although there is a need for research to be conducted over a period of time, in order to obtain the best results from direct

observation and in-depth interviews, some conditions are desirable in order to obtain optimum results before the research activities are carried out. These include:

- . it is preferable that the researcher consider becoming a member of the community and preferable that no one knows he/she is doing research;
- . the researcher should obtain work in or outside the village in order to avoid the villagers' suspicions;
- . the researcher should often be involved in village activities so he/she understands the conditions of both the village and the people.

There is an urgent need for Indonesian arrival-departure data collection to be significantly improved as international migration increases in importance. Perhaps the arrival and departure cards developed in Australia and shown in Figures 11.1 and 11.2 could be models for a new system. Similarly the Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs data storage, analysis and publication systems could be examined with a view to adapting them to the Indonesia situation as suggested by Hugo(1994a).

The population census does not collect information concerning international migration, whereas this

Figure 11.1 Australia: Departure Card

PLEASE PRINT			
1. FAMILY NAME			
2. CHRISTIAN OR GIVEN NAMES			
3. COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP		4. PASSPORT NUMBER	
5. COUNTRY OF BIRTH		6. DATE OF BIRTH	
		Day / Month / Year	
7. SEX Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>		8. MARITAL STATUS Never Married <input type="checkbox"/> Now Married <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/>	
9. Please answer ONE of (A) OR (B) OR (C)			
(A) Visitor or temporary entrant departing 1. I have been in Australia this visit for a period of Years <input type="text"/> Months <input type="text"/> OR Days <input type="text"/> 2. In Australia I spent most time in _____ (State or City) 3. Country of residence _____	(B) Resident departing temporarily <i>INCLUDES persons who came to settle in Australia</i> 1. I intend to stay abroad for a period of Years <input type="text"/> Months <input type="text"/> Days <input type="text"/> OR <input type="text"/> 2. Main reason for going abroad (Please mark ONLY ONE box) Student vacation <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Visiting relatives <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Convention <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Holiday <input type="checkbox"/> 6 Business <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Employment <input type="checkbox"/> 7 Accompanying business traveller <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Education <input type="checkbox"/> 8 Other <input type="checkbox"/> 9 3. Country in which I shall spend most time _____ 4. In Australia I live in _____ (State or Territory)		(C) Resident departing permanently 1. Country of future residence _____ 2. In Australia I lived in _____ (State or Territory) 3. If not born in Australia how long ago did you come to live in Australia? Years <input type="text"/> Months <input type="text"/> 4. Did you intend to SETTLE permanently? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
↓ ↓ ↓			
10. USUAL OCCUPATION			
11. DEPARTURE DETAILS		Flight No. / Name of Ship	
Date day / month / year		Airport / Port	
12. COUNTRY IN WHICH I SHALL GET OFF THIS FLIGHT OR SHIP (ABROAD)		SIGNATURE	
		/ / 19	

Source: Hugo, 1994a

information is needed by planners in making decisions for future development. It is time for Indonesia to include questions in their census regarding international migration and for data collection on international migration using survey methods. Variables from the National Migration Survey (ESCAP, 1982) which include emigrants, immigrants and returnees.

Figure 11.2 Australia: Arrival Card

PLEASE PRINT			
1. FAMILY NAME			
2. CHRISTIAN OR GIVEN NAMES			
3. COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP		4. PASSPORT NUMBER	
5. COUNTRY OF BIRTH		6. DATE OF BIRTH	
		Day / Month / Year	
7. SEX Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>		8. MARITAL STATUS <input type="checkbox"/> Never Married <input type="checkbox"/> Now Married <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced	
9. Please answer ONE of (A) OR (B) OR (C)			
(A) Migrating to Australia 1. Country of residence _____ 2. Main reason for coming to Australia (Please mark ONLY ONE box) In transit <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Convention <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Business <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Accompanying business visitor <input type="checkbox"/> 4 3. Country of residence _____		(B) Visitor or temporary entrant 1. I intend to stay in Australia for a period of Years <input type="text"/> Months <input type="text"/> OR Days <input type="text"/> Visiting relatives <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Holiday <input type="checkbox"/> 6 Employment <input type="checkbox"/> 7 Education <input type="checkbox"/> 8 Other <input type="checkbox"/> 9 3. Country of residence _____	
		(C) Resident returning to Australia 1. I have been absent from Australia for Years <input type="text"/> Months <input type="text"/> OR Days <input type="text"/> 2. Country in which I spent most time while abroad _____	
10. USUAL OCCUPATION			
11. INTENDED ADDRESS IN AUSTRALIA			
STATE/TERRITORY			
12. FLIGHT NUMBER OR NAME OF SHIP			
13. COUNTRY IN WHICH I BOARDED THIS FLIGHT OR SHIP			
		SIGNATURE	

Source: Hugo, 1994a

It is recommended here that the following questions be included in the Indonesian census:

1. Have you been abroad?

_____no

_____still abroad, since(year) in
(country)

_____ever, mainly in(country) from.....
to.....(year)

2. What is the main reason that you usually move abroad?
3. How long have you been abroad all together?
4. The estimate of remittances have you obtained
5. At what age did you first go abroad?
6. What is the main reason for moving abroad the first time?
7. What type of usual work did you do overseas?

11.6 Conclusion

The mobility of workers across country boundaries for temporary work has had an impact in a variety of areas. Although international labour migration differs from internal movement (circulation and commuting), they are also similar. There is a need for Indonesia's planners to anticipate carefully the changes of demographic, socio-economic and cultural aspects in the country caused by the international labour migration in order to maximise the positive effects for the nation and to promote nation building. Information on such international movement is needed to anticipate the implications for Indonesian development efforts.

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A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix 1: Country Distribution of Legal Indonesian Overseas Workers 1979/80-1991/1992

Countries:	79/80	80/81	81/82	82/83	83/84
Saudi Arabia	7,042	11,073	10,327	9,000	18,552
Malaysia	595	40	79	7,010	3,568
Singapore	125	524	1,471	791	2,096
Netherlands	1,632	1,977	3,389	1,660	1,446
USA	-	24	4	1,085	1,846
Brunei	60	51	38	-	-
Hong Kong	80	509	565	302	305
Kuwait	-	155	187	70	798
Japan	24	91	391	337	77
Greece	103	918	2	21	188
Iraq	478	249	938	485	108
France	20	276	179	180	81
Monaco	-	125	22	-	41
Abu Dhabi	-	24	32	14	400
West Germany	-	24	-	38	1,035
Emirat Arab	-	-	-	-	-
Taiwan	-	-	-	-	-
U.K	56	54	120	47	95
Korea	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	23	63	122	7
Egypt	-	-	-	-	-
Jordan	149	-	-	26	4
Norway	-	15	-	35	-
Swiss	32	-	2	1	6
Suriname	-	-	50	-	-
Cyprus	-	22	45	-	-
Oman	-	-	-	-	-
Thailand	-	-	-	-	-
Philippines	-	12	-	-	1
Qatar	-	-	-	-	-
Liberia	-	-	-	-	-
Romania	-	-	-	-	-
Australia	-	-	-	-	6
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
India	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Canada	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	130
Total	10,396	16,186	17,904	21,224	30,790

continued.....

Countries:	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89
Saudi Arabia	35,577	44,690	45,292	49,211	48,803
Malaysia	5,332	5,179	18,864	5,825	2,585
Singapore	1,565	1,367	1,485	2,091	4,029
Netherlands	836	813	719	907	1,100
USA	1,181	908	1,122	1,458	2,228
Brunei	216	87	64	97	456
Hong Kong	383	297	253	372	430
Kuwait	182	9	2	230	529
Japan	159	116	56	24	40
Greece	114	82	30	252	493
Iraq	196	99	8	-	-
France	232	253	131	300	102
Monaco	142	157	157	206	197
Abu Dhabi	624	134	39	22	290
West Germany	43	24	31	32	18
Emirat Arab	-	-	-	-	-
Taiwan	158	6	4	1	9
U.K	46	12	9	9	1
Korea	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	2	5	1	-	17
Egypt	2	9	9	8	8
Jordan	1	-	-	-	-
Norway	-	-	34	-	1
Swiss	4	-	-	-	2
Suriname	-	-	-	-	-
Cyprus	-	-	1	-	-
Oman	-	31	25	-	-
Thailand	-	-	-	-	-
Philippines	2	3	2	1	1
Qatar	1	-	-	-	-
Liberia	-	-	-	-	-
Romania	16	-	-	-	-
Australia	4	-	3	-	-
Belgium	3	-	-	-	-
Spain	6	-	-	-	-
India	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Canada	-	-	-	-	-
Others	68	16	19	46	80
Total	47,094	54,297	68,360	61,092	61,419

continued.....

Countries:	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	Total
Saudi A.	60,141	41,466	86,501	95,573	101,141	664,389
Malaysia	11,130	29,240	40,401	50,137	25,404	205,389
Singapore	4,877	7,743	10,829	12,398	13,049	64,440
Netherlands	1,185	1,230	1,054	1,033	1,013	19,994
USA	2,217	2,432	2,728	2,868	3,748	23,849
Brunei	2,481	1,705	1,574	2,393	2,052	11,274
Hong Kong	658	681	979	1,439	1,547	8,800
Kuwait	7	-	2,291	698	8	5,166
Japan	184	476	1,044	874	2,335	6,228
Greece	175	123	115	346	158	3,119
Iraq	-	-	-	-	-	2,561
France	131	149	146	121	281	2,582
Monaco	259	292	341	302	171	2,412
Abu Dhabi	149	-	-	-	-	1,579
West Germany	68	96	63	199	187	1,858
Emirat Arab	269	287	277	368	1,122	2,323
Taiwan	59	116	493	1,700	5,520	8,066
U.K	74	72	72	68	24	759
Korea	-	1	587	1,257	1,619	3,464
Italy	2	2	32	15	63	354
Egypt	19	40	158	117	19	389
Jordan	-	-	-	-	-	180
Norway	20	34	46	94	37	316
Swiss	42	12	7	5	2	115
Suriname	18	16	11	8	-	103
Cyprus	-	19	2	-	-	89
Oman	2	4	-	-	6	68
Thailand	28	3	1	3	18	53
Philippines	-	-	-	-	26	48
Qatar	6	9	7	7	13	43
Liberia	12	-	4	-	-	16
Romania	-	-	-	-	4	20
Australia	-	-	2	25	187	227
Belgium	1	2	4	8	23	41
Spain	-	1	-	22	50	79
India	2	-	3	4	2	11
Sweden	4	1	-	-	2	7
Canada	-	5	-	3	35	43
Others	3	7	10	72	129	580
Total	84,074	86,264	149,782	172,157	159,995	1,041,034

Source: Pusat AKAN, Departemen Tenaga Kerja

Note: Statistics from 1 April 1979 to 31 March 1994

* No available data

Appendix 2: Village Questionnaire (English Summary)

QUESTIONNAIRE
IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
MIGRATION

VILLAGE QUESTIONNAIRE:

Village :.....
District :.....
Regency :.....
Province :.....

.....,1992

Head of Village

I. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Village Area:

	Census				
	1992	1990	1980	1971	1961
Area (Square km)
. for agricultural land	:.....%%%%%
. for house and yard	:.....%%%%%
. for other, specify	:.....%%%%%
_____	:.....%%%%%
_____	:.....%%%%%
_____	:.....%%%%%
_____	:.....%%%%%

2. Total household:

1992:
 Census 1990:
 Census 1980:
 Census 1971:
 Census 1961:

3. The average number in household

1992:
 Census 1990:
 Census 1980:
 Census 1971:
 Census 1961:

4. The average number of children in nuclear family

1992:
 Census 1990:
 Census 1980:
 Census 1971:
 Census 1961:

5. Age structure of the Population

age	Census									
	1961		1971		1980		1990		1992	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
0-4										
5-9										
10-14										
15-19										
20-24										
25-29										
30-34										
35-39										
40-44										
45-49										
50-54										
55-59										
60-64										
65+										
Total										

6. Are there any persons who asked *surat pindah* from this village?
 a. YES
 b. NO

If YES, a.) how many *surat pindah* have been made for individuals?

.....
 What were the three most important reasons for their move?

- b.) how many *surat pindah* have been made for households?

.....
 What were the three most important reasons for their move?

11. How many infants were born during 1979-1992

	male	female	Total
1979:			
1980:			
1981:			
1982:			
1983:			
1984:			
1985:			
1986:			
1987:			
1988:			
1989:			
1990:			
1991:			
1992:			
Total			

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

12. How many persons have asked permission to work abroad since 1979?

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
age	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
<20														
20-24														
25-29														
30-34														
35-39														
40-44														
45-49														
50+														
Total														

13. To what countries do they go to work?

Countries	total		
	male	female	total

14. How many persons have returned?male
female

15. How many returnees are still living in this village?
male
female

16. How many persons who are staying in this village work outside the village?

Year	Male	Female
1979		
1980		
1981		
1982		
1983		
1984		
1985		
1986		
1987		
1988		
1989		
1990		
1991		
1992		

17. How many non-dwellers work in this village?

Year	Indonesian		Foreigner	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1979				
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				
1986				
1987				
1988				
1989				
1990				
1991				
1992				

18. Level of Education

	1961 Census	1971 Census	1980 Census	1990 Census	1992
None					
Primary School					
Junior High School					
Senior High School					
Univer- sity					

19. a.) Type of the Main Occupation

Occupation	1961 Census	1971 Census	1980 Census	1990 Census	1992
1. Civil servant					
2. Employee of state enterprise					
3. Employee of private enterprise					
4. Army					
5. Entrepreneur					
6. Work for private					
7. Pension					
8. Student					
9. No work					

19. b.) Profession of main occupation

Profession	1961 Census	1971 Census	1980 Census	1990 Census	1992
1. Teacher					
2. Farmer					
3. Farmhand					
4. Breeder					
5. Work for breeder					
6. Entrepreneur					
7. Adminis- tration Employee					
8. Entreprise worker					
9. Shop servant					
10. Restaurant servant					
11. Housemaid					
12. Driver					
13.					
14.					
15.					
16.					
17.					
18.					
19.					
20.					

20. Type of main occupation/profession of the dweller according to the place of work:

Type of Occupation	1992		1980	
	work in village	work out village	work in village	work out village
1. Civil servant				
2. Employee of state enterprise				
3. Employee of private enterprise				
4. Army				
5. Entrepreneur				
6. Work for private				
7. Pension				
8. Student				
9. No work				

21. Are there any unemployed in this village at this time?

- a. YES
- b. NO

If YES, how many: 1992
 1990
 1980
 1971
 1961

22. Do all of the houses in this village use electricity as illumination?

- a. YES
- b. NO

If NO, what percentage of the houses use electricity as illumination?

in 1992:%
1990:%
1980:%
1971:%
1961:%

23. Do all of the household in this village use drinking water from "PAM"?

- a. YES
- b. NO

If NO, what percentage of them are using it?

in 1992:%
1990:%
1980:%
1971:%
1961:%

24. How many of the households have the following:

	Total				
	1992	1990	1980	1971	1961
1. car					
2. motorcycle					
3. refrigerator					
4. t.v					
5. video					
6. radio					
7. tape recorder					
8. camera					
9. bicycle					
10. other:					

continued.....

13. electrical comp. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14. chemist/pharmacy ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. medical centre ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16. community health centre ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
17. clinic for family planning ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
18. mosque ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
19. church ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
20. primary school ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21. junior high school ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
22. senior high school ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
23. religion training centre for advanced islamic studies (<i>pesantren</i>) ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
24. agent for overseas employment ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25. recreation places.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
26. movie theater ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
27. PKK (<i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> =the Movement for Family Welfare Education) ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
28. <i>Wartel</i> (<i>Warung Telepon</i> =Small Telephone Office) ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
29. Other ....	.....	.....	.....	.....

b.) The main income of the village (explain):

25. Streets in this village:

	asphalt	gravel	land
1992%%%
1990%%%
1980%%%
1971%%%
1961%%%

26. How many of the following commercial vehivles are there in this village?

	Total				
	1992	1990	1980	1971	1961
1. bus
2. colt/mini bus
3. truck
4. motorcycle
5. tricycle
6.					
7.					

27. a.) In this village there are:

	Total				
	1992	1990	1980	1971	1961
1. shop
2. small shop
3. repair shop
4. market
5. bank
6. co-operation/union
7. factory
8. train station
9. bus station
10. telephone office
11. telegraph office
12. post office

c.) Village Status:

Traditional Developing
Village (*Desa Swadaya*), since

Transitional Developing
Village (*Desa Swakarya*), since

More Developed Village
(*Desa Swasembada*), since

III. O P I N I O N

28. In this village there are people who have worked overseas. Do you think the economic status of the migrant household is better than the non-migrant household?

- a. no, economic status of migrant household is not better
- b. yes, economic status of migrant household is better
- c. same

29. Do you think the social status of the migrant household is better than the non-migrant household?

- a. no, social status of migrant household is not better
- b. yes, social status of migrant household is better
- c. same

30. Do you think the social behaviour of the migrant household is different than before?

- a. YES
- b. NO

If YES, what are the changes? _____

31. Do you think the economic behaviour of the migrant household is different than before?

- a. YES
- b. NO

If YES, what are the changes? _____

32. What do you think is the main reason that people work abroad?

33. Is there a middleman who recruited workers here?

- a. YES
- b. NO

Do you have something to say about the middleman? _____

34. Was there any problem or difficulty in this village relating to overseas workers?

- a. YES
- b. NO

If NO, give the reasons: _____

If YES, what were the problems, causes and how was it handled?

problem	causes	how handled
---------	--------	-------------

35. Are there any advantages or disadvantages from overseas workers for village development?

advantage	disadvantage
-----------	--------------

36. Do you think that migrant workers are more active than non-migrants in any social organisation in this village such as social clubs, unions, political groups?

name of social organisation	are there any migrant workers as members?	if yes, how active are they?
	a. yes b. no	less active same more active
	a. yes b. no	less active same more active
	a. yes b. no	less active same more active
	a. yes b. no	less active same more active
	a. yes b. no	less active same more active

37. Do you think overseas migrants have made a contribution (ideas/money/activity) in the process of development of this village?

- a. YES
- b. NO

If NO, why? _____

If YES, what are their contributions?

a. what are their ideas? _____

b. how much money and for what has it been used?

c. in what activity do they participate?

38. Do you think overseas migrant are more modern than non-migrants in their behaviour and attitude?

- a. overseas migrants are less modern than non-migrants
- b. overseas migrants are more modern than non-migrants
- c. same

If they are more modern, do you mean they do not follow the traditions of this community? _____

39. In the future, do you think that there will be more people from here who work overseas?

- a. YES
- b. NO

Please give the reasons: _____

40. What are the big issues in relation to the overseas migrant workers in this village which are mentioned by many dwellers?

Appendix 4: Household Questionnaire (English Summary)

QUESTIONNAIRE
IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
MIGRATION

(A) Respondent
Number:

Returned Migrant Household Questionnaire

RESPONDENT: *Head of Household*
(head of household is not returned migrant)

Name:
Address: Rt _____ Rk _____
Village/City :
District :
Regency :
Length of stay :

List of household members who ever had or are still
working overseas:

Name	Ever/still abroad	Length (in years)	Country desti- nation	Relationship to respondent
------	----------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------

INTERVIEWER

Name:
Date:
Time: from _____ to _____

I. CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF
HOUSEHOLD

- Sex: a. Male
b. Female
- Age: _____ years

3. Place of birth: Village/City:
 District:
 Regency :
 Province:

4. Marital status:
 - a. If married, is it the first time married? a.yes b.no
 Your age when first married:
 If not the first marriage, which marriage now?:
 - b. If unmarried, why?:
 - c. If widower, why?:
 When did it happen:
 Your age at the first marriage:

5. Number of children (for married and widowers only):

6. Relationship to OCW:
 - a. Spouse
 - b. Child
 - c. Parent
 - d. Other, specify:

7. Religion:

8. Ethnic group:

9. Highest level of formal education:
 - a. Never go to school
 - b. Primary School (unfinished)
 - c. Primary School
 - d. Junior High School (unfinished)
 - e. Junior High School
 - f. Senior High School (unfinished)
 - g. Senior High School
 - h. Academy (unfinished)
 - i. Academy
 - j. University (unfinished)
 - i. University

Note: if unfinished, what level:
 if did not go on to tertiary education, why:

10. Type of training/course:

11. a. Main occupation:

a. Civil servant	i.No work
b. Employee of state enterprise	j.Student
c. Army	
d. Employee of private enterprise	
e. Entrepreneur	
f. Work for private	
g. Pension	
h. Other, specify:	

- b. Profession of main occupation:
 - a. Teacher:
 - b. Employee, with task:
 - c. Worker (e.g construction worker):
 - d. Servant (e.g shop servant):
 - e. Cook (e.g in hotel):
 - f. Farmer:
 - g. Farmhand
 - h. Breeder:
 - i. Work for breeder
 - j. Entrepreneur:
 - k. Housemaid
 - l. Merchant:
 - m. Skilled labourer (barber/driver/blacksmith):
 - n. Other, specify:

c. Income per month:

12. If not working, why:

13. Place of main occupation
- a. In the village
 - b. Other village within district
 - c. Other district within regency
 - d. Other regency within province:
 - e. Other province:
 - f. Overseas:

14. Additional occupation (see 11a):

15. Profession of additional occupation (see 11b):

16. Income from additional occupation, per month:

17. Place of additional occupation (see 13):

Additional question:

Other income besides that from main occupation and additional occupation (e.g rent out the house/car):

- a. _____ Rp _____ per month
- b. _____ Rp _____ per month
- c. _____ Rp _____ per month
- d. _____ Rp _____ per month
- e. _____ Rp _____ per month

18. Activity in home region:

Activity	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
a. Recitation of the Koran (<i>pengajian</i>)	—	—	—	—
b. Voluntary labour service (<i>kerja bakti</i>)	—	—	—	—
c. Sport (<i>olahraga</i>)	—	—	—	—
d. Program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare (<i>pendidikan kesejahteraan keluarga</i>)	—	—	—	—
e. Things having to do with art (<i>kesenian</i>)	—	—	—	—
f. Night watchman (<i>ronda malam</i>)	—	—	—	—
g. Information/elucidation for example in family planning, agricultural extension, etc. (<i>penyuluhan</i>)	—	—	—	—
h. Other, specify:	—	—	—	—
		Ever		Never
i. Policy of military personnel participating in village development projects (<i>ABRI masuk desa</i>)		—		—
j. General election campaign (<i>kampanye pemilu</i>)		—		—
k. Head village election campaign (<i>kampanye pemilihan kepala desa</i>)		—		—
		member		no
l. A member of cooperation of village unit (<i>Koperasi Unit Desa</i>)		—		—
m. Political organisation (<i>partai politik</i>)		—		—
n. Other social organisation (<i>organisasi sosial</i>), specify:		—		—

19. Activity (as number 18) outside the home region:

- a. Has activity, specify:
- b. Has no activity

20. The position in the village:

- Leader of religious organisation: a. yes b. no
 Leader of social organisation : a. yes b. no
 Leader of political organisation: a. yes b. no

21. The members of the household:

Name	Age	Sex	Birth place	Marital status	Relation-ship to OCW	Age at first marriage	Religion	Ethnic group	Highest level of education	Other training/course
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										

21. (Continued)

Main occupation	Profession of main occupation	Place of main occupation	length of work (years)	Income per month	Since when lived in this house	Stay in/out village ever/ never	where length
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							

22. Activity of the household member in home region:

Activity	Name (as shown in 21)
a. Recitation of the Koran	:
b. Voluntary labour service	:
c. Sport	:
d. Program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare	:
e. Things having to do with art	:
f. Night watchman	:
g. Information/elucidation for example in family planning, agricultural extension, etc.	:
h. Other (specify):	:
i. Participate in policy of military personnel participating in village development projects	:
j. Participate in general election campaign	:
k. Participate in head village election campaign	:
l. Member of cooperation of village unit	:
m. Member political organisation	:
n. Member other social organisation (specify)	:

23. a. Status of house:
 a. Own
 b. Rent
 c. Other, specify:
- b. Status of house five years ago:
 a. Own
 b. Rent
 c. Other, specify:

24. a. The condition of the house:

At present	Five years ago
a. Concrete wall	a
b. Concrete wall and board	b
c. board/bamboo	c

- b. The size of the house:

At present	Five years ago
_____ m ²	_____ m ²

- c. Illumination of house

At present	Five years ago
a. Electricity	a
b. Petromax (kerosene pressure lantern)	b
c. Other, specify:	c

25. Some properties:

	At present	Five years ago
a. Wet rice field	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
b. Unirrigated agricultural field	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
c. Garden/yard	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
d. Cow	_____	_____
e. Water buffalo	_____	_____
f. Goat	_____	_____
g. House:		
. Concrete wall	_____	_____
. Concrete wall and board	_____	_____
. board/bamboo	_____	_____

26. Total savings in the bank

At present : Rp
 Five year ago: Rp

27. Household expenditure (per month):

- a. Food : Rp
- b. Clothing : Rp
- c. House maintenance : Rp
- d. Health : Rp
- e. Education : Rp
- f. Soap/toothpaste/shampoo/powder
and other thing for makeup : Rp
- g. Cigarettes : Rp
- h. Transportation : Rp
- i. Petroleum/firewood/gas : Rp
- j. Donations : Rp
- k. Tax (television/land and other) : Rp
- l. Savings : Rp
- m. Rent house : Rp
- n. Electricity : Rp
- o. Other, specify : Rp

Total _____ : Rp

28. Household facilities and furnishings:

	At present	Five years ago
-Car	_____	_____
-Motorcycle	_____	_____
-Refrigerate	_____	_____
-TV	_____	_____
-Video	_____	_____
-Radio	_____	_____
-Tape recorder	_____	_____
-Camera	_____	_____
-Bicycle	_____	_____
-Sewing machine	_____	_____
-Other, specify:	_____	_____

If you have a television:

	At present	Five years ago
a. Colour	_____ inch	_____ inch
b. Black and white	_____ inch	_____ inch

29. a. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household at present?

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____ 7 _____ 8 _____ 9 _____ 10
poorest richest

b. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household five years ago?

1____ 2____ 3____ 4____ 5____ 6____ 7____ 8____ 9____ 10____
poorest _____ richest

c. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household in the next five years?

1____ 2____ 3____ 4____ 5____ 6____ 7____ 8____ 9____ 10____
poorest _____ richest

30. Compared with five years ago, what do you think the following conditions of your household are at present?

	Better	Unchanged	Worse
.House condition	_____	_____	_____
.Facilities and household furnishings	_____	_____	_____
.Food condition	_____	_____	_____
.Clothing condition	_____	_____	_____
.Fulfillment of education needs of children	_____	_____	_____
.Household income	_____	_____	_____

II. REASON FOR WORKING OVERSEAS
(Only for returned OCWs)

31. Before working overseas for the first time, how many times did you move?(explain from the birthplace up to departure overseas)

No.	Village/ Town/City	District	Regency	Province	Duration	Reason for move
1.	(birthplace)					
2.	_____					
3.	_____					

32. How many times did you work overseas?

Country destination	Duration	Occupation (profession)	Wage per month	Reason work overseas*)	
				main	other
1.					
2.					
3.					

- *) a. I can not obtain a job at my place of origin
 b. My wage is not enough
 c. My wage is enough, but I want more
 d. On duty (from my employer)
 e. Obtain experiences
 f. Make the pilgrimage to Mecca
 g. Other, specify:

33. Total remittances during the time worked overseas:
 a. The money you have brought to Indonesia: Rp
 b. The money you have sent to Indonesia:

Amount	For	Through*)
1. Rp		
2. Rp		
3. Rp		

*) Bank/Friend/other, specify

34. Did you use the remittances for a business?
 a. No
 b. Yes

If yes, what sort of business:

Amount of capital used : Rp

How many workers do you use:

How is the development of your business:

Besides business, for what else was it used?:

If no, for what was it used?

III. THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION
(Only for returned OCWs)

35. Your work experience before work overseas:

Profession	Employer	Duration	Reason to change jobs
1. (first job)			
2.			
3.			

36. From where did you first get information about working overseas:

- a. Newspaper
- b. Radio
- c. Department of Labor
- d. Middleman
- e. Friend
- f. Other, specify:

What is the content of that information which made you wish to work overseas:

37. Before you worked overseas, did you have family, relatives or friends in the country you worked?
a. Yes b. No

- If yes, who?
- a. Family
 - b. Relative
 - c. Friend
 - d. Other, specify:

How often did you communicate with them:

- a. Often
- b. Rarely
- c. Only once
- d. Never

38. After you obtained information about working overseas, what steps did you undertake (explain chronologically):

Sort of activity	The length of activity	The cost	The problem
------------------	------------------------	----------	-------------

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

39. Who first decided that you should work overseas ?

a. Myself

b. Together with _____

c. Decided by _____

If the decision was made by yourself, did you feel that someone influenced your decision (e.g your spouse or parent)? If yes, who (explain):

Did you ask for an agreement/permission from someone (e.g your spouse or parent)? If yes, who:

40. Did you spend any money for your journey abroad?

a. Yes, paid for all: Rp

b. Yes, paid for some: Rp

c. No not at all

Who help to pay that cost? (explain):

41. With whom did you go overseas?
 a. Alone
 b. Group: _____ persons, headed by:
 a. PPTKI
 b. Other, specify: _____

IV. EXPERIENCE IN THE COUNTRY OF EMPLOYMENT
 (Only for returned OCWs)

42. Explain your first experience in the country of employment, whether it be sorrow and happiness, whether you have friends to help:

43. Whilst working overseas, how many times did you return to Indonesia? (give the reason of return)

44. Difficulties and problems in the country of employment:

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

45. Do you think that your work experience overseas is useful for your work here in your village? Explain:

V. PROBLEMS AT HOME

46. a. Difficulties and problems in your household at present:

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

b. Did the difficulties and problems above, exist five years ago? If yes which one(s):

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

47. What do you think the benefit was for your household after you worked overseas (Only for returned OCWs):

Kind of benefit	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

48. What do you think the detriment was to your household after you worked overseas (Only for returned OCWs):

Kind of detriment	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

VI. INTEGRATION AND PARTICIPATION UPON RETURN

49. When did you return (Only for returned OCWs):
Date_____Month_____Year_____

50. Are you happy to stay in this village after working overseas? (Only for returned OCWs):
a. Yes
b. alright
c. No

Reason: _____

51. When you returned, did you have plans to work in your place of origin? (Only for returned OCWs)

Explain: _____

52. How long did you not work between returning and obtaining the current job (Only for returned OCWs):
_____months

Reason: _____

If at this time you are not working, why? _____

53. a. Have you ever contributed ideas to your village's development?
a. Often
b. Seldom
c. Never, because: _____

If you have, what ideas?: _____

b. Have you ever contributed money to your village's development?
a. Often
b. Seldom
c. Never, because: _____

If you have, for what activity: _____

c. Have you ever contributed manpower to your village's development?
a. Often
b. Seldom
c. Never, because: _____

If you have, for what activity: _____

d. What tradition you do not like in your village?:

e. What tradition do you like in your village?: _____

VII. FUTURE MIGRATION

54. Suppose you could get along well enough (where you are now) to provide food and other necessities for yourself and your family. Would you be willing to move to another place far from here where the language and customs are different, but you could live better than here?

- a. Move
- b. Stay

If you wish to move, how big an income do you want to obtain there:

- a. Twice bigger
- b. 3 X bigger
- c. ___ X bigger

55. At present, do you have family/relatives/friends in other country who still communicate with you?

- a. Yes
- b. No

If yes, who are they?

name	relationship to you	country	status of stay (permanent or not)	duration of stay-ing
------	---------------------	---------	-----------------------------------	----------------------

1

2

3

4

VIII. MODERNITY LEVEL OF RESPONDENT

.Circle (O) for respondent: head of household
.Cross (X) for respondent: return OCW

56.(Educational and occupational aspirations)

- a. If schooling is freely available (if there were no kinds of obstacles) how much do you think children of people like yourself should have?
- Primary school
 - High school
 - University
- b. A poor cultivator has only one son aged 10 years and greatly needs this son's full-time help in cultivation so the family can raise enough food to eat (well).But the son wishes to continue to attend school rather than work fulltime. What should the father decide to do ?If the respondent says "both", ask:which should the son give his main attention to?
- Work for the father
 - Work and continue in school
 - Continue in school without working for the father

57. (Change orientation)

- a. Two 12-year-old boys took time out from their work in the corn (rice) fields. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of corn (rice) with fewer hours of work.
- The father of one boy (A) said: "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing corn (rice)."
 - The father of the other boy (B) said:"The way to grow corn (rice) is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time and not help" Which father said the wiser words?
- A
 - Both A and B
 - B
- b. Some people say that a boy should be taught to prefer the old, traditional ways of doing things. Others say a boy should be taught to prefer the new and modern ways of doing things. What should a boy be taught to prefer?
- Only the traditional ways and things
 - Both traditional and new ways/ things
 - Only new ways and things

58. (Efficacy)

- a. Some say that a man born into a poor family will not better his condition even if he is ambitious and hard working. Do you think such a man:
 - a. Will surely fail to get ahead
 - b. Will probably succeed
 - c. Will surely succeed
- b. Some say that getting ahead in life depends on destiny. Others say that it depends on the person's own efforts. Do you think the position a man reaches in life depends more on fate or more on one's own efforts?
 - a. Entirely on fate
 - b. On fate and own efforts
 - c. Entirely on own efforts

59. (Family size)

- a. What do you think is the best number of children for a man like you to have during your lifetime?
_____children
- b. Suppose you could adequately provide for and educate all the children you might have. How many would you want in that case?
 - a. More than that
 - b. One or two more
 - c. The same number as I have stated.

60. (Kinship obligations)

- a. Suppose a young man works in a factory. He has barely managed to save a very small amount of money. A first cousin comes to him and tells him that he needs money badly since he has no work at all. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his first cousin?
 - a. A strong obligation
 - b. A not so strong obligation
 - c. No obligation
- b. Now suppose in the story I told you that it was not his cousin but a distant cousin who came to the factory worker and said he had no money. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his distant cousin?
 - a. A strong obligation
 - b. A not so strong obligation
 - c. No obligation

61. (Women's rights)

- a. In general, do you (would you) discuss your work with your wife:
 - a. Not at all
 - b. Once in a while
 - c. Often

- b. Suppose in a factory or office, both men and women did exactly the same sort of work, what should be the pay they receive?
 - a. Men should get quite a bit (lot) more
 - b. Men should get a little more
 - c. It should be equal

QUESTIONNAIRE
IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
MIGRATION

(B) Respondent
Number:

Migrant Household Questionnaire

RESPONDENT: *Head of Household*
(migrant is still working overseas)

Name:

Address: Rt _____ Rk _____
Village/City :
District :
Regency :
Length of stay :

List of household members who ever or are still working
overseas:

Name	Ever/still abroad	Length (in years)	Country of destination	Relationship to respondent
------	----------------------	----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------------

Note: If in the household there is a return OCW, use
questionnaire A (if return OCW is not the head of
household) or C (if return OCW is the head of
household)

INTERVIEWER

Name:

Date:

Time: from _____ to _____

I. CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF
HOUSEHOLD

- Sex: a. Male
b. Female
- Age: _____ years
- Place of birth: Village/City:
District:
Regency :
Province:

4. Marital status:
 - a. If married, it is the first time married? a. yes
b. no
 - Your age when first married:
If not the first marriage, which marriage now?:
 - b. If unmarried, why?:
 - c. If widower, why?:
When did it happen:
Your age at the first marriage:
5. Number of children (for married and widowers only):
6. Relationship to OCW:
 - a. Spouse
 - b. Child
 - c. Parent
 - d. Other, specify:
7. Religion:
8. Ethnic group:
9. Highest level of formal education:
 - a. Never went to school
 - b. Primary School (unfinished)
 - c. Primary School
 - d. Junior High School (unfinished)
 - e. Junior High School
 - f. Senior High School (unfinished)
 - g. Senior High School
 - h. Academy (unfinished)
 - i. Academy
 - j. University (unfinished)
 - i. University

Note: if unfinished, what level:
if did not go on to tertiary education, why:
10. Type of training/course:
11. a. Main occupation:
 - a. Civil servant
 - b. Employee of state enterprise
 - c. Army
 - d. Employee of private enterprise
 - e. Entrepreneur
 - f. Work for private
 - g. Pension
 - h. Other, specify:
 - i. No work
 - j. Student

- b. Profession of main occupation:
 - a. Teacher:
 - b. Employee, with task:
 - c. Worker (e.g construction worker):
 - d. Servant (e.g shop servant):
 - e. Cook (e.g in hotel):
 - f. Farmer:
 - g. Farmhand
 - h. Breeder:
 - i. Work for breeder
 - j. Entrepreneur:
 - k. Housemaid
 - l. Merchant:
 - m. Skilled laborer (barber/driver/blacksmith):
 - n. Other, specify:
- c. Income per month:
- d. How long have you been work: years month

12. If not work, why:

13. Place of main occupation
- a. In the village
 - b. Other village within district
 - c. Other district within regency
 - d. Other regency within province:
 - e. Other province:
 - f. Overseas:

14. Additional occupation (see 11a):

15. Profession of additional occupation (see 11b):

16. Income from additional occupation, per month:

17. Place of additional occupation (see 13):

Additional question:

Other income besides that from main occupation and additional occupation (e.g rent out the house/car):

- a. _____ Rp _____ per month
- b. _____ Rp _____ per month
- c. _____ Rp _____ per month
- d. _____ Rp _____ per month
- e. _____ Rp _____ per month

18. Activity in home region:

Activity	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
a. Recitation of the Koran (<i>pengajian</i>)	—	—	—	—
b. Voluntary labour service (<i>kerja bakti</i>)	—	—	—	—
c. Sport (<i>olahraga</i>)	—	—	—	—
d. Program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare (<i>pendidikan kesejahteraan keluarga</i>)	—	—	—	—
e. Things having to do with art (<i>kesenian</i>)	—	—	—	—
f. Night watchman (<i>ronda malam</i>)	—	—	—	—
g. Information/elucidation for example in family planning, agricultural extension, etc. (<i>penyuluhan</i>)	—	—	—	—
h. Other, specify:	—	—	—	—
		Ever		Never
i. Policy of military personnel participating in village development projects (<i>ABRI masuk desa</i>)		—		—
j. General election campaign (<i>kampanye pemilu</i>)		—		—
k. Head village election campaign (<i>kampanye pemilihan kepala desa</i>)		—		—
		Member		No
l. A member of cooperation of village unit (<i>Koperasi Unit Desa</i>)		—		—
m. Political organization (<i>partai politik</i>)		—		—
n. Other social organisation (<i>organisasi sosial</i>), specify:		—		—

19. Activity (as number 18) out side the home region:

- a. Has activity, specify:
- b. Has no activity

20. The position in the village:

- Leader of religious organisation: a. yes b. no
 Leader of social organisation : a. yes b. no
 Leader of political organisation: a. yes b. no

21. The members of the household:

Name	Age	Sex	Birth place	Marital status	Relation-ship to OCW	Age at first marriage	Religion	Ethnic group	Highest level of education	Other training/course
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										

21. (Continued)

Main occupation	Profession of main occupation	Place of main occupation	length of work (years)	Income per month	Since when lived in this house	stay in /out village ever/where length: never
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						

22. Activity of the household member in home region:

Activity	Name (as shown in 21)
a. Recitation of the Koran	:
b. Voluntary labour service	:
c. Sport	:
d. Program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare	:
e. Things having to do with art	:
f. Night watchman	:
g. Information/elucidation for example in family planning, agricultural extension, etc.	:

- h. Other (specify) :
 - i. Participate in policy of military personnel participating in village development projects :
 - j. Participate in general election campaign :
 - k. Participate in head village election campaign :
 - l. Member of cooperation of village unit :
 - m. Member political organisation:
 - n. Member other social organisation (specify) :
-

23. a. Status of house:
- a. Own
 - b. Rent
 - c. Other, specify:
- b. Status of house five years ago:
- a. Own
 - b. Rent
 - c. Other, specify:

24. a. The condition of the house:

At present	Five years ago
a. Concrete wall	a
b. Concrete wall and board	b
c. board/bamboo	c

- b. The size of the house:

At present	Five years ago
_____ m ²	_____ m ²

- c. Illumination of house

At present	Five years ago
a. Electricity	a
b. Petromax (kerosene pressure lantern)	b
c. Other, specify:	c

25. Some properties:

	At present	Five years ago
a. Wet rice field	_____Ha	_____Ha
b. Unirrigated agricultural field	_____Ha	_____Ha
c. Garden/yard	_____Ha	_____Ha
d. Cow	_____	_____

- e. Water buffalo _____
- f. Goat _____
- g. House:
 - .Concrete wall _____
 - .Concrete wall and board _____
 - .board/bamboo _____

26. Total savings in the bank
 At present : Rp
 Five year ago: Rp

27. Household expenditure (per month):

- a. Food : Rp
- b. Clothing : Rp
- c. House maintenance : Rp
- d. Health : Rp
- e. Education : Rp
- f. Soap/toothpaste/shampoo/powder
and other thing for makeup : Rp
- g. Cigarettes : Rp
- h. Transportation : Rp
- i. Petroleum/firewood/gas : Rp
- j. Donations : Rp
- k. Tax (television/land and other): Rp
- l. Savings : Rp
- m. Rent house : Rp
- n. Electricity : Rp
- o. Other, specify : Rp

Total _____ : Rp

28. Household facilities and furnishings
 At present Five years ago

- Car _____
- Motorcycle _____
- Refrigerate _____
- TV _____
- Video _____
- Radio _____
- Tape recorder _____
- Camera _____
- Bicycle _____
- Sewing machine _____
- Other, specify: _____

If you have a television:

- At present Five years ago
- a. Colour _____inch _____inch
- b. Black and white _____inch _____inch

29. a. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household at present?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorest richest

b. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household five years ago?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorest richest

c. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household in the next five years?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorest richest

30. Compared with five years ago, what do you think the following conditions of your household are at present?

	Better	Unchanged	Worse
.House condition	___	___	___
.Facilities and household furnishings	___	___	___
.Food condition	___	___	___
.Clothing condition	___	___	___
.Fulfillment of education needs of children	___	___	___
.Household income	___	___	___

31. Total remittances during time worked overseas:

- a. The money OCWs have brought to Indonesia: Rp
b. The money OCWs have sent to Indonesia:

Amount	For	Through*)
1. Rp		
2. Rp		
3. Rp		

*) Bank/Friend/other, specify

32. Did you use the remittances for a business?

- a. No
b. Yes

If yes, what sort of business:

Amount of capital used : Rp

How many workers do you use:

How is the development of your business:

Besides business, for what else was it used:

If no, for what was it used?

II. PROBLEMS AT HOME

33. a. Difficulties and problems in your household at present:

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

b. The difficulties and problems above, is existed five years ago? If yes which one(s):

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

34. What do you think the benefit was for your household after the OCW worked overseas:

Kind of benefit	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

35. What do you think the detriment was to your household after the OCW worked overseas:

Kind of detriment	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

III. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

36.a. Have you ever contributed ideas to your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, what ideas?: _____

b. Have you ever contributed of money to your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, for what activity: _____

c. Have you ever contributed manpower to your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, for what activity: _____

d. What tradition you do not like in your village?: _____

e. What tradition do you like in your village?: _____

IV. FUTURE MIGRATION

37. Suppose you could get along well enough (where you are now) to provide food and other necessities for yourself and your family. Would you be willing to move to another place far from here where the language and customs are different, but you could live better than here?
- a. Move
 - b. Stay

If you wish to move, how big an income do you want to obtain there:

- a. Twice bigger
- b. 3 X bigger
- c. ___ X bigger

38. At present, do you have family/relatives/friends in other country who still communicate with you?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

If yes, who are they?

name	relationship to you	country	status of stay (permanent or not)	duration of stay
1				
2				
3				
4				

V. MODERNITY LEVEL OF RESPONDENT

- .Circle (O) for respondent: head of household
- .Cross (X) for respondent: return OCW

39. (Educational and occupational aspirations)
- a. If schooling is freely available (if there were no kinds of obstacles) how much do you think children of people like yourself should have?
 - a. Primary school
 - b. High school
 - c. University

- b. A poor cultivator has only one son, aged 10 years and greatly needs this son's full-time help in cultivation so the family can raise enough food to eat (well). But the son wishes to continue to attend school rather than work fulltime. What should the father decide to do? If the respondent says "both", ask: which should the son give his main attention to?
- a. Work for the father
 - b. Work and continue in school
 - c. Continue in school without working for the father

40. (Change orientation)

- a. Two 12-year-old boys took time out from their work in the corn (rice) fields. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of corn (rice) with fewer hours of work.
- The father of one boy (A) said: "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing corn (rice)."
 - The father of the other boy (B) said: "The way to grow corn (rice) is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time and not help"

Which father said the wiser words?

- a. A
 - b. Both A and B
 - c. B
- b. Some people say that a boy should be taught to prefer the old, traditional ways of doing things. Others say a boy should be taught to prefer the new and modern ways of doing things. What should a boy be taught to prefer?
- a. Only the traditional ways/things
 - b. Both traditional and new ways and things
 - c. Only new ways and things

41. (Efficacy)

- a. Some say that a man born into a poor family will not better his condition even if he is ambitious and hard working. Do you think such a man:
- a. Will surely fail to get ahead
 - b. Will probably succeed
 - c. Will surely succeed

- b. Some say that getting ahead in life depends on destiny. Others say that it depends on the person's own efforts. Do you think the position a man reaches in life depends more on fate or more on one's own efforts?
 - a. Entirely on fate
 - b. On fate and own efforts
 - c. Entirely on own efforts

42. (Family size)

- a. What do you think is the best number of children for a man like you to have during your lifetime?
_____children
- b. Suppose you could adequately provide for and educate all the children you might have. How many would you want in that case?
 - a. More than that
 - b. One or two more
 - c. The same number as I have told.

43. (Kinship obligations)

- a. Suppose a young man works in a factory. He has barely managed to save a very small amount of money. A first cousin comes to him and tells him that he needs money badly since he has no work at all. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his first cousin?
 - a. A strong obligation
 - b. A not so strong obligation
 - c. No obligation
- b. Now suppose in the story I told you that it was not his cousin but a distant cousin who came to the factory worker and said he had no money. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his distant cousin?
 - a. A strong obligation
 - b. A not so strong obligation
 - c. No obligation

44. (Women's rights)

- a. In general, do you (would you) discuss your work with your wife:
 - a. Not at all
 - b. Once in a while
 - c. Often

- b. Suppose in a factory or office, both men and women did exactly the same sort of work, what should be the pay they receive?
- a. Men should get quite a bit (lot) more
 - b. Men should get a little more
 - c. It should be equal

Note: Before the OCW goes overseas, has he/she worked?

- a. Yes
- b. No

If yes, what type of work: _____

Why did the OCW work overseas?

QUESTIONNAIRE
IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
MIGRATION

(C) Respondent
Number: .

Returned Migrant Household Questionnaire

RESPONDENT: *Head of Household*
(head of household is returned migrant)

Name:

Address: Rt _____ Rk _____
Village/City :
District :
Regency :
Length of stay :

List of household members who ever or are still working
overseas:

Name	Ever/still abroad	Length (in years)	Country of destination	Relationship to respondent
------	----------------------	----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------------

INTERVIEWER

Name:

Date:

Time: from _____ to _____

I. CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF
HOUSEHOLD

1. Sex: a. Male
b. Female

2. Age: _____ years

- b. Profession of main occupation:
 - a. Teacher:
 - b. Employee, with task:
 - c. Worker (e.g construction worker):
 - d. Servant (e.g shop servant):
 - e. Cook (e.g in hotel):
 - f. Farmer:
 - g. Farmhand
 - h. Breeder:
 - i. Work for breeder
 - j. Entrepreneur:
 - k. Housemaid
 - l. Merchant:
 - m. Skilled labourer (barber/driver/blacksmith):
 - n. Other, specify:

c. Income per month:

11. If do not work, why:

12. Place of main occupation
- a. In the village
 - b. Other village within district
 - c. Other district within regency
 - d. Other regency within province:
 - e. Other province:
 - f. Overseas:

13. Additional occupation (see 11a):

14. Profession of additional occupation (see 11b):

15. Income from additional occupation, per month:

16. Place of additional occupation (see 12):

Additional question:

Other income besides that from main occupation and additional occupation (e.g rent out the house/car):

- a. _____ Rp _____ per month
- b. _____ Rp _____ per month
- c. _____ Rp _____ per month
- d. _____ Rp _____ per month
- e. _____ Rp _____ per month

17. Activity in home region:

Activity	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
a. Recitation of the Koran (<i>pengajian</i>)	___	___	___	___
b. Voluntary labour service (<i>kerja bakti</i>)	___	___	___	___
c. Sport (<i>olahraga</i>)	___	___	___	___
d. Program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare (<i>pendidikan kesejahteraan keluarga</i>)	___	___	___	___
e. Things having to do with art (<i>kesenian</i>)	___	___	___	___
f. Night watchman (<i>ronda malam</i>)	___	___	___	___
g. Information/elucidation for example in family planning, agricultural extension, etc. (<i>penyuluhan</i>)	___	___	___	___
h. Other, specify:	___	___	___	___
		Ever		Never
i. Policy of military personnel participating in village development projects (<i>ABRI masuk desa</i>)			___	___
j. General election campaign (<i>kampanye pemilu</i>)			___	___
k. Head village election campaign (<i>kampanye pemilihan kepala desa</i>)			___	___
		Member		No
l. A member of cooperation of village unit (<i>Koperasi Unit Desa</i>)			___	___
m. Political organisation (<i>partai politik</i>)			___	___
n. Other social organisation (<i>organisasi sosial</i>), specify:			___	___

18. Activity (as number 17) outside the home region:

- Has activity, specify:
- Has no activity

19. The position in the village:

- Leader of religious organisation: a. yes b. no
 Leader of social organisation : a. yes b. no
 Leader of political organisation: a. yes b. no

20. The members of the household:

Name	Age	Sex	Birth place	Marital status	Relation-ship to OCW/ respondent	Age at first marriage	Religion	Ethnic group	Highest level of education	Other training/course
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										

20. Continued

Main occupation	Profession of main occupation	Place of main occupation	length of work (years)	Income per month	Since when lived in this house	stay in/out village ever/ where length never
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						

21. Activity of the household member in home region:

Activity	Name (as shown in 20)
a. Recitation of the Koran	:
b. Voluntary labour service	:
c. Sport	:
d. Program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare	:
e. Things having to do with art	:
f. Night watchman	:
g. Information/elucidation for example in family planning, agricultural extension, etc.	:
h. Other (specify)	:

- i. Participate in policy of military personnel participating in village development projects :
 - j. Participate in general election campaign :
 - k. Participate in head village election campaign :
 - l. Member of cooperation of village unit :
 - m. Member political organisation:
 - n. Member other social organisation (specify) :
-

22. a. Status of house:
- a. Own
 - b. Rent
 - c. Other, specify:
- b. Status of house five years ago:
- a. Own
 - b. Rent
 - c. Other, specify:

23. a. The condition of the house:

At present	Five years ago
a. Concrete wall	a
b. Concrete wall and board	b
c. board/bamboo	c

- b. The size of the house:

At present	Five years ago
_____ m ²	_____ m ²

- c. Illumination of house

At present	Five years ago
a. Electricity	a
b. <i>Petromax</i> (kerosene pressure lantern)	b
c. Other, specify:	c

24. Some properties:

	At present	Five years ago
a. Wet rice field	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
b. Unirrigated agricultural field	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
c. Garden/yard	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
d. Cow	_____	_____
e. Water buffalo	_____	_____
f. Goat	_____	_____
g. House:		
.Concrete wall	_____	_____
.Concrete wall and board	_____	_____
.board/bamboo	_____	_____

25. Total savings in the bank

At present : Rp
 Five year ago: Rp

26. Household expenditure (per month):

- a. Food : Rp
- b. Clothing : Rp
- c. House maintenance : Rp
- d. Health : Rp
- e. Education : Rp
- f. Soap/toothpaste/shampoo/powder and other things for makeup : Rp
- g. Cigarettes : Rp
- h. Transportation : Rp
- i. Petroleum/firewood/gas : Rp
- j. Donations : Rp
- k. Tax (television/land and other) : Rp
- l. Savings : Rp
- m. Rent house : Rp
- n. Electricity : Rp
- o. Other, specify : Rp

Total _____ : Rp

27. Household facilities and furnishings

	At present	Five years ago
-Car	_____	_____
-Motorcycle	_____	_____
-Refrigerate	_____	_____
-TV	_____	_____
-Video	_____	_____
-Radio	_____	_____
-Tape recorder	_____	_____
-Camera	_____	_____
-Bicycle	_____	_____
-Sewing machine	_____	_____
-Other, specify:	_____	_____

If you have a television:

	At present	Five years ago
a. Colour	_____inch	_____inch
b. Black and white	_____inch	_____inch

28. a. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household at present?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorestrichest

b. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household five years ago?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorestrichest

c. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household in the next five years?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorestrichest

29. Compared with five years ago, what do you think the following conditions of your household are at present?

	Better	Unchanged	Worse
.House condition	_____	_____	_____
.Facilities and household furnishings	_____	_____	_____
.Food condition	_____	_____	_____
.Clothing condition	_____	_____	_____
.Fulfillment of education needs of children	_____	_____	_____
.Household income	_____	_____	_____

II. REASON FOR WORKING OVERSEAS

30. Before working overseas for the first time, how many times did you move? (explain from the birthplace up to departure overseas)

No.	Village/ Town/City	District	Regency	Province	Duration	Reason for move
1.	(birthplace)					
2.						
3.						

31. How many times did you work overseas?

Country destination	Duration	Occupation (profession)	Wage per month	Reason work overseas*)	
				main	other
1.					
2.					
3.					

- *) a. I can not obtain a job at my place of origin
 b. My wage is not enough
 c. My wage is enough, but I want more
 d. On duty (from my employer)
 e. Obtain experiences
 f. Make the pilgrimage to Mecca
 g. Other, specify:

32. Total remittances during the time worked overseas:

- a. The money you have brought to Indonesia: Rp
 b. The money you have sent to Indonesia:

Amount	For	Through*)
1. Rp		
2. Rp		
3. Rp		

*) Bank/Friend/other, specify

33. Did you use the remittances for a business?
 a. No
 b. Yes

If yes, what sort of business:

Amount of capital used : Rp

How many workers do you use:

How is the development of your business:

Besides business, for what else was it used:

If no, for what was it used?

III. THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION

34. Your work experience before work overseas:

Profession	Employer	Duration	Reason to change jobs
1. (first job)			
2.			
3.			

35. From where did you first get information about working overseas ?

- a. Newspaper
 b. Radio
 c. Department of Labor
 d. Middleman
 e. Friend
 f. Other, specify:

What is the content of that information which made you wish to work overseas:

36. Before you worked overseas, did you have family, relatives or friends in the country you worked?
 a. Yes b. No

- If yes, who? a. Family
 b. Relative
 c. Friend
 d. Other, specify:

How often did you communicate with them:

- a. Often
- b. Rarely
- c. Only once
- d. Never

37. After you have obtained information about working overseas, what steps did you undertake (explain chronologically):

Sort of activity	The length of activity	The cost	The problem
------------------	------------------------	----------	-------------

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

38. Who first decided that you should work overseas:

- a. Myself
- b. Together with _____
- c. Decided by _____

If the decision was made by yourself, did you feel that someone influenced your decision (e.g your spouse or parent)? If yes, who (explain): _____

Did you ask for an agreement/permission from someone (e.g your spouse or parent)? If yes, who: _____

39. Did you spend any money for your journey abroad?
a. Yes, paid for all: Rp
b. Yes, paid for some: Rp
c. No not at all

Who helped to pay that cost? (explain):

40. With whom did you go overseas?
a. Alone
b. Group: _____ persons, headed by: a. PPTKI
b. Other, specify:

IV. EXPERIENCE IN THE COUNTRY OF EMPLOYMENT

41. Explain your first experience in the country of employment, whether it be sorrow and happiness, and whether you had a friend to help:

42. Whilst working overseas, how many times did you return to Indonesia? (give the reason of return)

43. Difficulties and problems in the country of employment:

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

44. Do you think that your work experience overseas is useful for your work here in your village? Explain:

V. PROBLEMS AT HOME

45. a. Difficulties and problems in your household at present:

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

b. The difficulties and problems above, existed five years ago? If yes which one(s):

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

46. What do you think the benefit was for your household after you worked overseas (Only for returned OCWs):

Kind of benefit	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

47. What do you think the detriment was to your household after you worked overseas (Only for returned OCWs):

Kind of detriment	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

VI. INTEGRATION AND PARTICIPATION UPON RETURN

48. When did you return (Only for returned OCWs):
Date _____ Month _____ Year _____

49. Are you happy to stay in this village after working overseas? (Only for returned OCWs):
a. Yes
b. alright
c. No

Reason: _____

50. When you returned, do you have plans to work in your place of origin? (Only for returned OCWs)

Explain: _____

51. How long did you not work between returning and obtaining the current job: _____ months

Reason: _____

If at this time you are not working, why? _____

52. a. Have you ever contributed ideas for your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, what ideas?: _____

b. Have you ever contributed money for your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, for what activity: _____

c. Have you ever contributed manpower for your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, for what activity: _____

- d. What tradition you do not like in your village?:

- e. What tradition do you like in your village?:_____

VII. FUTURE MIGRATION

53. Suppose you could get along well enough (where you are now) to provide food and other necessities for yourself and your family. Would you be willing to move to another place far from here where the language and customs are different, but you could live better than here?
- a. Move
b. Stay

If you wish to move, how big an income do you want to obtain there:

- a. Twice bigger
b. 3 X bigger
c. ___ X bigger
54. At present, do you have family/relatives/friends in other country who still communicate with you?
- a. Yes b. No

If yes, who are they?

name	relationship to you	country	status of stay (permanent or not)	duration of stay
1				
2				
3				
4				

VIII. MODERNITY LEVEL OF RESPONDENT

- .Circle (O) for respondent: head of household
- .Cross (X) for respondent: return OCW

55. (Educational and occupational aspirations)

- a. If schooling is freely available (if there were no kinds of obstacles) how much do you think children of people like yourself should have?
 - a. Primary school
 - b. High school
 - c. University

- b. A poor cultivator has only one son, aged 10 years, and greatly needs this son's full-time help in cultivation so the family can raise enough food to eat (well). But the son wishes to continue to attend school rather than work fulltime. What should the father decide to do this? If the Respondent says "both", ask: which should the son give his main attention to?
 - a. Work for the father
 - b. Work and continue in school
 - c. Continue in school without working for the father

56. (Change orientation)

- a. Two 12-year-old boys took time out from their work in the corn (rice) fields. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of corn (rice) with fewer hours of work.
 - The father of one boy (A) said: "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing corn (rice)."
 - The father of the other boy (B) said: "The way to grow corn (rice) is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time and not help"

Which father said the wiser words?

- a. A
- b. Both A and B
- c. B

- b. Some people say that a boy should be taught to prefer the old, traditional ways of doing things. Others say a boy should be taught to prefer the new and modern ways of doing things. What should a boy be taught to prefer?
 - a. Only the traditional ways and things
 - b. Both traditional and new ways/things
 - c. Only new ways and things

57. (Efficacy)

- a. Some say that a man born into a poor family will not better his condition even if he is ambitious and hard working. Do you think such a man:
 - a. Will surely fail to get ahead
 - b. Will probably succeed
 - c. Will surely succeed
- b. Some say that getting ahead in life depends on destiny. Others say that it depends on the person's own efforts. Do you think the position a man reaches in life depends more on fate or more on one's own efforts?
 - a. Entirely on fate
 - b. On fate and own efforts
 - c. Entirely on own efforts

58. (Family size)

- a. What do you think is the best number of children for a man like you to have during your lifetime?
_____children
- b. Suppose you could adequately provide for and educate all the children you might have. How many would you want in that case?
 - a. More than that
 - b. One or two more
 - c. The same number as I have told.

59. (Kinship obligations)

- a. Suppose a young man works in a factory. He has barely managed to save a very small amount of money. A first cousin comes to him and tells him that he needs money badly since he has no work at all. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his first cousin?
 - a. A strong obligation
 - b. A not so strong obligation
 - c. No obligation

- b. Now suppose in the story I told you that it was not his cousin but a distant cousin who came to the factory worker and said he had no money. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his distant cousin?
 - a. A strong obligation
 - b. A not so strong obligation
 - c. No obligation

60. (Women's rights)

- a. In general, do you (would you) discuss your work with your wife:
 - a. Not at all
 - b. Once in a while
 - c. Often
- b. Suppose in a factory or office, both men and women did exactly the same sort of work, what should be the pay they receive?
 - a. Men should get quite a bit (lot) more
 - b. Men should get a little more
 - c. It should be equal

QUESTIONNAIRE
IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
MIGRATION

(D) Respondent
Number:

Non Migrant Household Questionnaire

RESPONDENT: *Head of Household*

Name:

Address: Rt _____ Rk _____
Village/City :
District :
Regency :
Length of stay :

INTERVIEWER

Name:

Date:

Time: from _____ to _____

I. CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF
HOUSEHOLD

1. Sex: a. Male
b. Female

2. Age: _____ years

3. Place of birth: Village/City:
District:
Regency :
Province:

4. Marital status:

a. If married, it is the first time married? a. yes
b. no

Your age when first married:

If not the first marriage, which marriage now?:

b. If unmarried, why?:

c. If widower, why?:

When did it was happen:

Your age at the first marriage:

5. Number of children (for married and widowers only):

6. Household Status:
 - a. Head of household
 - a. Spouse
 - b Child
 - c. Parent
 - d. Other, specify:
7. Religion:
8. Ethnic group:
9. Highest level of formal education:
 - a. Never went to school
 - b. Primary School (unfinished)
 - c. Primary School
 - d. Junior High School (unfinished)
 - e. Junior High School
 - f. Senior High School (unfinished)
 - g. Senior High School
 - h. Academy (unfinished)
 - i. Academy
 - j. University (unfinished)
 - i. University

Note: if unfinished, what level:
if did not go on to tertiary education, why:

10. Type of training/course:
11. a. Main occupation:
 - a. Civil servant
 - b. Employee of state enterprise
 - c. Army
 - d. Employee of private enterprise
 - e. Entrepreneur
 - f. Work for private
 - g. Pension
 - h. Other, specify:
 - i. No work
 - j. Student
- b. Profession of main occupation:
 - a. Teacher:
 - b. Employee, with task:
 - c. Worker (e.g construction worker):
 - d. Servant (e.g shop servant):
 - e. Cook (e.g in hotel):
 - f. Farmer:
 - g. Farmhand
 - h. Breeder:
 - i. Work for breeder
 - j. Entrepreneur:

- k. Housemaid
- l. Merchant:
- m. Skilled laborer (barber/driver/blacksmith):
- n. Other, specify:

c. Income per month:

d. How long have you been working: years months

12. If do not work, why:

13. Place of main occupation

- a. In the village
- b. Other village within district
- c. Other district within regency
- d. Other regency within province:
- e. Other province:
- f. Overseas:

14. Additional occupation (see 11a):

15. Profession of additional occupation (see 11b):

16. Income from additional occupation, per month:

17. Place of additional occupation (see 13):

Additional question:

Other income besides that from main occupation and additional occupation (e.g rent out the house/car):

- a. _____ Rp _____ per month
- b. _____ Rp _____ per month
- c. _____ Rp _____ per month
- d. _____ Rp _____ per month
- e. _____ Rp _____ per month

18. Activity in home region:

Activity	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
a. Recitation of the Koran (<i>pengajian</i>)	—	—	—	—
b. Voluntary labour service (<i>kerja bakti</i>)	—	—	—	—
c. Sport (<i>olahraga</i>)	—	—	—	—

d. Program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare (<i>pendidikan kesejahteraan keluarga</i>)	_____	_____	_____
e. Things having to do with art (<i>kesenian</i>)	_____	_____	_____
f. Night watchman (<i>ronda malam</i>)	_____	_____	_____
g. Information/elucidation for example in family planning, agricultural extension, etc. (<i>penyuluhan</i>)	_____	_____	_____
h. Other, specify:	_____	_____	_____
		Ever	Never
i. Policy of military personnel participating in village development projects (<i>ABRI masuk desa</i>)	_____	_____	_____
j. General election campaign (<i>kampanye pemilu</i>)	_____	_____	_____
k. Head village election campaign (<i>kampanye pemilihan kepala desa</i>)	_____	_____	_____
		member	no
l. A member of cooperation of village unit (<i>Koperasi Unit Desa</i>)	_____	_____	_____
m. Political organisation (<i>partai politik</i>)	_____	_____	_____
n. Other social organisation (<i>organisasi sosial</i>), specify:	_____	_____	_____

19. Activity (as number 18) out side the home region:

- a. Has activity, specify:
- b. Has no activity

20. The position in the village:

- Leader of religious organisation: a. yes b. no
 Leader of social organisation : a. yes b. no
 Leader of political organisation: a. yes b. no

21. The member of household:

Name	Age	Sex	Birth place	Marital status	Relation-ship to respondent	Age at first marriage	Religion	Ethnic group	Highest level of education	Other training/course
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										

21. Continued

Main occupation	Profession of main occupation	Place of main occupation	length of work (years)	Income per month	Since when lived in this house	stay in /out ever/ where	village
1						never	
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							

22. Activity of the household member in home region:

Activity	Name (as shown in 21)
a. Recitation of the Koran	:
b. Voluntary labour service	:
c. Sport	:
d. Program at village level to educate women on various aspects of family welfare	:
e. Things having to do with art	:
f. Night watchman	:
g. Information/elucidation for example in family planning,	

- agricultural extension, etc. :
 - h. Other (specify) :
 - i. Participate in policy of military personnel participating in village development projects :
 - j. Participate in general election campaign :
 - k. Participate in head village election campaign :
 - l. Member of cooperation of village unit :
 - m. Member political organisation:
 - n. Member other social organisation (specify) :
-

23. a. Status of house:
- a. Own
 - b. Rent
 - c. Other, specify:
- b. Status of house five years ago:
- a. Own
 - b. Rent
 - c. Other, specify:

24. a. The condition of the house:

At present	Five years ago
a. Concrete wall	a
b. Concrete wall and board	b
c. board/bamboo	c

- b. The size of the house:

At present	Five years ago
_____ m ²	_____ m ²

- c. Illumination of house

At present	Five years ago
a. Electricity	a
b. Petromax (kerosene pressure lantern)	b
c. Other, specify:	c

25. Some properties:

	At present	Five years ago
a. Wet rice field	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
b. Unirrigated agricultural field	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
c. Garden/yard	_____ Ha	_____ Ha
d. Cow	_____	_____

e. Water buffalo	_____	_____
f. Goat	_____	_____
g. House:		
.Concrete wall	_____	_____
.Concrete wall and board	_____	_____
.board/bamboo	_____	_____

26. Total savings in the bank
 At present : Rp
 Five year ago: Rp

27. Household expenditure (per month):

a. Food	: Rp
b. Clothing	: Rp
c. House maintenance	: Rp
d. Health	: Rp
e. Education	: Rp
f. Soap/toothpaste/shampoo/powder and other things for makeup	: Rp
g. Cigarettes	: Rp
h. Transportation	: Rp
i. Petroleum/firewood/gas	: Rp
j. Donations	: Rp
k. Tax (television/land and other)	: Rp
l. Savings	: Rp
m. Rent house	: Rp
n. Electricity	: Rp
o. Other, specify	: Rp

Total _____ : Rp

28. Household facilities and furnishings

	At present	Five years ago
-Car	_____	_____
-Motorcycle	_____	_____
-Refrigerate	_____	_____
-TV	_____	_____
-Video	_____	_____
-Radio	_____	_____
-Tape recorder	_____	_____
-Camera	_____	_____
-Bicycle	_____	_____
-Sewing machine	_____	_____
-Other, specify:	_____	_____

If you have a television:

	At present	Five years ago
a. Colour	_____inch	_____inch
b. Black and white	_____inch	_____inch

29. a. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household at present?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorestrichest

b. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household five years ago?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorestrichest

c. According to you, what is the position of the economy of your household in the next five years?

1____2____3____4____5____6____7____8____9____10
poorestrichest

30. Compared with five years ago, what do you think the following conditions of your household are at present?

	Better	Unchanged	Worse
.House condition	_____	_____	_____
.Facilities and household furnishings	_____	_____	_____
.Food condition	_____	_____	_____
.Clothing condition	_____	_____	_____
.Fulfillment of education needs of children	_____	_____	_____
.Household income	_____	_____	_____

II. PROBLEMS AT HOME

31. a. Difficulties and problems in your household at present:

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

b. The difficulties and problems above, existed five years ago? If yes which one(s):

Kind of difficulty/problem	Reason
1.	
2.	
3.	

III. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

32.a. Have you ever contributed ideas for your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, what ideas?: _____

b. Have you ever contributed money for your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, for what activity: _____

c. Have you ever contributed manpower for your village's development?

- a. Often
- b. Seldom
- c. Never, because: _____

If you have, for what activity: _____

d. What tradition you do not like in your village?:

e. What tradition do you like in your village?:

IV. FUTURE MIGRATION

33. Suppose you could get along well enough (where you are now) to provide food and other necessities for yourself and your family. Would you be willing to move to another place far from here where the language and customs are different, but you could live better than here?
- a. Move
 - b. Stay

If you wish to move, how big an income do you want to obtain there:

- a. Twice bigger
 - b. 3 X bigger
 - c. ___ X bigger
34. At present, do you have family/relatives/friends in other country who still communicate with you?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

If yes, who are they?

name	relationship to you	country	status of stay (permanent or not)	duration of stay
1				
2				
3				
4				

V. MODERNITY LEVEL OF RESPONDENT

- .Circle (O) for respondent: head of household
- .Cross (X) for respondent: return OCW

35. (Educational and occupational aspirations)

- a. If schooling is freely available (if there were no kinds of obstacles) how much do you think children of people like yourself should have?
 - a. Primary school
 - b. High school
 - c. University

- b. A poor cultivator has only one son, aged 10 years, and greatly needs this son's full-time help in cultivation so the family can raise enough food to eat (well). But the son wishes to continue to attend school rather than working fulltime. What should the father decide to do? If the respondent says "both", ask: which should the son give his main attention to?
 - a. Work for the father
 - b. Work and continue in school
 - c. Continue in school without working for the father

36. (Change orientation)

- a. Two 12-year-old boys took time out from their work in the corn (rice) fields. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of corn (rice) with fewer hours of work.
 - The father of one boy (A) said: "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing corn (rice)."
 - The father of the other boy (B) said: "The way to grow corn (rice) is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time and not help"

Which father said the wiser words?

- a. A
 - b. Both A and B
 - c. B
- b. Some people say that a boy should be taught to prefer the old, traditional ways of doing things. Others say a boy should be taught to prefer the new and modern ways of doing things. What should a boy be taught to prefer?
 - a. Only the traditional ways and things
 - b. Both traditional and new ways/things
 - c. Only new ways and things

37. (Efficacy)

- a. Some say that a man born into a poor family will not better his condition even if he is ambitious and hard working. Do you think such a man:
 - a. Will surely fail to get ahead
 - b. Will probably succeed
 - c. Will surely succeed

- b. Some say that getting ahead in life depends on destiny. Others say that it depends on the person's own efforts. Do you think the position a man reaches in life depends more on fate or more on one's own efforts?
 - a. Entirely on fate
 - b. On fate and own efforts
 - c. Entirely on own efforts

38. (Family size)

- a. What do you think is the best number of children for a man like you to have during your lifetime?
_____children
- b. Suppose you could adequately provide for and educate all the children you might have. How many would you want in that case?
 - a. More than that
 - b. One or two more
 - c. The same number as I have stated.

39. (Kinship obligations)

- a. Suppose a young man works in a factory. He has barely managed to save a very small amount of money. A first cousin comes to him and tells him that he needs money badly since he has no work at all. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his first cousin?
 - a. A strong obligation
 - b. A not so strong obligation
 - c. No obligation
- b. Now suppose in the story I told you that it was not his cousin but a distant cousin who came to the factory worker and said he had no money. How much obligation do you think the factory worker has to share his savings with his distant cousin?
 - a. A strong obligation
 - b. A not so strong obligation
 - c. No obligation

40. (Women's rights)

- a. In general, do you (would you) discuss your work with your wife:
 - a. Not at all
 - b. Once in a while
 - c. Often

- b. Suppose in a factory or office, both men and women did exactly the same sort of work, what should be the pay they receive?
 - a. Men should get quite a bit (lot) more
 - b. Men should get a little more
 - c. It should be equal

VI. PERCEPTION OF MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD

41. Do you have family, relatives or friends overseas?
 - a. Yes
 - b. NoIf yes, who?
 - a. Family
 - b. Relative
 - c. Friend
 - d. Other, specify:

How often did you communicate with them:

- a. Often
- b. Rarely
- c. Only once
- d. Never

42. Have you heard information about working overseas?
 - a. Yes
 - b. NoIf yes, from where did you first hear:
 - a. Newspaper
 - b. Radio
 - c. Department of Labor
 - d. Middleman
 - e. Friend
 - f. Other, specify:

43. Why you do not wish to work overseas?
-
-
-

44. According to you, what was the condition of your neighbour (OCW household) before they worked overseas?

	Better	Unchanged	Worse
.House condition	—	—	—
.Clothing condition	—	—	—
.Facilities and household furnishings	—	—	—
.Economic condition	—	—	—
.Food condition	—	—	—
.Fulfillment of education needs of children	—	—	—
.Their living standard	—	—	—
.Other, specify:			

Appendix 5: The Score of Socio-Economic Variables

(The socio-economic status of households are measured by using four variables: education and employment of the head of household and the income and property/wealth of the household. Each variable is given a score from 1 to 5. Scores of 1-2 are given for low socio-economic status, 3 for middle and 4-5 for high status.)

(1) Education of head of household	score
. No schooling/not finish	
Primary School	1
. Primary School	2
. Junior High School	3
. Senior High School	4
. Tertiary Education	5
(2) Employment of head of household	
. Other (tailor, craftsman, domestic help, and other)	1
. Driver, Conductor	2
. Farmer, Small trader	3
. Worker/employee, entrepreneur	4
. Teacher	5
(3) Income of the Household (per month)	
. Rp 150,000 and less	1
. Rp 151,000 - 300,000	2
. Rp 301,000 - 450,000	3
. Rp 451,000 - 600,000	4
. Rp 601,000 and over	5
(4) Wealth of the Household	
a. the house	
. Status of the house	
-other	1
-stay with parents	2
-parents house	3
-rent house	4
-own house	5
. Condition of the house	
-not permanent	3
-semi-permanent	4
-permanent	5
. Housespace	
- 12-45 m2	1
- 46-70 m2	2
- 71-150 m2	3
-151-200 m2	4
-201 > m2	5

. House illumination	
-other	3
- "petromak" (kerosene pressure lantern)	4
-electricity	5
. Type of house	
- "panggung" (stage house)	4
-ordinary house	5
. Cleanliness of the house	
-dirty	1
-not bad	2
-clean	3
. The floor of the house	
-wood/bamboo	1
-cement	2
-floortile ("tegel")	3
- "teraso" (better than floortile)	4
-ceramics	5
. Physical building of the house	
-bad	1
-not bad	3
-good	5
b. other property	
. Wet rice field ("sawah")	
- 0	0
- 1-20 acres	1
-21-30 acres	2
-31-40 acres	3
-41-50 acres	4
-51 > acres	5
. Unirrigated agricultural field ("ladang")	
- 0	0
- 1-20 acres	1
-21-30 acres	2
-31-40 acres	3
-41-50 acres	4
-51 > acres	5
. Cows	
- 0	0
- 1-3	5
. Water buffalo	
- 0	0
- 1-3	5
. Goats	
- 0	0
- 2	1
- 3	2
- 4	3
- 5	4

. Car	
- do not have	0
- have	5
. Motorcycle	
- do not have	0
- have	3
. Refrigerator	
- do not have	0
- have	3
. Television	
- do not have	0
- have	3
. Video	
- do not have	0
- have	3
. Radio	
- do not have	0
- have	1
. Tape	
- do not have	0
- have	1
. Camera	
- do not have	0
- have	2
. Bicycle	
- do not have	0
- have	2
. Sewing machine	
- do not have	0
- have	2