



INTERNATIONAL LABOUR EMIGRATION
FROM EASTERN FLORES INDONESIA TO SABAH MALAYSIA:
A STUDY OF PATTERNS, CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

by

AYUB TITU EKI

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Faculty of Humanity and Social Sciences
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DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no materials previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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Ayub Titu Eki

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*To my late father
Who taught me to work hard.....*

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Abstract

The present study analyses the patterns, causes and consequences of international labour migration from eastern Flores, Indonesia to Sabah, Malaysia. This is part of the second largest undocumented international migration in the world after the Mexico – United States flow. It has been thus far subject to much less research attention than the Mexico – US flow and this study seeks to fill part of this gap. It is based largely on detailed field investigation in eastern Flores in 1998-1999 and interviews with 264 families from which people have moved to Sabah as well as in-depth case studies of migrant workers, non-migrants, return migrants and middlemen.

In analyzing the patterns of migration, it has found that migrant workers generally commence emigration in the late teenage ages and return after working up to fifteen years although some repeat emigration several times to the same work place until their sixties. Migrant workers are male dominant but the number of females is also significant, even a few wives have disobeyed their traditional customs to move alone while their husband and children stay at home. They have low levels of education and have limited skills on their departure but nearly all of them acquire new skills at the destination. The income earned overseas is high compared to the average income per capita earned in the home region. The movement is predominantly through strong kinship networks that have provided easier, cheaper and securer mechanisms for migration over many decades than the government system. Discussions of the causes of migration reveal that economic problems are the most crucial factor forcing labour migration out of the home region. Young people are encouraged to work beyond the home region and return to improve their household's economy. In the destination area, strong ties and mutual beneficial cooperation between the pioneer migrant workers and the new arrivals have been important. Senior workers usually accommodate, find a job, work together with, transfer skills to and supervise new arrivals. The consequences of the migration are prominent. Vast and constant labour emigration has caused a very low rate of population growth and sex ratios and forms a distinct hollowing out of young males in the local population pyramid. On economic impacts, the contribution of remittances in the form of cash sent to local banks in eastern Flores is exceedingly high. The amount sent home in 1997 was over four times higher than total regional government receipts in the same year. A large portion of the money sent home is used for investments (assets, education and banking accounts) rather than for daily consumption and debts. Savings in a local bank that belong to daily accounts of rural citizens rose by 93% in 1998 and this is likely to motivate more labour emigrations because remittances are still expected to remain the most important source for local household economies over the next decade.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

Adat	Customary law
ADB	Asian Development Bank
Balai AKAN	The Regional Center for Overseas Employment
Belis	Bride Price
Bemo	Minibus or local public transportation vehicle
BKPM	(Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal Daerah) Regional Investment Coordinating Board
BPS	(Biro Pusat Statistik) Central Bureau of Statistik
BRI	(Bank Rakyat Indonesia) People's Bank of Indonesia (State-Controlled Bank)
BNI	(Bank Negara Indonesia) The National Bank of Indonesia
Calo	Migration Broker
CEB	Child Ever Born
CSA	Child Still Alive
Daerah	Regional/local Government
Demong	The local native sub-ethnic group
Depnaker	(Departemen Tenaga Kerja) Department of Labour
Desa	Village
GBHN	(Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara) Broad Guidelines to State Policy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
Kantor Statistik	Statistical Office
Kantor Statistik Flotim	Statistical Office of Eastern Flores
Kabupaten	Regency or the chief administrative sub-unit within the province.
Kecamatan	District or the chief administrative sub-unit within the regency
Kedang	A division of the local people by native language
Kepala Desa	The head of Village
Lamaholot	A division of the local people by native language
LGOR	Local Governmental Original Receipt
Mantri Statistik	Statistical Staff at District Level
NGO	Nono Governmental Organization
NTT	(Nusa Tenggara Timur) East Nusa Tenggara
OCW	Overseas Contract Worker
PAD	(Pendapatan Asli Daerah) Regional Governmental Receipt
Paji	The local native sub-ethnic group
Pembantu Camat	The head of Sub-district
Pembantu Bupati	The head of Sub-regency
Perwakilan Kecamatan	Sub-district
Pusat	Central Government/Authority
SUPAS	Survai Penduduk Antar Sensus (Intercensal Population Survey)
TFR	Total Fertility Rate

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

In recent years, the flow of international labor migration has grown dramatically and this has especially been fact in Asian countries (Appleyard, 1996; Hugo, 1991a; 1998a; Castles, et al, 1998; Zlotnik, 1998). According to Stahl (1995), the rapidly growing labour migration in the region has been caused by the growing economic gap between sending and receiving economies, high growth of population versus low growth of employment opportunities in labour supply countries, growing education and communications, and misguided policy programs in less developed nations that tend to support bureaucrats and businessmen rather than the people. Massey (1999) mentions four basic elements that force such population movement. Those are the promotion of emigration programs in developing societies; structural forces at the receiving end; those responding emigration with special motivations, goals and aspirations; and the networks facilitating migration flows. Hugo comments that “the veritable explosion of the movement between countries has greatly outpaced the regional ability to effectively measure and monitor it, to develop a theoretical understanding of its causes and consequences and the ability to devise effective policies to maximize benefits and minimize the costs of the greatly enhanced mobility” (2002a: 13).

Indonesia is one of the main Asian countries that supply migrant workers who are sent to work temporarily in the Middle East and other Asian economies (Hugo, 1992a; 1995a,b; 1996a). Labour migration out of the country was initiated in colonial times by deploying 'contract coolies' to other colonized states but the scale and impacts were small at that time (Hugo, 1975; 1980). Indonesia was later than some other labour exporter nations of Asia in sending large numbers of workers overseas but it has gathered tempo over the last two decades and in the 1990s it has become one of the main Asian countries of labour export (Hugo, 1995a; 1998b,c), especially with the onset of a prolonged economic crisis in 1997. The bulk of the flows go through illegal channels (Hugo, 1999; 2000a; 2002a).

Eastern Flores is one of the best known regions of Indonesia sending substantial number of migrant workers to work overseas, mainly in Sabah (Malaysia) where a few pioneers from the region became established in the first half of the last century (Bandiono, 1997; Hugo, 1996a; 1998c; Mantra, 1998). It is often argued that the most dominant factor forcing labour emigration is economic push (Stalker, 1994) but the specific factors initiating and sustaining the migration over a long period need to be elucidated. In deciding where they should go, potential migrants from Eastern Flores, for example, tend to follow their pioneers to work in Sabah rather than going to other wealthier destinations that are often promoted as possible labour export destinations.

1.2. Aims and Objectives

The present study aims to explore the patterns, causes and consequences of temporary labour emigration from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah Malaysia. It also examines the contribution of labour migration to economic development in the region of origin.

It undertakes this in the context of existing international migration theory and attempts to draw out the implications for development of policy which maximizes the economic benefits of the movement and minimizes its costs. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- To define the patterns of labour migration out of Eastern Flores into Sabah. Two questions are considered here. The first: ‘who are those moving out of Eastern Flores to work in Sabah’ and ‘why has the bulk of the labour migration continued to move to work in the same destination over several decades.’
- To clarify the causes of the labour migration by examining the factors forcing movement out of the home village and attracting the bulk of labour migrants to move into, and work in, Sabah.
- To describe economic consequences of the labour migration and examine its demographic, social and cultural impacts. Assessment of the contribution of remittances will indicate the extent to which household economy in Eastern Flores remains dependent to overseas employment over the next decade.
- To examine policy development that may be applicable, on the one hand to boost economic improvement in the home region and, on the other hand, to reduce the outflow of illegal migrants.

1.3. International Labour Migration

Human mobility is as old as mankind and grows ceaselessly (Stalker, 1994; Massey, et al, 1998) within and beyond national boundaries. Lucas et al explain that “international migration tends to be more controversial than internal migration. Its

socioeconomic and political implications often raise strong feelings, both positive and negative” (1999: 101). Castles et al (1998: 19) comment that:

International migration is hardly ever a simple individual action in which a person decides to move in search of better life-chances, pulls up his or her roots in the place of origin and quickly becomes assimilated in a new country. Much more often migration and settlement is a long-drawn-out process, which will be played out for the rest of the migrant’s life, and affect subsequent generations too.

The United Nations defines international migration as “an exceptionally complex phenomenon that takes place within the context of existing international economic, political and cultural interrelations and that both affects, and is affected by, the development process” (1998: 141).

As table 1.1 indicates international labour migration is a sub set of all population movement across national boundaries (Standing, 1984; Gordon, 1991; Stillwell et al, 1991; Malmberg, 1997). International labour migration is a mechanism for distributing workers (UN, 1998: 141). Bilborrow et al define international migrant workers as “persons admitted by a country other than their own for the explicit purpose of exercising an economic activity. Migrant workers are usually admitted only for a limited period at a time though the permission to stay and exercise an economic activity may be renewed or extended as time elapses” (1997: 42-3). Three criteria are implied in this definition that need to be fulfilled to meet the conditions of becoming international migrant workers. They are: (1) given admission to enter a foreign country; (2) given permission to undertake job activities in the host country and (3) have an obligation to obey the given time period of staying and working in the host country. They are usually issued an entry visa for a specific time period. Those who entry a host country without obeying these conditions are illegal migrants. They are “persons in a state other than their own who have not fully satisfied

Table 1.1. Types of International Migration

Category	Sub-category
Returning Migrants	Returning students/trainees Returning emigrants Returning migrant workers Repatriating foreign-born citizens Repatriated refugees Returning asylum seekers Returning irregular migrants
Returning ethnics	-
Free movement migrants	-
Non-migrant categories	Consular personnel Military personnel Tourists
Possible migrant categories	Foreign students Foreign trainees Foreign retirees
Immigrants	Settlers
Migrant workers	Frontier workers Seasonal migrant workers Project-tied migrant workers Contract migrant workers Temporary migrant workers Established migrant workers Highly skilled migrant workers
Economic migrants	Business travelers Immigrating investors
Asylum Migrants	Convention refugees Humanitarian admissions Asylum seekers Temporary protected status Stay of deportation
Irregular migrants	Unauthorized entry
Migrant for family reunification	-

Source: Bilborrow et al 1997

the conditions and requirements set by that state to enter, stay or exercise an economic activity in the state's territory" (Bilborrow et al, 1997: 39). Those in a foreign country with a visa that allows no work but who are involved in economic activities

are illegal migrant workers. Those in a foreign country who hold working visa but overstay are also illegal migrant workers.

Table 1.1 further classifies international migrant workers into seven sub-categories. Bilborrow et al (1997: 37-44) define each of them as follow:

- Frontier migrant workers are persons who work in a State other than their own but whose habitual residence is located in a neighboring State to which they return every day or at least once a week.
- Seasonal migrant workers are those who work in another State than their own for only part of a year and their works depend on seasonal conditions.
- Project-tied migrant workers are those who admitted to the State of employment for a defined period to work solely on a specific project being carried out in that State by an employer of another country.
- Contract migrant workers are persons working in a country other than their own under contractual arrangements that set limits on the period of employment and on the specific job held by the migrant. Once admitted, contract migrant workers are not allowed to change jobs and are expected to leave the country of employment upon completion of their contract, irrespective of whether the work they do continues or not. Although contract renewals are sometimes possible, departure from the country of employment may be mandatory before the contract can be renewed.
- Temporary migrant workers are persons admitted by a country other than their own to work for a limited period in a particular occupation or a specific job. Temporary migrant workers may change employers and have their work permits renewed without having to leave the country of employment.

- Established migrant workers are those who, after staying some years in the country of employment, have been granted the permission to reside indefinitely and to work without major limitations in that country. They need not to leave the country of employment when unemployed and are usually granted the right of being joined by their immediate family members, provided certain conditions regarding employment and housing are met.
- Highly skilled are migrant workers who, because of their skill, are subject to preferential treatment regarding admission to a country other than their own and are therefore subject to fewer restrictions regarding length of stay, change of employment and family reunification.

Among these sub-categories, contract migrant workers and temporary migrant workers are the most common types of labour migration out of Indonesia. Both these types of migration involve a limitation of the time period spent working in the area of destination. Consequently by the end of the specified working period, international migrant workers have to return home and they then become “return migrant workers”.

Hugo (1998b, 2000a) explains that the vast bulk of Indonesian migrant workers particularly those who move from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah are undocumented. They are irregular migrants who are unauthorized to enter and work in a host country. However, not all the irregular migrants are undocumented migrant workers. Casles et al (1998: 289) define irregular migrants as “unwanted immigrants” who involve:

- Illegal border-crossers
- Legal entrants who overstay their entry visas or who work without permission
- Family members of migrant workers, prevented from entering legally by restrictions on family reunion

1.4. International Labour Migration Theories

Morison argues that “theories provide explanations. They are a collection of logically linked ideas and generalizations which attempt to demonstrate the reasons behind particular events and process” (1989: 29). The following are some selected migration theories which provide explanations for international labour migration and which are likely to have some relevance for the movement from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah Malaya. Kleiner et al (1986) suggest that approaching the phenomenon of labour migration stresses the importance of using appropriate theory in developing an understanding of that movement.

Neoclassical economic macro theory suggests that workers move from labour-abundant and poor-capital nations to labour-scare and capital-rich countries while capital (including human capital) flows in the opposite direction (Massey et al, 1993; 1998; Hugo et al, 1996b). According to this theory the decision of whether to move and where to go is driven by wage differences in which the higher the wage levels the stronger the intention to move to work there. It suggests that migration decision-making is made individually rather than collectively. Over a period of time of labour migration wages tend to equalize and migration ceases. This theory, however, does not explain why the emigration flows from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah have continued several decades and why the movers do not go to work in other wealthier destinations such as Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Middle East as do others from Indonesia. Moreover there is little evidence in Eastern Flores that despite the large amount of capital send back home the pressure to move to work in the same area of destination has not decreased.

Neoclassical economic micro theory suggests that in migration decision-making potential migrants weigh up the costs and benefits of moving to a potential area of destination. Indeed, the greater the anticipated net returns the stronger the attraction to move. The size of the differential in expected net returns determines the size of emigration flows between the countries. However, the levels of income earned in the area of destination are more likely to be engaged through individual characteristics of migrant workers such as education, skills, etc. Massey et al (1993: 434) comment that “net returns in each future period are estimated by taking the observed earnings corresponding to the individual’s skills in the destination country and multiplying these by the probability of obtaining a job there (and for illegal migrants the likelihood of being able to avoid deportation) to obtain expected destination earnings”.

The new household economics theory explains that the flow of emigration constitutes a strategy of the household economy to maximize income and minimize risks and to loosen the constraint of market failures (Massey et al, 1993; 1998; Hugo, et al, 1996). It has been explained that “a key insight of this new approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people – typically families or households – in which people act collectively” (Massey et al, 1993:436). Another key point is that the pressure to move to work overseas is influenced not by wage differences between the area of origin and destination but by economic failures in the home region (Hugo et al, 1996: 14). To minimize risks and loosen constraints resulting from the local natural and economic conditions, households allocate their family members who have different capacities, characteristics and skills to undertake different jobs to different locations including overseas to maximize their income.

Segmented labour market theory suggests that labour migration is driven by high market demand (Todaro, 1997; Massey et al 1993, Abella, 1995; Hugo et al, 1996). The markets attracting labour immigration are seen to be dominant rather than the pressure to move out from the home region. In the East Flores case many (Miller, 1995; Hugo, 1995c; 2000a, Jakarta Post, 2/2/97; Chin, 1997; Kurus, 1998; *Kompas*, 2/4/02) have indicated that employment opportunities in Sabah created a large demand for unskilled migrant workers. Brookfield et al (1997) and Chin (1997) explain that in Sabah the wage levels are low and working conditions are poor compared to the other regions in Malaysia. Consequently the local young people are unwilling to fill the vacant job opportunities in Sabah and hence the demand for unskilled foreign workers is high. Accordingly the flow of labour migrants to work in Sabah particularly those who move out from Eastern Flores is driven by push forces rather than pull factors.

Network theory is a growing body of international migration theory stresses the role of family ties and kinship play in initiating and channeling labour migration (Hugo, 1981a; Fawcett, 1989, Inglis, 1990; Bustamante, 1997; Gunatilleke, 1998a; Shah, 1998a; Tsuda, 1999). Massey et al (1998:43) explain:

Networks make international migration extremely attractive as a strategy for risk diversification or utility maximization. When migrant networks are well developed, they put a destination job within easy reach of most community members and make emigration a reliable and secure source of income. Thus the growth of networks that occurs through the progressive reduction of costs may also be explained theoretically by the progressive reduction of risks. Every new migrant expands the network and reduces the risks of movement for all those to whom he or she is related.

This theory suggests that kinship networks operate before and during the actual movements by giving information to potential migrants, assisting with travel costs, finding jobs, and so on. By utilizing such important assistance, the poor are able to

move to work overseas and this definitely applies in the case of labour migration of Eastern Flores to Sabah.

Focusing particularly on the impact of international labour migration, the center-periphery theory suggests that host countries as the center impoverish poor countries as the periphery (Zolberg, 1989; Stahl, 1995). Indeed, migrant workers flow from a poor country to accumulate capital from the host country but the capital achieved is insufficient in making economic improvement that enables the periphery to reduce its economic dependency on the center. The periphery almost always remains poor because those who move out are the most highly productive workers leaving the low productively labour in the home region while the remittances sent home are used mainly for household consumption (e.g. Khan, 1991:218; Goma et al, 407). Drawing from this perspective, Petersen (1975: 281) concludes: “emigrants can do little or nothing to mitigate the actual physical poverty”.

A later chapter will assess whether the extent to which the center-periphery theory or the neoclassical economic theory applies in the context of labour migration from Eastern Flores to Sabah. Neoclassical economics proposes migration helps economic equilibrium be achieved and reduces the migration tendency between the countries of origin and destination. Similarly, trade liberalization theory (Quibria 1997) suggests that free movements of workers and capital have tended to balance economic development between the Asian countries. Workers move from labour-abundant countries to labour-scare nations to enable capital to flow in the opposite direction. Conversely, the center-periphery theory suggests that household economy of the home region remains dependent on the contribution of remittances from the host country.

1.5. International Labour Migration Studies in Indonesia

A number of studies have been undertaken in order to explain the features of Indonesian labour emigration. Hugo has carried out many discussions on Indonesian labour migration with a number of issues. He has explained the historical background and development of Indonesian labour migration from the colonial period to the recent years (Hugo, 1975; 1980; 1993; 1998b,c; 2002a). He has also focused on the Indonesian labour export programs (Hugo, 1995a), Indonesian female migration and its impacts on the family (Hugo, 1992b, 1995b, 1998d, 2002b), migration and environmental concerns (Hugo, 1996b), illegal migration (Hugo, 1995c, 1998c) and the impact of economic crisis on Indonesian labour migration (Hugo, 1999; 2000b). Two of the Hugo's studies (1996a; 1998b) deepen the analysis on economic impact of labour migration on regional development in Eastern Indonesia particularly in Eastern Flores and these studies have indicated that the contribution of remittances to the home region is substantial. However, all his studies are carried out in analyzing both primary and secondary data but none of them explains the influence of traditional culture in the perpetuation of labour migration from Indonesia.

Raharto (1997) and Firdausi (1998a) provide statistics and explain the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Indonesian emigrant workers. Spaan (1994) describes the role of middlemen and migration brokers (*calos/taikongs*) in facilitating labour emigration from Indonesia. He also provides analysis regarding the causes and consequences of labour migration in East Java (Spaan, 1999). Ananta, et al (1998) analyze the impact of economic crisis on labour migration. Some have explained the Indonesian labour migration from political perspectives (Bandiyono, 1997, Keban, 1998; Tirtosudarmo, 1998), research agenda Dwiyanto et al (1998) and

socio-economic development (Cremer, 1988; Adi, 1996; Ananta, 1998; Spaan, 1999). A few studies have made the comparison of labour migration and its impacts between provinces (Mantra, 1998; Mantra et al, 1999; Firdausy, 1998b). A large concern has been given to explain the impact of international labour migration and some emphasize its negative impacts or difficulties of working in the Middle East (Tobing et al, 1990; *Kompas*, 9/4/2000a,b) and in Malaysia (Muchtar, 1997; *Kompas*, 15/10/1997). Other studies have seen international labour migration as having more benefits than negative effects particularly working in Malaysia (Kassim, 1998); the Middle East (Kelana, 1993) and Hong Kong (*Pos Kupang*, 30/10/1997a). Kassim (1998) has studied Indonesian immigrants in Malaysia and discussed their moving consequences and problems. Local newspapers also provide some reports on the issue of illegal migrant workers (e.g. *Suara Pembaruan*, 27/9/1996; *Jawa Pos*, 17/3/1998; *Ranesi*, 28/2/02; *Pos Kupang*, 30/10/1997b,c; 24/6/1999a,b; 31/1/01; 5/2/01).

Some village case studies addressing labour migration from Eastern Flores to Sabah have been carried out in the area of the present study. Goma et al (1993) analyze the reasons to move out from the home village, to move into Sabah and the contribution of remittances to sustain migrant household economy. They have indicated that remittances have positive effects on the household economy but they did not estimate the volume and impacts of the remittances on the local economic development. Kapioru (1995) studies changes upon the women's roles and socio-economic conditions of migrant households due to the absence of the household head. He also involves information about moving illegally and returning home with a lot of valuable goods. Graham (1997) provides an analysis on the women's life and labour migration from socio-anthropological perspectives. She examines the influence of the local culture on women's life but not on labour migration. Mantra (1998) and Mantra

et al (1999) have compared labour migration from Eastern Flores with other two regions in Indonesia. One of the most key points in these discussions is that migrant workers from Eastern Flores have known exactly the right way to enter Sabah illegally. Raharto et al (1999) analyze the patterns, process, causes and impacts of labour migration on the local development. However, this study provides no sufficient information about the remittances sent home and its impacts on the local development. Moreover, the study also neglects to involve the influence of the local culture in distinguishing the movement process from that of other types of international labour migration process. In sum, most studies in Eastern Flores indicate that migrant workers from the region are low educated and move mainly through illegal channels.

Over all the migration studies in Indonesia, Hugo, (1997: 76) has summarized some major features of the Indonesian labour migration flows as follows:

- The legal movement is still dominantly directed toward Saudi Arabia and mainly involves women who work as housemaids
- Housemaids migration is increasing to Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia
- Indonesian international labour migration predominantly involves unskilled workers
- The movement to Malaysia is overwhelmingly male but female migration is becoming more important
- Some longstanding migrants to Malaysia are settling permanently there
- While Java, especially East Java, provides the bulk of official labour migrants, many of those going overseas as undocumented workers come from eastern Indonesia... although East Java is also an important origin
- There are no accurate data on remittances but official data on transfers indicates that US\$1.2 billion were sent back to Indonesia... This, however, is only the tip of iceberg of such flows since the bulk of remittances are sent through unofficial channels.

What has been summarized here supports our understanding of the general pictures of Indonesian labour migration. However, the consistently growing scale and impact of the phenomenon require more analysis. The present study will attempt to add new

information to the existing studies by studying in some depth the out movement of migrant workers from Eastern Flores.

1.6. Organization of the Thesis

The present thesis consists of nine chapters. The first chapter introduces the scope of the study. It presents the background, states the aims and objectives to be achieved and provides some backgrounds to the area of study. The chapter also reviews selected migration theories that may help explain labour migration out of Eastern Flores to work in Sabah. Finally it summarizes some migration studies in Indonesia and outlines the structure of the thesis.

Chapter two focuses on discussing International labour migration in the Indonesian context. It identifies some determinant factors that force labour migrants to work overseas and describes the common types of labour migration moving out of the country. It also illustrates labour migration out of East Nusa Tenggara province where the area of the present study is situated.

Chapter three provides background information about Eastern Flores, the source of labour emigration for the present study. It presents necessary background for later chapters which examines the patterns, causes and consequences of the labour migration. The chapter begins with describing the regional structure, then illustrates conditions of physical geography and water supply, describes both demographic and economic characteristics, and finally gives some detail on the social and cultural setting in the region.

Chapter four explains the research methods of the present study. It begins with explaining data sources for international labour migration in Indonesia. Secondly it

defines the study area and explains the methods used to the study area and villages sampled for the case study. Later, the chapter provides details of the primary data collection involving the sampling frame, sampling procedures, data collection methods, obstacles to data collection and fieldwork organization. Finally the chapter identifies the sources of secondary data collection and explains the procedures for coding, processing and analyzing field data.

Chapter five defines characteristics of migrant workers and the migration process in order to achieve the first objectives of the study. It describes characteristics of emigrant workers that involve sex and age structure, marital and family status, education and occupation and income. The chapter then explains recruitment and movement process by identifying migration networks, middlemen and the movement process.

Chapter six examines the causes of the labour migration from Eastern Flores to Sabah and determines the achievement of the second objectives of the study. The chapter evaluates the local constraints to labour emigration by examining land use and income sources, natural effects and the local employment opportunities. The chapter provides details regarding the decision made to move or stay, who makes the migration decision and why potential migrants have decided to move to work in Sabah.

Chapter seven evaluates the non-economic consequences of the emigration. It assesses emigration impacts on the demography of the region. The assessment involves analysis of loss of population, age-sex structure, sex ratio, annual population growth, fertility, and population registration data. The chapter also examines the emigration impact on family life involving residential status, family harmony, the role

of women and participation of young children in work. The chapter ends by analyzing social norms and cultural values.

Chapter eight analyzes the economic impacts of the labour emigration. It makes an assessment of the remittances sent home by indicating the form, volume and mode of sending remittances, examines the main use made of the remittances whether it is spent for consumption or investment. The chapter also analyzes the trickle down effect of the remittances on capital accumulation, cash circulation, local employment and infrastructure. Finally it discusses human capital formation and prospects for the household economy over the next decade.

The last chapter concludes the study. It summarizes some major findings, draws theoretical conclusions, suggests some policy implications and provides recommendation for further research.

1.6. Conclusion

The present chapter has introduced the scope of the study. The study is designed to discuss the patterns, causes and consequences of temporary labour migration from Eastern Flores to Sabah, Malaysia that has grown dramatically over recent decades. In explaining patterns of the emigration, the study describes the characteristics of migrant workers and explains why the main bulk of the particular labour emigration persists moving to the same area of destination. In discussing causes of the emigration, the study explains the determining factors that initiate and sustain the flow of labour migration between the regions. In analyzing consequences of the emigration, the study analyzes demographic aspects to provide evidence to indicate that the emigration from Eastern Flores has involved a large number of migrant

workers although it is pursued illegally and unrecorded in the official data. In analyzing economic consequences of the emigration, the study estimates the volume of remittances sent home and assesses the main use made of the remittances to indicate the extent to which labour emigration from Eastern Flores is economically beneficial for development in the home region.

Chapter Two

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION IN INDONESIA

2.1. Introduction

International labour migration, a subset of all types of population movements across national boundaries has grown dramatically around the world and shows a great variation in scales, patterns, causes and consequences between regions as well as countries. In most countries of Southeast Asia including Indonesia there has been a rapid growth of this population movement during the last two decades and it is likely to increase even more rapidly in the future due to a complex set of factors. Hugo demonstrates that the workforce stock “will continue to grow rapidly in Asia over the next decade or so” (1998a: 1) and this will place pressure on local labour markets and on international labour migration. Battistella et al (1999) argue that the rapid flow of migrant workers is facilitated by close borders, a shared history and cultural affinity when neighboring countries have divergent economic and political situations. This is certainly the case for Malaysia and Indonesia.

This chapter presents the context of international labour migration in Indonesia. The discussion begins with a review of some of the major factors generating the significant movement of workers out of the country. This includes the global transformation which has produced greater movement across countries not only in

goods and capital but also people. There are also internal factors in Indonesia such as the economy and the labour market. The next section reviews the mainstream of labour emigration. It also gives a brief description of international labour migration out of East Nusa Tenggara, one of the poorest provinces in Indonesia that has experienced net migration losses for several decades.

2.2. Factors Encouraging Labour Migration

2.2.1. Global Transformation

Global transformation is shorthand for profound political, economic and social changes which have produced greater movement of people, capital, information, goods and ideas across national boundaries. Economic issues have been the key factors driving this movement. Neo classical migration theory explains that labour moves from low wage to high wage countries while capital moves in the opposite direction and the flows persist until an equal economic level is achieved (Massey et al 1993; 1998, Hugo et al, 1996). The wider the gaps between nations, the greater the flow of labour migration. Demographic change also affects labour migration. For example, a significant reduction in population growth has made some Asian economies experience labour shortages such as Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia (Hugo, 1998a: 2) and therefore they have become areas of destination for foreign workers. Economic and political reformations in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union also have let to massive labour emigration (Stahl, 1995). Growth in the flow of information and improved access to transportation also have accessed the growth in labour migration.

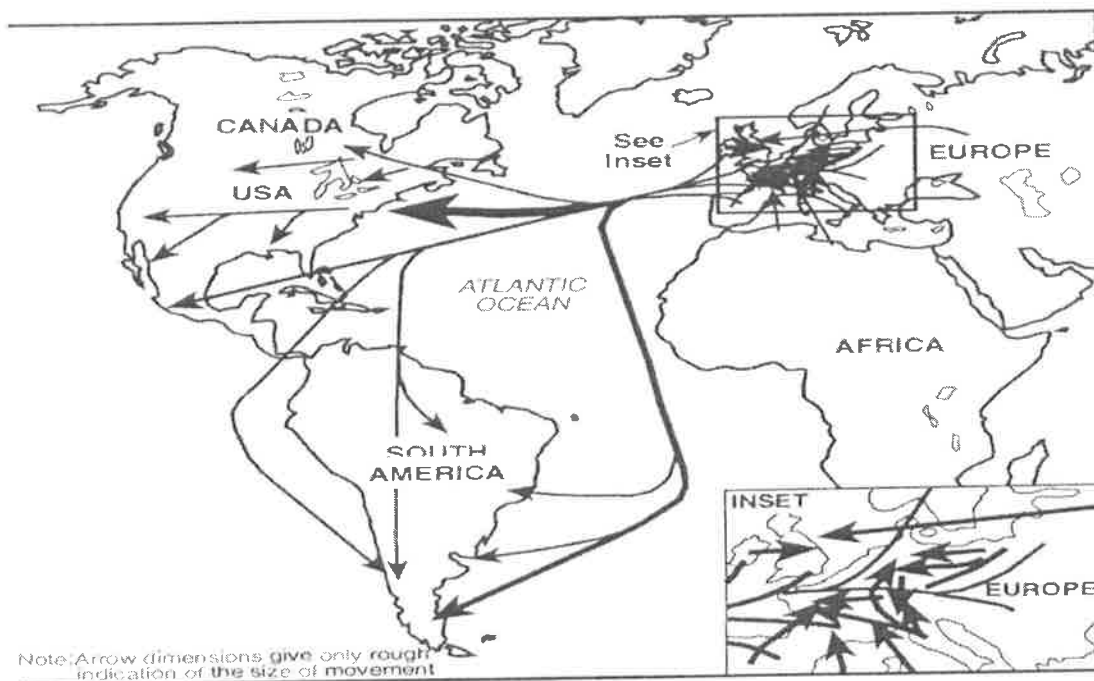
The following discussion reviews the historical background of massive flows of international labour migration in accordance with economic transformation. Massey et al (1998) have recorded such flows in four periods. *Firstly*, the mercantile period from 1500 to 1800. They explain that during this period world migration “was dominated by flows out of Europe and stemmed from processes of colonization and economic growth under mercantilist capitalism” (ibid.2). In addition to this argument, Stalker notes that “Portuguese sailors began to enslave Africans around 1442, transporting them back to Europe for use in their own households. But it was not until 1550 that the first slave ship sailed from Africa to the West Indies to meet the need for intensive field labour in the sugar and tobacco plantations of the Caribbean” (1994:9).

Secondly, during the industrial period which ranges from 1800 to 1925 “more than 48 million people left the industrializing countries of Europe in search of new lives in the Americas and Oceania” (Massey et al, 1988: 1). Castles et al also argue that “as the earliest industrial country, Britain was the first to experience large-scale labour immigration” (1998: 58). Such movement then developed following the expansion of industrialization to the American continent as is shown in figure 2.1. *Thirdly*, there is a four-decade period of limited migration due to the outbreak of the world wars which ranges between 1920s and 1960s. During this period population mobility “consisted largely of refugees and displaced persons and was not tied strongly to the rhythms of economic growth and development” (Massey et al, 1998: 2).

Finally, comes the period of post-industrial migration that emerged from the 1960s and has become a global phenomenon. Since the beginning of this period, labour migration involved not only European countries but also developing countries. For example, Massey et al comment that “the sudden infusion of petrodollars transformed the Persian Gulf into a capital-rich, labour-scarce region, and as in Europe, political

leaders in the Gulf countries sought to recruit ‘temporary’ workers to fill the resulting demand for labour, this time from labour-rich, capital-poor states elsewhere in the Middle East and in Asia” (1998:5).

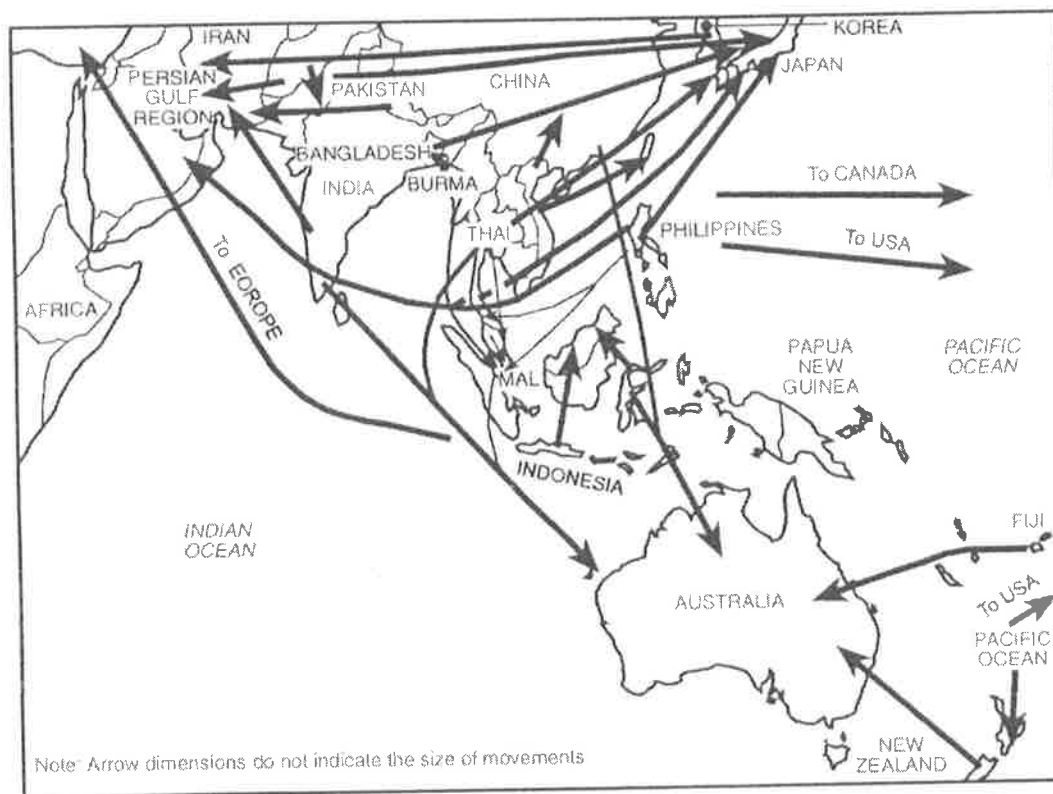
Figure 2.1: Labour migrations connected with industrialization, 1850-1920



Source: Castles et al, 1998:58

The current flow of international labour migration has involved a large number of Asian nations including Indonesia, and this has been part of the economic development in the region. Figure 2.2 shows the direction of international labour migration within the Asia-Pacific region. Although labour migration in the region is affected by complex interrelated factors, the massive flows seem to occur simultaneously in accordance with the rapid growth of the regional economy. During the last few decades, the economic growth and development of some Asian nations

Figure 2.2: International labour migration within the Asia-Pacific region



Source: Castles et al, 1998: 143.

has been remarkable. This achievement has been labeled and hailed as “high performing economies” (Thompson, 1998:1), “an excellent record of long-term economic growth” (Singh, 1998:59) and “stunning economic growth which has stood out to the rest of the world as a model of development” (Sadik, 1999:6). However, the achieved high growth has widened the economic gap between the Asian countries and this has become the main cause for the current massive flow of labour migration. Stalker argues that “the most fundamental causes of migration are the disparities in income and opportunity between different countries, particularly between the industrial and developing world” (1994: 23). The widening economic gap between the Asian countries has been recorded by Thompson (1998:1) who notes that:

The consequences of these growth rates were that in 1995 the GDP per head in Hong Kong and Singapore were US \$23,900 and US \$22,600 respectively, compared to an average of just US \$19,400 for the rich industrial OECD economies as a whole. (Note that other countries were less well off at the time: Taiwan, US \$13,200; South Korea, US \$11,900; Malaysia, US \$10,400; Thailand, US \$8,000; Indonesia, US \$800; China, US \$3,100; Philippines, US \$2,800)

In addition, Gangopadhyay (1998) classifies some Asian countries according to the levels attained in economic development as follows:

- Japan is the Asian industrial giant
- Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan are the newly industrialized economies (NIEs)
- China, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia are the almost or near-NIEs
- Burma, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos are the traditional developing countries.

As a consequence of the growing gap between individual countries in Asia, there has been a significant increase in the flow of international labour migration from the less well off countries including Indonesia to the well off nations within the region.

Massey et al (1998: 5) note that:

By the 1980s, several 'Asian Tigers' had joined the ranks of wealthy, industrialized nations. In addition to Japan, which in some ways had become the world's dominant economic power, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia achieved stunning rates of economic growth during the 1970s; and by the 1980s, these nations also had become intensive in capital but poor in labour (Hugo, 1995a). Like the countries of Southern Europe during the 1970s, many switched from exporting to importing labour, while others continued simultaneously to import and export workers.

Table 2.1 indicates some selected Asian countries according to their status relating to labour migration. Both Malaysia and Thailand "are importing migrants from poorer countries, while simultaneously sending workers to richer ones" (Silverman, 1998:51). Malaysia recruits hundreds of thousands of cheap workers mainly from Indonesia, Bangladesh and Philippines (Hugo, 1993; 1995a; 1998a; Kassim, 1998; Kurus, 1998) and sends a large amount of workers to Japan, Taiwan and Singapore

(Hugo, 1998c; Battistella et al, 1999). Thailand employs workers mainly from Myanmar and Cambodia and deploys many workers to Taiwan, Brunei, Singapore, Japan and Malaysia (Hugo, 1998c, Arhavanitkul et al, 1999; Battistella et al, 1999; Battistella, 1999).

Table 2.1: Labour Export and Import in Asia

<i>Mainly Emigration</i>				
Philippines	India	Sri Lanka	Indonesia	Viet Nam
China	Bangladesh	Pakistan	Myanmar	
<i>Mainly Immigration</i>				
South Korea	Taiwan	Singapore		
Japan	Hong Kong	Brunei		
<i>Both Significant Immigration and Emigration</i>				
Malaysia				
Thailand				

Source: Hugo, 1998a: 17

The vast movement of Asian migrant workers has been identified to have some special characteristics. Firstly, the bulk of labour migration of the region comprises “strictly temporary” (Battistella et al, 1999:19) migrants who will stay only for the period of the contract given and then will return to the country of origin. Secondly, it comprises a substantial number of illegal migrant workers. Hence, it is extremely difficult to estimate the exact numbers of those moving out of an individual country because the flow continues and is generally undocumented (Hugo, 1998c; Battistella,

1999). Thirdly, there have been a significant number of women who are involved in labour migration in the region (Hugo, 1998d: 98). A high involvement of women in labour migration often opens them to greater exploitation in the entertainment and sex industry (Battistella, 1999).

Another important determining factor facilitating labour migration in Asia in general and especially in Indonesia is the growing roles of migration networks. They are established to seek profits (direct or indirect gain) from initiating and facilitating constant migration flows. In the Indonesian labour migration context (as in the migration system of developing countries as a whole), the establishment of such migration networks is initiated and organized by the government to ease unemployment and improve the economy through the contribution of remittances (Massey et al, 1998; Hugo, 1998c). However, this has then caused a growing number of illegal and uncontrolled migration networks that generate mass migration of illegal migrant workers and are open to labour exploitation.

2.2.2. Indonesia's Labour Market.

The Indonesian labour market supplies labour surplus and it is able to sustain labour migration to work overseas for the upcoming decades. Firstly, as the fourth most populous country in the world with over 200 million people, Indonesia has an abundant labour force but limited economic capability to create job opportunities which has led to increased unemployment and underemployment rates. This has been exaggerated by a long-term economic crisis which began in 1997 with complicated subsequent impacts (Maxwell, 1999; Buchori et al, 2000) that may probably remain burdensome for economic development in the country over the next decade. Secondly, Indonesia has significant socio-political conflicts resulting from its high

diversity of ethnic groups, religions and the clash of political parties. This becomes a very big challenge for the progress of economic development in the country (Lubeck, 1998; Booth, 1999; Uhlin, 1999; Klinken, 1999). Thirdly, international labour migration is seen as one of the best possible ways to ease both the unemployment rate and economic constraints in the country (Hugo, 1995a; 1996a; 1998c; Massey et al, 1998). Labour-export agencies and private syndicates have been maintained elsewhere and compete with one another to facilitate labour migration out of the country.

The following discussion focuses on the analysis of the internal labour market of Indonesia. It is important to know the extent to which labour supply outweighs the stock of labour demand, results in labour surplus in the country and, hence, has potential to access international labour migration. This analysis is based on the data provided by census 1990 and SUPAS 1995 while the most recent data (census 2000) was not accessible at the time of writing.

Labour supply is shown by the stock of total labour force that was over 73 million with a labour force participation rate of 54.73 per cent in 1990 and over 86 million (56.62 per cent) in 1995. This means that during 1990-1995, the labour force grew annually by 3.16 per cent or added new stock as much as 2,532,344 persons per year. The annual growth of the workforce during the period was nearly two times higher than of the growth of total population of the country that grew only at 1.67%.

In the same period, there has been a significant labour surplus which Manning calls "a classic case of a labour surplus economy" (1998:3). Indeed, employment that absorbed the majority of the labour force (96.83% in 1990 and 92.76% in 1995) grew annually by 2.28 per cent. This means that employment was able to absorb only 1,729,152 persons or 68.28 per cent of total new labour stock per year. Consequently

there is an annual labour surplus of about 803,192 persons. The surplus of annual new labour stock (803,192 persons) was to add to the existing stock of fully unemployed or job seekers who have no current job. Fully unemployed people in 1990 who were 2,343,733 persons or 3.17 per cent, rose to 6,251,201 persons (7.24%) in 1995. In 1998, full unemployment in Indonesia was estimated by ADB (1999:89) to be about 11 to 14 per cent while ILO pointed it to be at 15 per cent (Cameron, 1999:15). During 1990-95, it grew by 21.68 per cent or increased annually by 931,691 persons. The difference between the annual new stocks of both the full unemployed and labour surplus (that was 128,499 persons) may indicate the amount of job losers. Farber (1999) claims them as a significant number of previous temporary and involuntary part-time workers.

Until 1995, employment in Indonesia involved a large number of part-time workers and this consequently resulted in a high rate of underemployment. Elder et al suggest that “focusing exclusively on the unemployment rate is insufficient if one seeks to understand the shortcomings of the labour market” (1999:459). Manning uses the term “global unemployment” (1998:172) to cover both full-time and part-time unemployment. He notes that underemployment refers to employment with working hours less than 35 total hours spent per week. In addition, workers who were working 35 hours per week or longer but were actively looking for another job fell into the category of underemployment because the income earned from the current job was considered to be insufficient. For these reasons, Leonor (1985: 178) points out that underemployment is determined by assessing the hours worked and the income earned.

Table 2.2. Indonesia: Global Unemployed people, 1990-95

Indicator	1990	1995	Growth
<i>Full-time unemployed¹</i>			
Male	1,314,164	3,056,010	18.39
Female	1,029,569	3,195,191	25.42
Both sexes	2,343,733	6,251,201	21.68
<i>Part-time workers²</i>			
Male	13,029,327	14,717,108	2.47
Female	13,144,042	14,546,979	2.05
Both sexes	26,173,368	29,263,905	2.26
<i>New job seekers³</i>			
Male	2,876,127	4,669,526	10.18
Female	669,318	971,473	7.74
Both sexes	3,545,445	5,640,999	9.73
<i>Global unemployed⁴</i>			
Male	17,219,618	22,442,644	5.44
Female	14,842,929	18,713,461	4.74
Both sexes	32,062,547	41,156,105	5.12

- Note: 1) Full-time unemployed: all individuals with no current jobs but who are seeking jobs and are available for work (Elder et al, 1999:459)
2) Underemployed: all those working less than 35 hours a week - regardless of job search activity or availability for work – (Manning, 1998:172)
3) Underemployed: all those working 35 hours or longer per week who are actively looking for another job because of many reasons such as low income and mismatch of education
4) Global unemployed: sum of both unemployed and underemployed

Source data: *Biro Pusat Statistik* (Census 1990 and SUPAS 1995)

Table 2.2 presents information of Indonesian unemployment in 1990-95. It shows that global unemployed was 43.38 per cent in 1990 and 47.66 per cent (over 41 million) in 1995. It grew by 5.12% or experienced additional unemployed new numbers of 1,874,398 persons per annum. The large majority (71.1%) of the global

unemployed that was made up of 29.3 million persons (both males and females) in 1995 was unemployed because they worked less than 35 hours per week. However, part-time underemployed had lower rate of annual growth (2.26%) than both the unemployed (21.68%) and underemployed looking for another job (9.73%). There is lack of data to indicate a real or estimated numbers of underemployed people over the crisis period. It may be exaggerated by a large number of people who are encouraged to pursue temporary informal job to seek income to fulfil their increasing needs during the hit of an economic crisis. They may consist of workers displaced from formal sector jobs (Hugo, 2000b), dropout students, family workers as well as full unemployed. It is apparent that underemployment is more likely to rise at a higher rate than unemployment over the crisis period since there are no social security benefits for the extensive job losses (Ananta et al 1998; Maxwell, 1999; Jellinek, 1999).

The rising numbers of global unemployed people was significant before the crisis (1990-95) and it may grow higher during the crisis period. This has been a prime cause for the downward economy that encourages vast out movement of workers to find jobs overseas. Increasing numbers of unemployed people also support social and labour unrest and this in turn impedes economic progress in the country. Recently Indonesia has often suffered from various forms of social unrest such as demonstrations demanding a rise in wages, sporadic rioting and violence causing on the one hand, the loss of many properties and home businesses, and on the other hand, a decline in investments (Evers, 1995; Ananta et al, 1998; Cameron, 1999).

In sum, it is apparent that Indonesia has a significant labour surplus, experiences constant additional new labour stock per annum comprising of those who are mainly unemployed while a large number of those who are employed are in

underemployment job occupations. Since the overloaded work force comprises of those whose basic needs include food, clothes and self-esteem, while they have no jobs, not only the Indonesian labour market but also the national economy as a whole will continue to deteriorate.

2.2.3. Indonesian Economy

Before the crisis of mid-1997, the Indonesian economy experienced a high long-term growth over its 'first 25-year development planning' or *rencana pembangunan jangka panjang tahap pertama* (1969-93), prompting the statement that "some have labelled the country as one of the miracle economic performers of the recent decades. Others see it as a nascent new industrializing economy (NIE) of Asia" (Manning, 1998:6). Its growth in comparison with other Asian nations is shown in table 2.3.

The rapid growth of the Indonesian economy over the period presented a significant improvement in many aspects. Income per capita rose constantly from US\$190 in 1965-67 to US\$740 in 1992-93 and US\$1,200 in 1995 (Manning, 1998; Ananta et al 1998). The percentage of the population living below the poverty line decreased from 58% in 1972 to 17% in 1982 and 11% in 1996 (Lubeck, 1998; Ananta et al 1998). A dramatic change in its economic structure was also evident. Indeed, the agricultural share of GDP declined from 24% in 1980 to 15% in 1997 while contributions of the industrial sector rose from 41% to 43% and services from 34% to 42% in the same period. Tan notes that "between 1981 and 1990, Indonesia's saving ratio averaged 32 per cent of GDP. In 1995, it rose to 36 per cent of GDP, one of the highest in the world" (2000: 196). Moreover, vast improvements also occurred in its social and demographic features particularly in shaping the human capital formation through educational, health and family planning progress.

Table 2.3. Growth rate of GDP percent per annum of selected Asian Countries

Country	1970-79	1980-89	1990-96
Hong Kong	9.2	7.5	5.0
Singapore	9.4	7.2	8.3
Taiwan	10.2	8.1	6.3
South Korea	9.3	8.0	7.7
Malaysia	8.0	5.7	8.8
Thailand	7.3	7.2	8.6
Indonesia	7.8	5.7	7.2
China	7.5	9.3	10.1
Philippines	6.1	1.8	2.8

Source: Thompson, 1998:12

Table 2.3 presents information regarding the achieved growth rate of annual GDP among some Asian countries. The data presented shows that Indonesia has significant economic growth. However, if the Indonesian economy was successful during the 'New Order' period or Soeharto's administration (1965/6 – 1997), two important questions arise. Why does the stock of the global unemployment constant increase, and why does the country find it hard to break out of the economic crisis as the other neighboring countries did.

It is argued that "high rates of economic growth suggest that unemployment and underemployment should have fallen, as they did in other East Asian countries during the 1960s and 1970s" (Manning 1998:172-3). Malaysia, for example, reduced its high unemployment rate from about 8.8 percent to a full employment situation because employment outpaced labour supply over the last two decades thus allowing for abundant immigrant workers coming mainly from both Indonesia and the Philippines (Lubeck, 1998; Pillai, 1998; Kassim 1998). In the Indonesian case both

unemployment and underemployment (as indicated in section 2.2.2) increased significantly at the same time as rapid economic growth, creating a structural shift from traditional agriculture to both the industry and services sectors.

The former high performing Indonesian economy with its paradoxical consequences of a constantly increasing unemployment rate and serious and prolonged crisis is described as having structural weaknesses. Setboonsarng (1998) mentions three weaknesses in ASEAN macroeconomic fundamentals: low productivity and declining competitiveness, weakness in the financial sector, and poor governance. Low productivity is common in Indonesia. In 1995, the proportion of employed people with the lowest qualification (primary school and lower) were still very high (69.95%) while secondary educated workers were 26.47 percent and those who experienced tertiary education (diploma/academy/university) were only 3.58 percent. This may indicate low productivity as generally the higher the educational level the higher the labour productivity. In addition, agriculture which is known to have the lowest productivity absorbed the majority (43.98%) of workers in 1995. Moreover, though both industry and service sectors contribute to higher productivity levels, they were made up of a large number of small economic activities (Barker et al, 1998; Manning, 1998) or what Jellinek termed as “communal capitalism” (1999:25). This resulted in the informal sector in 1995 absorbing 62.86 percent of workers as opposed to 34.14 percent in the formal sector. The high level of absorption in the informal sector is reasoned as “employment is available but there remains low returns to labourers” (Singarimbun, 1993:272).

Declining competitiveness in the Indonesian economy is also evident. It is argued that bureaucrats “tended to severely restrict the activities of those foreign MNCs (Multinational Corporation) as well as local private firms” (Ramstetter, 1998: 201). In

addition, “*cronyism* measured by the intimacy of one’s connection to the Soeharto family governed access to monopolies, tariff protection and shares of profitable state-controlled industries” (Lubeck, 1998: 293-4). Further impact on the bureaucrat’s monopolies and high state-controls are severe. For instance, there were declining export propensities of plants with little or no foreign ownership shares in the early 1990s (Ramstetter, 1999). There was also a long-term decline in the ratio of industrial concentration in the manufacturing sector that dropped from 64 percent in 1975 to 54 percent in 1993. There was also a decline in the proportion of industries classified as highly concentrated from 39 to 28 percent in the same period (Bird, 1999).

The financial sector is one of the crucial causes that has resulted in the Indonesian economy’s long drawn out crisis. The weakness is revealed in various forms such as policy mistakes and mismanagement. Fane et al (1999), for example, criticize over protection that tightens limits placed on a number of international banks that would be important financial sources. They give a comparison with a wealthier ASEAN country, Singapore, which has 80 percent of total assets of all banks gained from shares of foreign banks. Cameron writes that bank recapitalization seems to “transfer wealth from the general public to the wealthy elite who are the principal shareholders of the private banks” (1999:20). This in turn results in the following financial consequences:

- Rising problems in the banking sector and subsequent bankruptcies.
- High depreciation of the *rupiah* that has dropped from Rp2,400 to Rp17,000 and now remains fluctuating at about Rp10,000 per US\$1.0
- High inflation that has reached about 80 percent
- Loss of confidence by both domestic and international investors

- Increasing public external debts that amount to about 147 percent of the annual GDP (Buchori et al, 2000:20).

Poor governing of the Indonesian economy might take place during the period of the New Order administration (1965-97). Soeharto who controlled Indonesia from 1965 started with very poor conditions in which more than half population was living below the poverty line, high inflation, food shortages, high unemployment rate and poor infrastructure but then he was able to manage an improvement through a long-term high growth and reached a higher position. However, the economy was controlled only by few people, “approximately 70 to 80 percent of private business corporations, especially larger firms, are controlled by four percent of the population” those who are Chinese and the political and military elite (Lubeck, 1998:295). Such economic management known as ‘KKN’ (corruption, collusion and nepotism) is blamed for “the rape of Indonesia’s natural resources” (Ibid. 294) and loss of abundant capital which “misused or corrupted by Soeharto cronies and New Order officials” (Buchori et al, 2000:20).

Unfortunately once the crisis hit some Asian economies, Indonesia experienced the most serious depression (ADB, 1999) and as of now the country still faces severe difficulties in overcoming the crisis. Although the causes for this are complex, the depressed economy seems to be greatly worsened by social and political instability (Montes, 1999). This instability is sustained by various uncertainties such as unclear judicial sentences toward Soeharto and cronies, conflicts between Christians and Muslims from Ambon to other regions, the struggle of Aceh and West Papua for independence, weakness in the rule of law and public accountability. Moving abroad a large amount of capital owned by big businessmen and corruptors for safekeeping and frequent social unrest in the country resulting in low investment are the major

economic problems. All these present heavy challenges for the current government to manage an effective economic development strategy and overcome the economic crisis. Therefore international labour migration out of Indonesia may grow faster than ever over the next decades.

2.3. Labour migration out of Indonesia

International labour migration out of Indonesia has dramatically increased over the last two decades as a continuation of the moving program set in the colonial period. Labour emigration was initiated under a recruitment program by the colonizers to supply cheap workers in foreign countries. The Dutch sent *coolie contract* to work on the plantation sector in countries like Malaya, Surinam, New Caledonia and Siam and the Japanese sent *romusha* to work on railways projects in Thailand and Burma (Hugo, 1975; 1980; 1992b). Meanwhile labour emigrations moved spontaneously to Malaya from various ethnic groups such as *Minangkabau*, *Batak*, *Bugis* and *Bawaen*. However, it is argued that both the scale and the impact of labour emigration during the colonial period were small (Hugo, 1980). In responding to the global transformation of international labour migration between and beyond Asian economies over the era of independence, Indonesia was relatively slow to supply the overseas labour market demand until the early 1980s. However, it then “compensated for its late entry by aggressively pursuing it to the extent of integrating overseas employment in its development plans and in setting targets for the development of migrant workers” (Battestella et al, 1999:27).

2.3.1. Labour Export

Labour export is an integrated part of Indonesian development programs. It is stated in the GBHN (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* = the Board Outline of the Nation's Development Direction) that sending labour abroad is part of export of services and hence both the quality and quantity of migrant workers need improvement. Exporting labour then is a program which aims to ease high unemployment rates that may also reduce other social tensions, and to increase national income through foreign exchange revenue (Hugo, 1995a). Two of the most important strategies of the program are as follows.

Firstly, the government officially set out for each PELITA (*pembangunan lima tahun* = the five-year development plan) a target of workers to be deployed overseas. Table 2.4 shows that numbers of deployed workers were targeted just from *pelita* III (1979-84) but the deployment of migrant workers has begun in the first *pelita* (1969-74). The target set for a later *Pelita* is often twice or over the target set for the previous *Pelita*. It is interesting that the total deployed numbers in *Pelita* IV and V were higher than the setting targets and this indicates that the overseas employment opportunities have interested a large number of potential migrant workers from Indonesia. From *pelita* VI, the total deployed was lower than the setting target indicating probably that undocumented movement may be more prevalent.

Secondly, the government set up responsible institutions for implementing the program of deploying workers overseas. Both *Pusat* and *Balai* AKAN (the central and provincial center for overseas employment) are established under the Manpower Department that cooperate with and coordinate PJTKIs (Indonesian private labour suppliers) in recruiting and sending workers abroad. In 1994, reorganization took place to provide more effective services. PT Bijak, the sole agent of the state company

Table 2.4. Indonesia: Numbers of the Documented Migrant Workers, 1969-2001^a

Year	Middle East		Malaysia/ Singapore		Other	Total	PCP ^b	SR ^c
	No	%	No	%	No	No		
2000	128,975	30	217,407	50	88,837	435,219	2	46
1999	154,327	36	204,006	48	69,286	427,619	6 ^d	41
1999-00	153,890	38	187,643	46	62,990	404,523	-2	44
1998-99	179,521	44	173,995	42	58,153	411,609	75	28
1997-98	131,734	56	71,735	30	31,806	235,275	-55	20
1996-97 ^e	135,336	26	328,991	64	52,942	517,269	328	79
1995-96	48,298	40	46,891	39	25,707	120,896	-31	48
1994-95	99,661	57	57,390	33	19,136	176,187	10	32
1993-94	102,357	64	38,453	24	19,185	159,995	-7	36
1992-93	96,772	56	62,535	36	12,850	172,157	15	54
1991-92	88,726	59	51,631	34	9,420	149,777	74	48
1990-91	41,810	48	38,688	45	5,766	86,264	3	73
1989-90	60,456	72	18,488	22	5,130	84,074	37	35
1988-89	50,123	82	6,614	11	4,682	61,419	1	29
1987-88	49,723	81	7,916	13	3,453	61,092	11	35
1986-87	45,405	66	20,349	30	2,606	68,360	26	61
1985-86	42,024	83	6,546	12	4,094	54,287	18	44
1984-85	35,577	79	6,034	13	4,403	46,014	57	79
1983-84	18,691	66	5,597	20	5,003	29,291	38	141
1982-83	9,595	47	7,801	38	3,756	21,152	18	
1981-82	11,484	63	1,550	9	4,570	17,904	11	
1980-81	11,231	70	564	4	4,391	16,186	56	
1979-80	7,651	74	720	7	2,007	10,378		
1977						3,675		
Five Year Planning		Periods		Target		Total Deployed		
Repelita VII		1999-03 ^f		2,800,000		862,838		
Repelita VI		1994-99		1,250,000		901,288		
Repelita V		1989-94		500,000		652,272		
Repelita IV		1984-89		225,000		292,262		
Repelita III		1979-84		100,000		96,410		
Repelita II		1974-79		none set		17,042		
Repelita I		1969-74		none set		5,624		

Notes: a = In 2000 the Indonesian government changed over from a financial-year (1 April-31 March) to a calendar-year of accounting

b = Percent change over the previous year

c = Sex ratio (males per 100 females)

d = Percentage increase between 1999/2000 financial-year and 2000 calendar-year

e = The year in which 300,000+ Malaysian labour migrants were regularised (194,343 males and 127,413 females)

f = First three and a half year's figures only

Source: Hugo, 2002b: 160-1

was set up to play an important role as “an intermediary between the PJTKI and potential employers abroad” (Ananta et al, 1998: 331). It seems, however, that PT Bijak is appointed as the sole company to serve the elite business in controlling the mechanisms of processing international labour migration. PJTKIs, private institutions for organizing international labour migration were also established to “prepare workers with the appropriate technical and language skills to work overseas” (Hugo, 1995a: 295).

Table 2.5. Indonesia: Estimated Stock of Overseas Contract Workers Around 2000

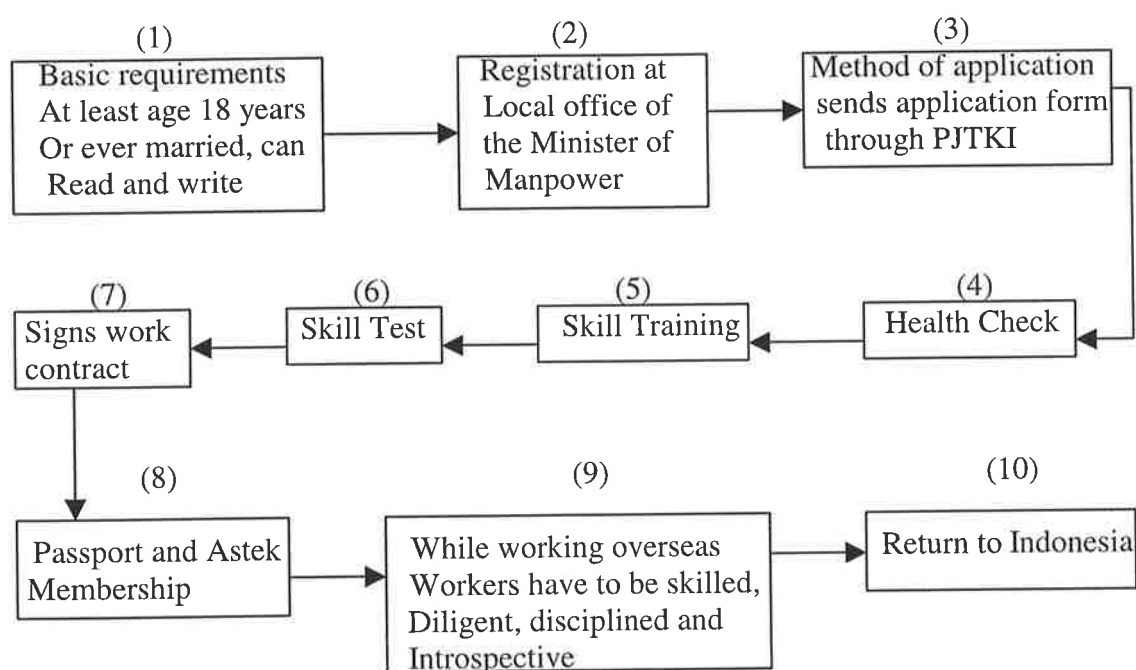
Destination	Estimated Stocks	Source
Saudi Arabia	425,000	Indonesian Embassy, Riyadh
United Arab Emirates	35,000	Asian Migration News, 30/4/99
Malaysia	1,900,000	Kassim, 1997
Hong Kong	32,000	DEPNAKER
Singapore	70,000	Asian Migration News, 15/5/99
Taiwan	46,762	Kyodo, 24/5/00
South Korea	11,700	Asian Migration Yearbook, 1999:182
Japan	3,245	Asian Migration Yearbook, 1999:128
Philippines	26,000	South China Morning Post, 10/12/98
Brunei	2,426	Asian Migration Yearbook, 1999:125
Other	20,000	DEPNAKER
Total	2,572,133	

Source: Hugo, 2002a: 19

Table 2.5 indicates an estimated number of Indonesian overseas contract workers around 2000. The number of deployed migrant workers through the official channels “only indicate a minor part of the totality of movement involved” (Hugo, 1995a: 227). Those who move illegally outweigh the number of documented migrant workers

(Hugo, 1995a; 1998c; 1999; Ananta et al, 1998; Mantra et al, 1999). It is because the legal movement procedures entail complicated requirements. Figure 2.3 has shown ten steps to go through while some requirements such as age, marital status, ability to read and write as well as health and skill tests may prevent some from working overseas. In addition, some officials and private company staff who are responsible for recruiting, preparing skills, organizing documents and deploying workers abroad use this opportunity to conduct a private business for their own profits and send illegal migrant workers. *Kompas* (14/8/02a) has indicated eight PJTKIs that often collaborate in processing illegal migrant workers.

Figure 2.3. Indonesia: Overseas Employment through Legal Channels



Source: Ananta et al, 1998: 330

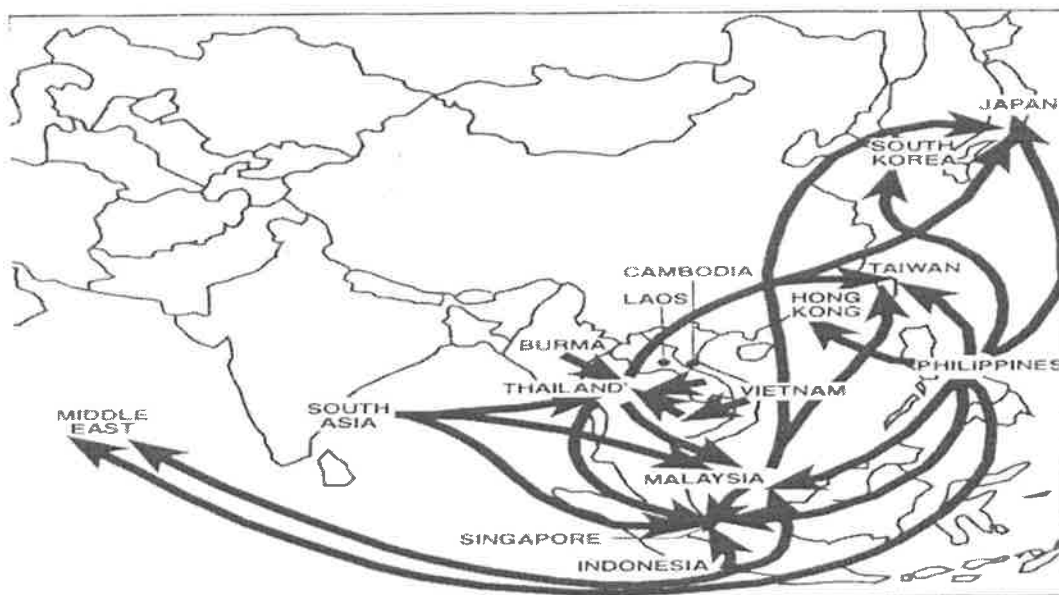
2.3.2. Undocumented Migration

Undocumented migration provides constant flows of labour to work overseas illegally and has the potential to raise many problems because of its violation of the migration rules in both origin and destination (Battistella, 1999; Archavanitkul et al, 1999). If there are no restricting laws indicative of the conditions to be fulfilled by migrant workers - for leaving their country of origin and entering the country of employment – there would be no undocumented migration as well as the problems resulting from such movement (Archavanitkul et al, 1999). Undocumented migration is usually identified by the following conditions:

- Migrants may enter a country in a clandestine way, not passing through official immigration control points.
- Migrants may enter a country legally and overstay the period they were granted to reside within the country.
- Migrants may enter a country legally under certain conditions (e.g. not to engage in work) but not abide by these conditions (Hugo, 1998c: 74).

Figure 2.4 illustrates the direction of illegal migration flows. The arrows shown in the figure indicate that the flow of illegal migration involves many countries. Singapore in 1995, for example, introduced strict penalties such as jail sentences, caning and repatriation but the numbers of illegal migrants who come from Indonesia, Thailand and other countries continued to increase. It is reported that the monthly average of foreign workers arrested rose from 157 in 1997 to 234 persons in early 1998 (Hui, 1998). In Malaysia, heavy penalties are almost always charged for undocumented migrants including deportation of many Indonesians (42,000 in 1997 and about 17,000 persons in the first two and a half months of 1998) but illegal migrants persist coming to Malaysia and “the largest illegal inflow is from Indonesia” (Pillai, 1998: 271).

Figure 2.4. Flows of Undocumented Labour Migration in Southeast Asia

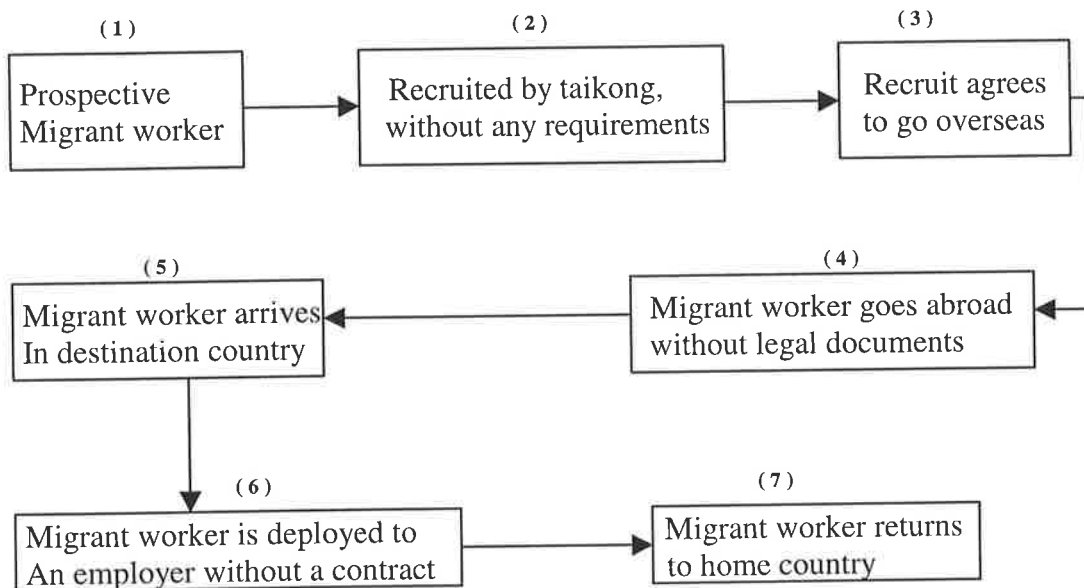


Source: Hugo, 1998c: 77

It is very difficult to provide a real figure of Indonesian migrant workers moving to work abroad through the illegal channels because they are beyond the statistical records. Hence, “estimates of the numbers involved in the movement vary considerably” (Hugo, 1999:12). In 1997, it was estimated at a total of about one million undocumented Indonesian emigrant workers (Hugo, 1998c: 78) as opposed to only 502,977 documented emigrants including those who had extended their stay in the same year (Ananta et al, 1998: 321). Another estimate points out that 17,438 undocumented labour migrants from Indonesia work in United Arab Emirates while the local Indonesian embassy records only 12,562 legal migrants (*Kompas*, 9/4/2000a). A special registration pursued between March 1, and August 31, 1997 in Sabah, found that 71.2 per cent out of 413,832 undocumented immigrant workers in the region were Indonesian (Kurus, 1998:282). Indeed, Sabah has traditionally

become the main area of concentration for Indonesian workers coming mainly from Flores East Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi (Hugo, 1995b; 1998b).

Figure 2.5. Indonesia: Overseas Employment through Illegal Channels



Source: Ananta et al, 1998:330

Undocumented labour migration involves a larger number of Indonesian workers at least for the following three reasons. Firstly, it provides simple procedures (figure 2.5) to go through rather than the official one (figure 2.3). There are only seven steps and no basic requirements (age, marital status, skill levels, etc) to be fulfilled for the moving process. Secondly, it has a developed network. Ananta et al (1998), argue that Indonesian *calos* and Malaysian *taikongs* have collaborated in facilitating a large number of undocumented migrant workers. They help them in various ways such as providing information about overseas job opportunities, lending money, organizing and facilitating departures, helping them to find jobs and to get away as much as possible from the official controls in the area of destination. Thirdly, they have the greatest opportunity to undertake the foreign low payment jobs or the so called '3D'

(dirty, dangerous and difficult) jobs. Such opportunities suggest that local labour is unwilling to fill the available 3D jobs while local entrepreneurs expect to gain greater benefits from employing “*pendatang haram*” or illegal migrant workers (Hugo, 1993: 109) who accept low payment and never claim the minimum standard of local wages

In sum, the main features of Indonesian labour emigration have been identified as follows. It is dominantly short-term out movement because those who move legally limit their stay according to the time given in the working contract before leaving. Those moving illegally limit their stay overseas mainly because they have left their family in the home village. However, a small group may bring their family and/or stay permanently abroad. Both Malaysia and the Middle East are the main destinations but movement into other regions is also significant. Labour migration into Malaysia is identified as male dominant and most of them are undocumented migrant workers (Hugo, 1993; 1998c; 1999). The movements into the Middle East involve mainly unmarried young females who generally go through the official channel or are overseas contract workers (OCWs) but some may be sent with “incomplete documents” (Hugo, 1993: 109). The fact that a larger number of Indonesian females are moving to work independently in the Middle East has indicated a significant transition from traditional assumptions that females are dependent migrants, or are even prohibited from leaving in some societies. It is also a sign that they are moving into greater differences of culture and geographical distance compared to most Indonesian male migrant workers.

2.4. Labour Migration Out of East Nusa Tenggara Province

East Nusa Tenggara known as NTT (*Nusa Tenggara Timur*) is one of the poorest provinces in Indonesia (appendix A). Over the last two decades this province has experienced more outward movement rather than attracting in-migration. The province has experienced constant net migration losses, showing minus 0.46 per cent in 1980, which then dropped to minus 1.62 per cent in 1990 and minus 1.70 per cent in 1995 (Mann, 1998: 159). Hugo (1995c) argues that such net migration losses seem to be influenced significantly by international labour migration though in fact inter-provincial movement is also evident.

International labour migration streaming out of NTT is a classic story. In an analysis, Hugo writes that the particular emigration “may have originated with the retreating Japanese forces in the Second World War, taking some men from East Flores to Sabah where they were stranded after the war. These men gained work on plantations and served as anchors for subsequent chain migration from East Flores to Sabah” (1998b: 30). He has also identified three stages in which the current heavy out migration developed. Firstly, the pioneer stage (1940s – 1960s) began with male movement on a relatively limited scale. Secondly, the expansion stage (1970s – early 1980s) was made up of substantial male migration out of many villages while some females moved out to seek husbands and a few worked together with husbands or brothers. Finally, the mature stage (1980s – 1990s) involved great numbers of females moving independently and a great number of male migrants from every village in the region. It is commonly held in East Flores where this case study was undertaken that ‘no family was unknown in the region of Sabah.’ This means that nearly every household has had or has family member(s) in Sabah.

The bulk of the out movement from NTT to work abroad does not flow only from East Flores but also from other parts (*kabupaten*) of the province. Hugo explains that “very large numbers are also leaving from *kabupaten* Sikka and Ende” (1998b: 25). In addition, a senior staff member of the provincial Manpower office has also mentioned some other *kabupaten* as significant sources for international labour migration out of NTT. They are East Sumba, Kupang (West Timor), TTS (South-central Timor) and Belu (Central Timor).

Unfortunately it is very difficult to provide an accurate number of the total migrant workers moving out of the province to work overseas. The flows of going and returning migrants are frequent and operate outside the statistical records. The official data is quite limited in recording precise numbers of labour migration from the province. Table 2.6 indicates a small number of migrant workers who go abroad through official channels. They are mainly (88.5 percent) females. Meanwhile table 2.7 shows a number of undocumented migrants from NTT and other provinces who were arrested on the border between Sabah and Indonesia. The arrested alien migrant workers who originated from NTT were nearly eleven thousand persons (table 2.7) but this figure may involve only a small portion of all those who move and work illegally in Sabah. This area of destination has become the usual working place for most illegal workers leaving NTT and particularly Eastern Flores. Indeed, many of them often successfully passed the official controls in the border area and are well protected by their employers in that area of destination.

Table 2.6. East Nusa Tenggara: Numbers of Documented Migrant Workers by Sex and Destination Countries, 1994-98

Year	Arabia		Malaysia		Singapore		HongKong		Taiwan		Total	
	M	FM	M	FM	M	FM	M	FM	M	FM	M	FM
1994	1	50	11	1	-	179	-	113	-	-	12	343
1995	1	25	196	65	-	305	-	-	-	-	197	395
1996	-	29	141	19	-	329	-	47	3	-	144	424
1997	-	-	48	241	-	678	-	210	-	-	48	1129
1998	-	-	-	158	-	491	-	162	-	-	0	809
Total	2	104	396	482	0	1982	0	532	3	0	401	3100
	106		878		1982		532		3		3501	

Note: M = males; FM = females

Source: Depnaker (Manpower Office) NTT

Table 2.7. Numbers of Undocumented Migrants Deported from Sabah, January 1994 to June 1996

Year	Sex	Kaltim	Sulsel	Sulteng	NTB	NTT	Jatim	Sultra	Others
1994	M	243	3,291	59	2,096	2,663	1,204	310	258
	F	224	1,723	14	275	1,519	903	75	189
	M+F	467	5,014	73	2,371	4,182	2,107	385	447
1995	M	69	4,427	80	1,652	3,597	1,143	678	321
	F	50	2,282	33	324	1,807	585	78	86
	M+F	119	6,809	113	1,976	5,404	1,728	756	407
1996*	M	31	886	13	432	611	81	51	15
	F	5	693	5	209	597	24	91	-
	M+F	34	1,597	18	641	1,208	105	142	15
Total	M	343	8,604	152	4,180	6,871	2,428	1,029	594
	F	279	4,798	52	808	3,923	1,512	244	275
	M+F	522	13,404	204	4,988	10,794	3,940	1,283	869

Note: * = data start from 1 January to 18 June 1996

Source: Unpublished data from Bappeda Office, East Kalimantan, Indonesia

In estimating an approximate number of those leaving to work overseas, Hugo suggests that “up to 100,000 workers from the entire province of East Nusa Tenggara are working overseas and this would not seem impossible from our fieldwork” (1998b: 25). This is a plausible figure, but could even be higher. In fact, a large number of workers are moving out of Eastern Flores and as has already been cited earlier in this section nearly all households have a family member working overseas, particularly in Sabah, some households even having more than one person. A report (*Pos Kupang*, 23/10/1997) also explains that between 1995 and 1997, 254 persons from a village in *kabupaten* Ende left their families to work illegally in Sabah. Another interesting fact is that labour emigration from West Timor, particularly out of some villages from the researcher’s home district of Takari with which he keeps in contact has shown a very surprising increase. Until late 1998, about 300 young males were sent illegally to work in Sabah following the pathway of the first person who was brought to Sabah by an Eastern Flores broker (who have relationships by marriage) in August 1994. Over the same period, more than twenty young females have also been sent to work in Hong Kong through an overseas contract workers agreement (OCWs). Indeed, working overseas was previously not customary for this society.

Theoretically the greater the pressure the greater the out movement. It is argued that “the province (NTT) is usually depicted in problem terms – having the highest incidence of poverty in Indonesia, the greatest incidence of low nutrition and the most frequent incidence of major natural disasters” (Hugo, 1998b: 25-6). Heavy pressures on living conditions in NTT may continue to be excessively felt since the impact of the economic crisis still persists. In addition, social and economic tensions rise in conjunction with the existence of the new-neighboring country of East Timor and the

presence of many refugees in West and Central Timor. The combined pressure of these problems seems to be a significant constraint for the locals to decide to move to work overseas. The out movement has been growing but many more potential migrants would attempt to go through a trusted social network as this has been well exemplified by the people of Eastern Flores.

2.7. Conclusion

Over the last two decades, Indonesia has successfully promoted overseas employment opportunities and deployed a large number of temporary workers in some countries. On the one hand, global transformation facilitates population movement beyond national boundaries and the wealthier economies welcoming cheap workers from countries with poor economies but rich labour such as Indonesia. On the other hand, abundant out movement from Indonesia is organized in order to gain an inflow of capital through the exchange rates while making efficient use of human resources and/or easing unemployment in the country.

Discussion in the chapter has also identified some particular characteristics of the Indonesian labour migration flows to work overseas. Firstly, documented migrant workers are sent regularly under a set target to some major destinations but they mainly go to work in the Middle East and most of them are females. Secondly, undocumented migrant workers that far outweigh the documented numbers also move to work in various destinations but the bulk of this movement heads to work in Malaysia and it is dominated by males. It is also apparent (table 2.4) that numbers of those moving to work in both Malaysia and Singapore have increased significantly in the last few years. Thirdly, migrant workers leaving NTT because of its poorer

conditions originate from a number of *kabupaten* but eastern Flores is the most significant source of labour emigration in the province. They mainly move to Sabah to work illegally. In order not to disregard the phenomenon of heavy out movement and its consequences for national and local development, many more case studies are required since existing reliable data sources for such significant out movement are very scarce.

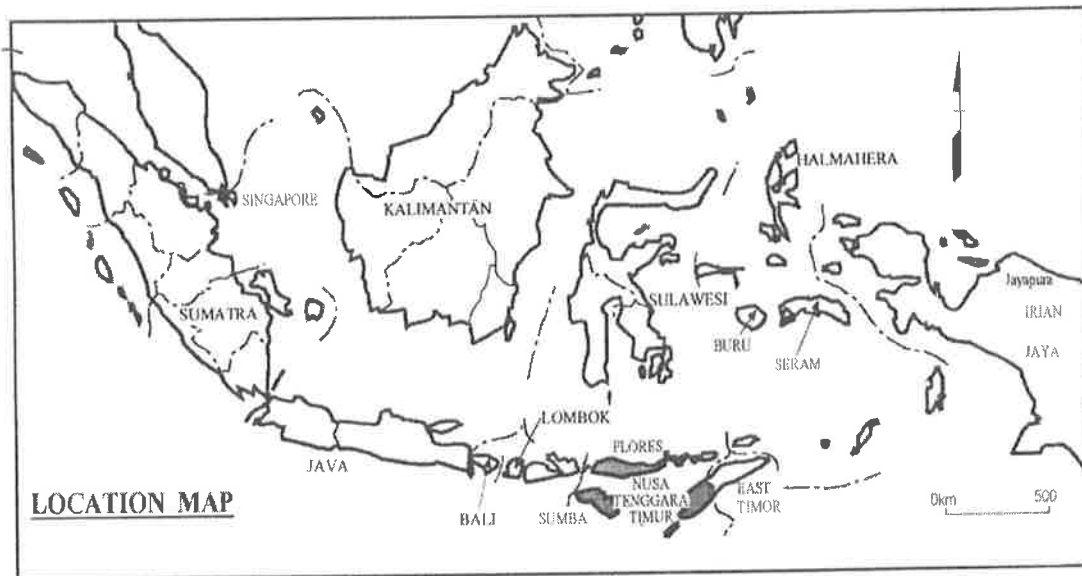
Chapter Three

EASTERN FLORES: THE SOURCE OF LABOUR EMIGRATION

3.1. Introduction

Eastern Flores is situated in the province of East Nusa Tenggara (or NTT = *Nusa Tenggara Timur*) in Indonesia (figure: 3.1-2) and has become well known as a significant source of international labour emigration from the country (Hugo, 1996a; 1998b; Bandiyono, 1997; Silverman, 1998; Keban, 1998; Mantra, 1998). Labour migration out of the region to work overseas, particularly in Sabah, Malaysia has a long history. Some commentators (Bandiyono, 1997: 2; Mantra, 1998: 2; Hugo, 1998b: 30) explain that the migrant workers of Eastern Flores may have been in Sabah since the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (early 1940s) and have continued to grow in volume and impact. However, the movement remains little understood due to the lack of official data because the migration takes place almost totally through unofficial channels. In the present case study it is important at the outset to examine the context in which the migration takes place. This chapter outlines the major characteristics of the region, especially the factors that may influence the motivation to emigrate. This is necessary background for the later chapters which examine the patterns, causes and consequences of labour migration out of Eastern Flores.

Figure 3.1. Geographical position of NTT in Indonesia



Source: BKPMND NTT, 1997

Figure 3.2. Geographical position of Eastern Flores in NTT Province



Source: BKPMND NTT, 1997

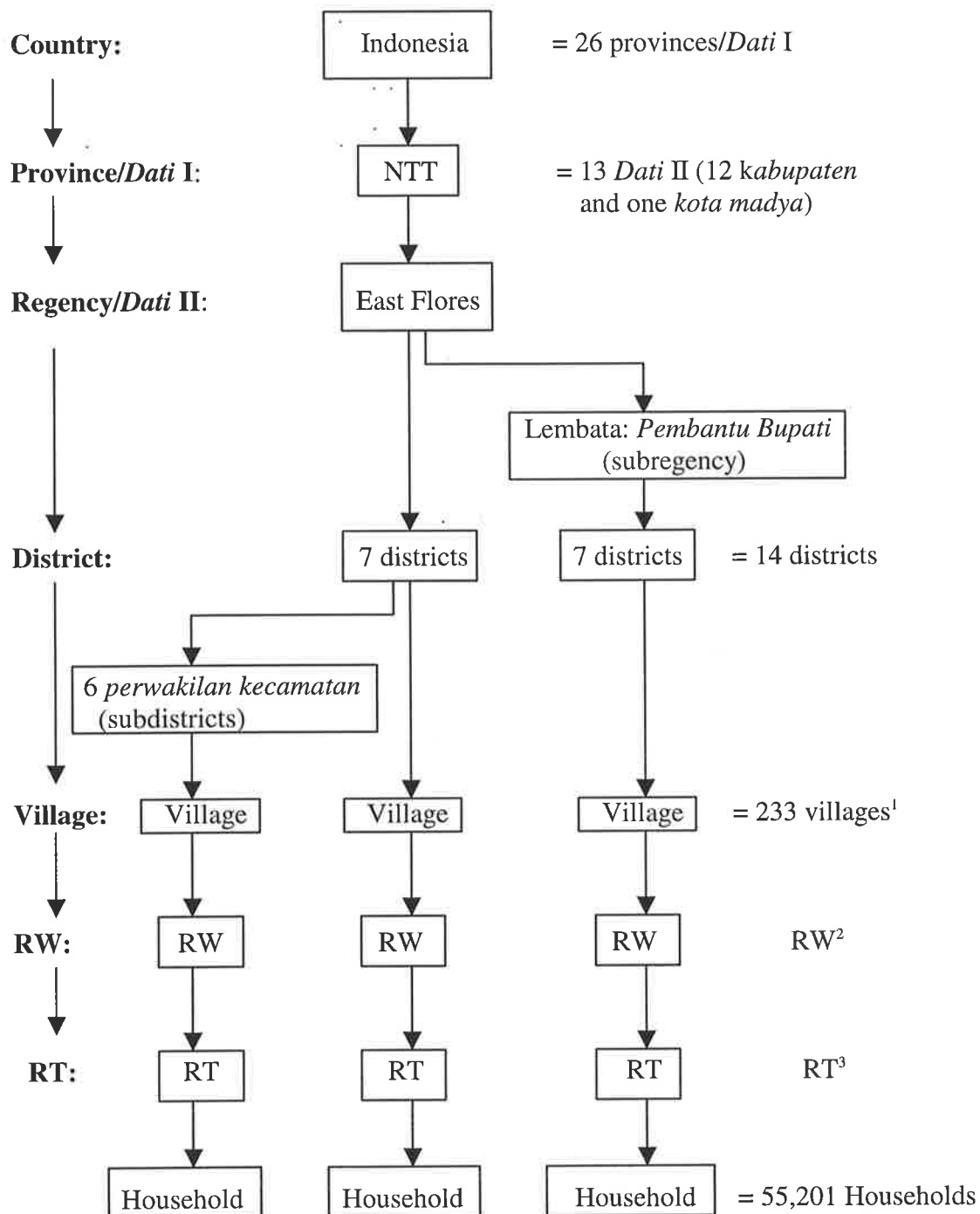
3.2. Regional Structure

When the present fieldwork was undertaken in the region (late 1998), Eastern Flores was a regency or *kabupaten daerah tingkat dua (Dati II)* in the Indonesian regional structure (figure 3.3). The region has been subsequently restructured (figure 3.4) in late 1999 to become two of 14 regencies in the NTT province. They are Lembata and East Flores. The former is a new regency with seven districts on a single island and the latter comprises 13 districts on three islands: (eastern) Flores, Solor and Adonara. The main idea behind this regional restructure is to boost local economic development.

In the Indonesian regional structure, the *kabupaten* (regency) is the link between the '*daerah*' (local government) and the '*pusat*' (central government). Until very recently Indonesia had a centralized pattern of government with the bulk of finance raising power concentrated in the central government. The province (*Dati I* or *daerah tingkat I*) had limited revenue raising power and oversaw regional development. The *kabupaten* (regency) has staff appointed by the government to oversee and manage local development. The *kabupaten* in turn is subdivided into *kecamatan* (districts) which also have government appointed staff and these are further divided into *desa* (villages) which have elected staff paid for by the community and activities organized at the local level. The *desa* is divided into smaller groups of RW (*rukun warga* or sub-villages) and RT (*rukun tetangga* or neighboring households).

An implication of this regional structure for international labour migration is that while government appointed staff almost always forces migration to go through the proper institutional channels at the village level, illegal movement is encouraged.

Figure 3.3. Eastern Flores before the Regional Structure in Late 1999



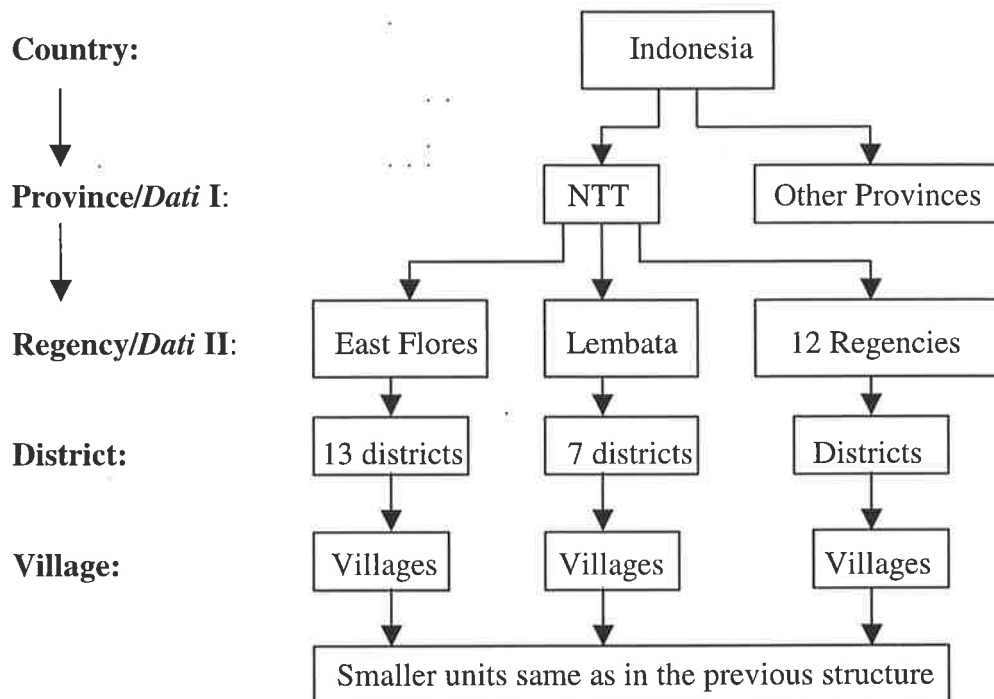
Note: 1) *Desa* and *Kelurahan*

2) A smaller administrative unit in a village (RW = *rukun warga*)

3) The smallest administrative unit in a village (RT = *rukun tetangga*)

Source: Kantor Statistik NTT

Figure 3.4. Eastern Flores after the Regional Restructure in Late 1999

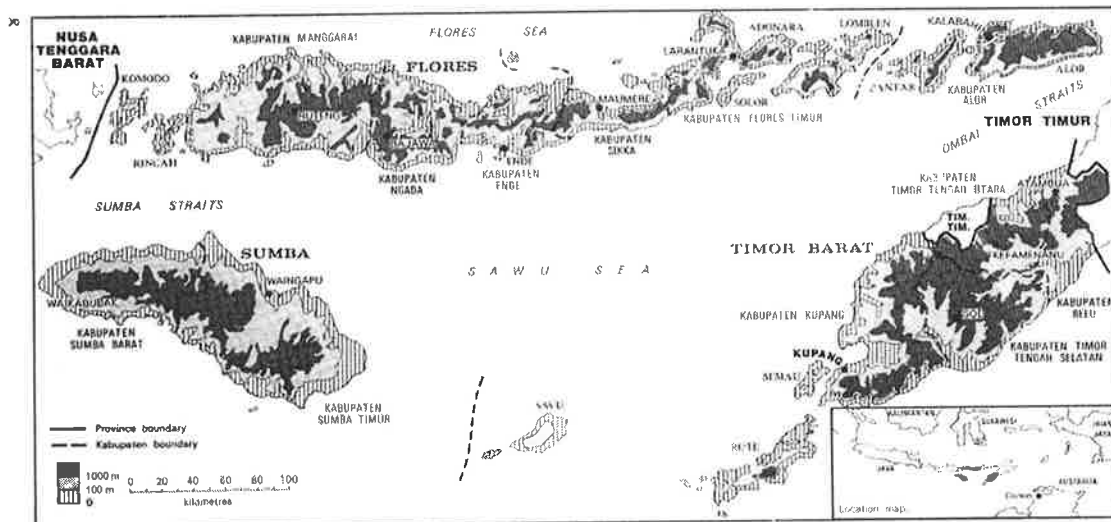


Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*

3.3. Physical Geography and Water Supply

Eastern Flores is made up of four islands (figure 3.5): the eastern part of Flores, Solor, Adonara, and Lomblen or Lembata. It covers an area of 3,079.23 km² or 6.5 per cent of the area of the province (*Kantor Satatistik Flotim*, 1996). The topography of the region (as is also shown in figure 3.5) can be classified as volcanic mountainous dry land (Barlow et al 1990; 1991; McAsey, 1995; Haba, 1996; Monk et al, 1997). Monk et al (1997) and *Kantor Statistik Flotim* (1996) indicate that there are 12 volcanoes in Eastern Flores and six of them are active. This adds to the danger of physical disasters occurring in the area and puts additional pressure on the local people.

Figure 3.5. East Nusa Tenggara: Physical Structure



Map 2. Topography of Nusa Tenggara Timur.

Source: Barlow et al. 1990, 8

Notes: The districts of East Flores Regency:

- Eastern Flores**
1. Wulanggitang
 2. Titehena
 3. Larantuka
 4. Ile Mandiri
 5. Tanjung Bunga

- Solor**
6. West Solor
 7. East Solor

- Adonara**
8. Wotan Uli Mado
 9. West Adonara
 10. East Adonara
 11. Ile Boleng
 12. Withihama
 13. Kluba Golit

The districts of Lembata Regency (**Lembata or Lomblen island**):

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| 14. Nagawutung | 17. Lebatukan | 19. Omesuri |
| 15. Nubatukan | 18. Ile Ape | 20. Buyasuri |
| 16. Atadei | | |

Source: Kantor Statistik NTT, 2000

Plate 3.1. Example of the Physical Conditions of Eastern Flores
As Shown from the Sea Level, 1998



a. The Ile Boleng Volcano on East Adonara



b. The Solor landscape as shown from the sea

Each of the islands tends to be dominated by hills and mountains with linked lowlands especially in the coastal areas (plate 3.1a,b). In Lembata, for example, it is stated that:

A central spine of ancient volcanic mountains and hills runs directly up the island from the mountain Mingar at the western end to the mountain of Kedang at the east. On either side of this spine are found the three active volcanoes of the island, each forming a peninsula of its own. To the north is the spectacular, constantly smoking Lewotolo or gunung (Ili) Api ... On the south coast is the island's highest mountain, the still slightly active Labalekang, which at 1,644 meter towers over the whaling village Lamalerap. On the same coast is the volcano Ili Werung ... which last erupted in 1963 (Barnes, 1974:2).

Barnes further mentions that "the island is very similar to its neighbors" (ibid.2). Such surface configuration creates the potential for many problems. It makes transportation very difficult; not all villages can be reached by vehicles and some remain quite isolated. Travelling throughout the region is extremely risky because most of the roads are subject to landslips and land slides and many are in poor condition. In some parts, it is extremely dusty. Settlement tends to be quite clustered. Barnes notes that "until this century, the island's population lived almost exclusively on the slopes of the highest mountain" (1974:2). For them, erosion is a problem in the rainy season but lack of water supply occurs in summer. Water was the major problem for the people of Ile Boleng of east Adonara (figure 3.1a), who inhabit the high slopes of the most recently erupted volcano, Ile Boleng. However, by utilizing the remittances sent from Sabah, some families have already built rainwater catchment tanks or so called "off-the-roof tanks" (Barlow et al, 1990) to supply their daily water consumption needs.

Water shortage in Eastern Flores is a crucial problem as it is throughout NTT (Barlow et al, 1990; 1991). Barnes notes that "adequate water is very hard to find on the mountain, and many villagers characteristically must carry their water from a distance of several kilometers. The inhabitants of some mountain hamlets, or people who have fields high on the mountain, sometimes must obtain water by tapping the

trunk of a sort of wild banana” (1974:58). Some families use rainwater from roof tanks for their annual water consumption. Others supply their daily needs through other ways: firstly, they use a public or private car to collect water from a long distance as is common in Tanjung Bunga, East Solor and Omesuri. Secondly, most families in Ile Ape are accustomed to consuming polluted water from local wells with a hard sulfuric taste. This water often causes diarrhea for new consumers and colors teeth among long time consumers. Thirdly, in East Adonara, some buy water from a tanker driver and this costs Rp.30.000 to Rp.50.000 per 5000 liters or Rp.500 per *ember*, a container of about 15 liters. Fourthly, family members (usually women and children) collect water manually from public wells. Some have to walk more than two kilometers to do this job. Plate 3.2 shows the only well in East Adonara for dwellers of two villages and more than 150 families. They indicated that before digging the well 50 years ago, people used to extract water from special trees for daily household consumption. This indicates that water shortage in the region is still a big problem and has many other effects such as creating household economic burdens, illness and wasting time for those who collect water from a long distance.

Local government has paid attention to this problem. Some villages are in the process of running clean water from a long distance using international aid project funds. However, in East Adonara it was found that a similar project begun ten years ago is no longer functioning since water did not come through the pipes into the established public tanks because the source itself had run dry after few years. Barlow et al (1990: 48) note that:

Plate 3.2. Eastern Flores: Water Supply in Ile Boleng, East Adonara, 1998



a. They collect water of about 2.5kms walking



b. The only well for residents of two villages

...despite the apparent economic and social pertinence of providing such installations, experience with them has often been disappointing, and their potential impact has been blunted by important problems. Sometimes wells and captured springs have been poorly sited, and water from them has been inadequate and even seasonal. Sometimes, and especially in hilly country, there have been severe difficulties in establishing an effective system of main piping and necessary intermediate pumps over what can often be several kilometers of line to a captured spring. Again, the maintenance of pumps has frequently been lacking, so that facilities have become unusable after breakdowns which cannot be serviced owing to the absence of appropriate local skills. Often too, wells and springs are handled badly, so that water becomes polluted causing health problems

This may encourage the local people to find their own solutions to the problem. One of the ways is to move to work overseas and earn money to fulfil their household expenses.

Lack of water supply in Eastern Flores is brought about by several factors. Among others, it may relate to the condition of sloping mountainous soil. Duggan comments that "...on the uplifted islands there are: steep slopes, erodible soils, unstable junctions between sedimentary layers, and seismic activity. ... Add the seasonal input of high-intensity rainfall and the result is an erosive environment" (1991:33). This indicates that such lands restrain and absorb very little rainwater to add to the ground water supply during the wet season. Another possible factor is the condition of local vegetation. Although the region has many mountains, it supports very little forest. Monk, et al note that "the hills and lowlands of Flores are covered by a mosaic of savannas of monsoon forest trees,... only certain mountain summits and steep slopes support forests" (1997:298). If this argument relates to both central and western Flores, the eastern part would be described as being more barren because it seems to be dominated by grasslands rather than forests. Accordingly, it is also stated that "soils tend to change from being continually moist to dry out for a long period" (ibid. 109).

The ground water supply in Eastern Flores may also be influenced by the amount of total rainfall. Barlow et al (1991:20) write that “the climate of NTT has a rainfall of 700-1500mm per year compressed into a wet season of a few months...”. Meanwhile the local government (BKPMMD, 1995) notes that during 1993/1994 Eastern Flores had a total rainfall of 787mm in 78 days which is far below the average rainfall of both central and western Flores as well as of NTT as a whole. The average temperature in the region ranges between 21^o and 31^o while the humidity level ranges from 64 per cent (July) to 88 per cent (February). In turn, Monk et al conclude that “a combination of low rainfall, high wind speeds, and intense solar radiation make NT (*Nusa Tenggara*) the driest region in Indonesia” (1997:69).

From what has been outlined above, it is clear that the physical setting of Eastern Flores is a major constraint for local settlers. When this is added to other potential pressures such as the limited arable land as well as income sources in the non-agricultural sectors, there are a number of push factors for labour migration out of the region.

3.4. Demographic Characteristics

3.4.1. Population Structure

Table 3.1 presents some major characteristics of the population of Eastern Flores in comparison to the population of both NTT and Indonesia as a whole. While the details of census data 2000 are not yet available, this analysis uses data from *SUPAS* (Intercensal Survey) 1995 and Population Registration 1997. In 1997, the total population of eastern Flores was 270,214 persons or 7.4% of the province's population. The proportion of population under the age of 15 that year was 35.5%,

and it was lower than in NTT in 1995 (39.1%) but higher than in Indonesia (33.9%) as a whole. Weeks argues that “a population with more than 35 percent of its people under age 15 years is *young*” (1999: 278). The population of those 65 years of age and over was higher in eastern Flores (6.3%) than in NTT (3.9%) and Indonesia (4.2%), but all still fall in the category of a ‘young population’ because of having a percentage lower than ten (Weeks, 1999). It seems that the population age structure of Eastern Flores is strongly influenced by heavy out migration. An assessment of the impact of labour migration on demographic aspects of the region is carried out in Chapter Seven.

Table 3.1. Some Major Characteristics of the Population of Eastern Flores,
NTT and Indonesia as a Whole

Indicator	Year	E. Flores	Year	NTT	Year	Indonesia
Total population	1997	270,225	2000	3,929,039	2000	203456005
% P>15 years	1997	35.5	1995	39.1	1995	33.9
% P65 years & over	1997	6.3	1995	3.9	1995	4.2
Dependency ratio	1997	72.0	1997	72.7	1995	61.4
% Females	1997	50.2	1997	50.8	1995	55.4
Sex ratio	1997	80.6	1997	96.8	1995	99.1
% Rural population	1995	91.7	1995	86.1	1995	64.1
Literacy	1997	11.8	1997	14.9	1995	11.5
Population growth	90-97	0.24	90-00	1.92	90-00	1.35
Population density	1997	88.0	1997	82.0	2000	108.0

Source: - Population Censuses, 1990, 2000
 - SUPAS (Intercensal survey), 1995
 - Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998a

Both the annual population growth and sex ratio in the region of Eastern Flores are far lower than the levels attained in NTT and Indonesia as a whole (table 3.1) due to the influence of migration. Regarding the annual population growth, Hugo (1998b: 20) explains:

Between the 1980 and 1990 censuses, the population of East Flores increased only by 0.31 per cent per annum compared to 1.79 per cent for the province as a whole and 1.98 per cent for Indonesia. This differential has increased over the years, with the respective population growth rates for 1961-71 being 1.71, 1.57 and 2.1 per cent per annum and for 1971-80 being 1.27, 1.95, and 2.37. Between 1990 and 1994 East Flores grew by 0.46 per cent per annum, compared to 2.17 per cent per annum for East Nusa Tenggara and 1.67 per cent for Indonesia between 1990 and 1995. The difference is almost entirely due to international migration since fertility levels are not below the national average.

It is clear that the very low rate (0.24%) of population growth in the region of Eastern Flores in 1997 has a result of heavy out migration from the region. The effects of migration are further reflected in the fact that the region has a sex ratio of 80.6 in 1997 compared to 96.8 for NTT in the same year and 99.1 for Indonesia in 1995. Hugo also comments on the relationship between the sex ratio and outmigration stating, "at the 1990 census there were only 78 males for every 100 females in East Flores, whereas the sex ratio for the entire province was 98.4. Indeed, in several *kecamatan* (subdistricts) sex ratios of below 50 were recorded... This is indicative of very heavy out migration from those areas" (ibid.20).

The proportion of rural population of Eastern Flores in 1995 was very high (91.7%) compared to the province (86.1%) and Indonesia as a whole (64.1%) in the same year and this has at least two implications. On the one hand, it indicates a very high dependence of most of the region's population on the contribution of agriculture. Since agricultural subsistence is the main industry to support the household economy, the limited availability of cropped land and/or insufficient income from farming are significant push factors for moving to seek better income beyond the home region. On

the other hand, the high concentration of the local population in rural areas also indicates a lack of facilities and infrastructures which also cause emigration. Hugo comments that “migrants destined for overseas tend to come from the poorest parts of the countries so that remittances and cash brought back by migrants becomes the most important source of income available for development in the local area” (1998b: 102).

The dependency ratios of both Eastern Flores (72.0) and NTT (72.7) in 1997 were significantly higher than of Indonesia in 1995 (61.4). Weeks explains that “the higher this ratio is, the more people each potential worker is having to support; conversely, the lower it is, the fewer people there are dependent on each worker” (1999: 279). Having a greater number of dependent family members is often considered to reflect an economic “burden or lack thereof” (ibid. 281) so this would also be a factor causing many to seek a better income overseas.

The population distribution between islands and districts in the region of Eastern Flores in 1997 is presented in table 3.2. Adonara is the most populous island and the densest settled area ($161/\text{km}^2$) in the region. It has the largest proportion of Eastern Flores population (30.88%) living on an area of 518.8km^2 or about one-sixth of the total area of the region. The high level of population density in Adonara which is far above the average level of population density for Eastern Flores, NTT and Indonesia as a whole (table 3.1) is an additional factor repelling the out migration of labour workers. Although evidence is very scarce to explain the origin of the current heavy outflow of labour workers of Eastern Flores, two informants comment that since a long time ago the people of Adonara were known as *perantau* (wandering somewhere) in order to improve their household economy. They add that this moving tendency has inspired many relatives in other parts of the region to do so as well.

Hence, there is a 'culture' of migration in the area (Massey et al, 1998: 47; Tsuda, 1999: 17).

Table 3.2. Eastern Flores: Population Distribution per Island and District, 1997

No	Island/District	% Area	% Population	Density	Average Household Member
1	East part of Flores	34.45	29.05	74	5
1.1	Wulan Gintang	16.57	10.01	53	5
1.2	Tanjung Bunga	11.15	5.50	43	5
1.3	Larantuka *	6.74	13.53	176	5
2	Solor	7.35	9.44	113	5
2.1	Solor Barat	4.89	4.41	79	5
2.2	Solor Timur	2.46	5.03	180	5
3	Adonara	16.85	30.88	161	5
3.1	Adonara Barat	6.16	8.41	120	5
3.2	Adonara Timur	10.71	22.47	184	4
4	Lembata/Lomblen	41.11	30.60	65	4
4.1	Naga Wutung	7.80	4.16	47	4
4.2	Atadei	6.14	3.36	48	4
4.3	Ile Ape	4.39	4.67	93	4
4.4	Lebatukan	8.36	2.56	27	4
4.5	Nubatukan**	5.79	5.05	77	4
4.6	Omesuri	5.26	5.07	85	5
4.7	Buyasuri	3.39	5.73	148	5
	East Flores	100.00	100.00	88	5
		3079.2km²	270,225		

Note: * = The capital city of East Flores

** = The capital city of Lembata

Source: - Kantor Statistik Flores Timur, 1997

- Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998b

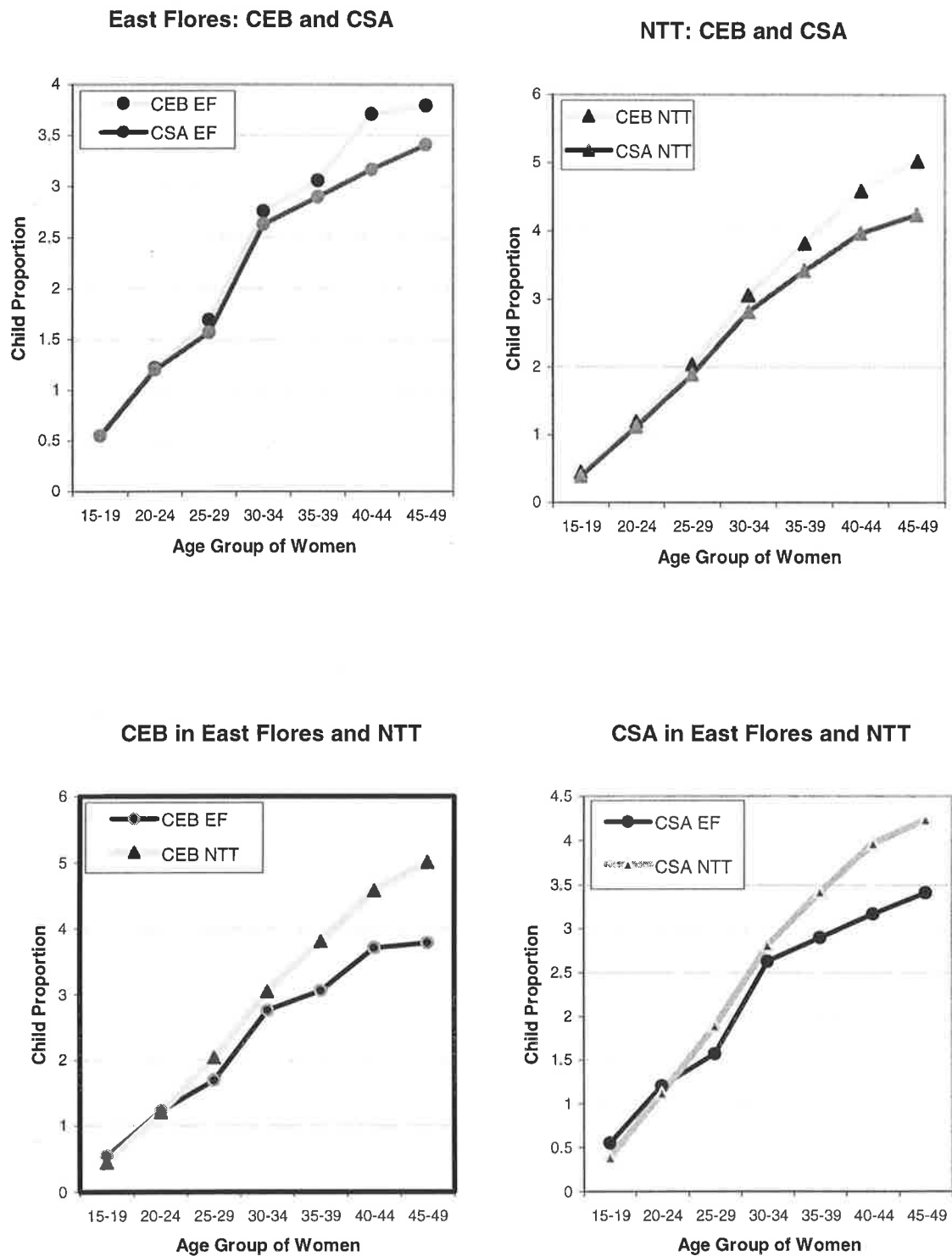
However, this is not to suggest that the heaviest out movement from Eastern Flores is out of the areas where density levels are high. A senior official mentioned four districts in the region to be the most significant emigration sources. They are Tanjung Bunga of the eastern part of island Flores, East Solor, East Adonara and Ile Ape of the island Lembata. In fact, Tanjung Bunga has the lowest level ($43/\text{km}^2$) of population density in the region but it is well known for having a high level of labour migration. A survey in a village in Bantala of Tanjung Bunga reveals that 45 per cent of all families of the village have a member who has returned from, or still works, in Sabah (Raharto et al 1999: 48).

3.4.2. Fertility

Fertility in Eastern Flores is lower than in NTT as a whole. There are two sets of data that can be used to prove this argument. The initial one is the relative size of the youngest age group of the population pyramid. In 1997, the proportion of population aged 0-4 years in Eastern Flores was 5.54 per cent for males and 4.69 per cent for females and this has shown a decline from the same age group in 1990 (6.02% males and 5.60% females). The percentage achieved in 1997 was also lower than the proportions in the same age groups of NTT population in that year in which both sexes exceeded six per cent.

The second indicator is the average number of children borne by women in specific age groups. It is apparent that in 1997, most of the five age groups of reproductive women in Eastern Flores produced lower fertility rates than in NTT as a whole (figure 3.6). This low level has been also evident in the previous decades. In 1976-79, every 1000 reproductive women (15-49 years old) in Eastern Flores produced 4,309 children. At the same time, this total fertility rate (TFR) was lower

Figure 3.6: Eastern Flores and NTT: Child Ever Born (CEB) and Child Still Alive (CSA) by Women Ever Married in 1997



Source: Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998b

than TFR in NTT as a whole (5,540) as well as in Indonesia as a whole (4,680). In 1982-86, TFR in Eastern Flores was 3,150 while NTT was 4,360 (*Kantor Statistik Flotim* 1996). This evidence may indicate that the fertility level of Eastern Flores is lower than the average level of fertility in NTT as a whole.

The low fertility rate in Eastern Flores may be affected by the heavy out migration of some reproductive women to work in Sabah. Some may delay getting married by moving to work overseas in order to supply their household economies. In 1997, 30.7 per cent of females of Eastern Flores were first married after being 24 years old and this percentage is nearly twice higher than females of the same age group in the province as a whole (18.6%). On the contrary, females who have married earlier (before 19 years old) were only 9.2 per cent in East Flores compared to 20.4 per cent in NTT as a whole (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1997b). This significant delay of the first marital age in Eastern Flores has a correlation with vast out movement of young adults of the region to work temporarily overseas. In addition, low fertility rates in the region may be also affected by a long-term separation of husband from wife during the period of working overseas (Hugo, 1998b).

3.4.3. Mortality

It was evident from the data given by SUPAS 1995 that the gap between child ever born and child still alive was lower in Eastern Flores (0.12%) than in NTT as a whole (0.17%). In 1990, the average life expectancy at birth in Eastern Flores (58.8) was slightly higher than in NTT (58.6) as a whole (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998d). The most recent data provided by the local government (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998b) also reveal that total and infant mortality in 1997 were both higher in NTT than in Eastern Flores. Indeed, three per cent of the villages in NTT experienced a very high number

of infant mortalities in which ten and over deaths of babies occurred in a village during 1997 while it was nil in Eastern Flores. Records, which are highly deficient show that 4.7 percent of the villages in Eastern Flores experienced not even one case of death (in a village) while it was only 1.4 per cent in NTT as a whole. However this suggests that over the last decade, Eastern Flores experienced better health improvement than the province as a whole.

Improvement of health that results in a lower level of mortality is often considered to be an indicator of the level of prosperity in a society (Diamond et al, 1999: 42; Weeks: 137). The fact that Eastern Flores has shown a decline in mortality over the last decade while it is known to be one of the poorest regions in Indonesia can be associated with the contribution of remittances sent from overseas.

3.4.4. Mobility

Hugo explains that “any assessment of population mobility in Indonesia is constrained by the limited nature of the sources of data available for such analysis” (1997: 69). Out movement of the Eastern Flores population has a long history and there is a steady flow of migrant workers to work overseas, particularly in Sabah, Malaysia. An attempt to discuss the phenomenon is constrained by the lack of precise information.

Vatter (1984) explains that in the late 19th century the Dutch exiled many murderers from Adonara to Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Nieuw Guinea, and many of them did not return home. They might have become the pioneers and paved the way for the current vast outflows from Eastern Flores. Since 1613, the Dutch subjugated Solor (see figure 3.5) but the Portuguese controlled Larantuka (eastern part of Flores) while the king of Adonara refused to cooperate either with the Dutch or the Portuguese. By the treaty of ‘Timor en Orderhorigheden’, the Dutch controlled

Larantuka in 1859 while the Portuguese colonized East Timor. After controlling both Solor and Larantuka, the Dutch also subdued Adonara but “the small Adonara almost caused a headache to the colonial officers. So many people of the island were put into the jail because of murder nearly every day. ... Since the General Governor didn’t allow death penalty, many of the murderers were exiled ” (Vatter, 1984: 15).

In explaining migration between 1900 and 1930 among the population of eastern archipelago, Gooszen (1999) argues that labourers were recruited to work in the plantation sector in Borneo, especially to support large rubber estates to supply the world demand for rubber that rose sharply in the early 20th century. During this period, there was a preference in recruitment for Christians from Minahasa, Amboinia, Flores and Timor as well as the *Batak* lands particularly for special jobs such as household servants, soldiers and administrative staffs. It was because:

These people had received a certain amount of Western schooling through European missionary efforts. They were also generally healthier than their non-Christianized countrymen (once again thanks to the work of the missionaries), ... And Europeans probably placed most trust in the ‘Christian natives’ and felt more comfortable with them around than their Islamic or ‘heathen’ neighbors (Gooszen, 1999: 36).

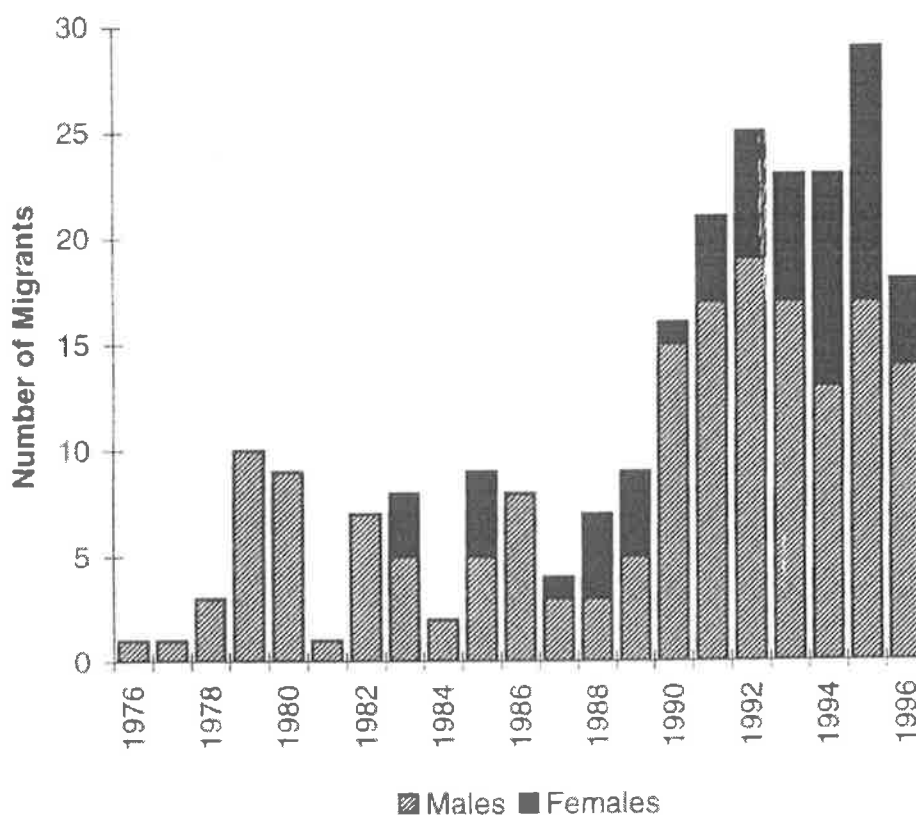
Furthermore, it is also explained that in 1930, numbers of out-migrant of Flores were 7,775 persons (ibid.103) but this probably included those who moved into nearby islands or pursued internal migration.

Other sources (Bandiyono, 1997; Hugo, 1998b; Mantra, 1998) explain that during the Japanese occupation in the early 1940s, some people from Eastern Flores were recruited to work in plantations in Sabah. It is explained that these people who were deployed at that time have served as anchors for subsequent chain migration to Sabah.

In explaining labour emigration of Eastern Indonesia, particularly from Eastern Flores in the post independence era, Hugo comments that “migration to Sabah has

become institutionalized and become part of the expected behavior of villagers” (1998b: 32-3). Nevertheless, “the vast bulk of international migration influencing the region is undocumented and hence cannot be verified with accurate data” (ibid.9). A village survey has illustrated the numbers of male and female migrant workers who move out to work overseas (figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7. Survey Village: Number of Migrants by Sex, 1976-96



Source: Hugo, 1998b: 43

3.5. Economic Characteristics

3.5.1. Workforce

This section aims to evaluate the current situation of both supply and demand for labour in Eastern Flores compared to NTT as a whole and establishes the extent to which the local economy is not be able to absorb the local labour force and hence encourage labour emigration. Table 3.3 presents information about labour utilization in Eastern Flores and NTT as a whole. In 1997, the stock of labour force in Eastern Flores was 133,424 persons or 49.4 per cent of total population (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998b). Most of the labour force (98.7%) was absorbed by local employment, leaving only 1.3 per cent unemployed (1,775 persons). The proportion of unemployed was small but it grew annually at a very high rate (39.6%) between 1995 and 1997 compared to NTT as a whole (12.9%). It is apparent that the number of additional job seekers was more significant in Eastern Flores than in NTT over the three year period. In addition, employment in the region is dominantly part time. The proportion of underemployment was very high (67.2% in Eastern Flores and 53.1% in NTT) and also grew at a high level (2.6% and 2.7%) between 1995 and 1997 (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1996; 1998b). Both unemployed and underemployed indicate lack of employment and great pressure for labour migration out of the region.

The high level of underemployment in Eastern Flores is influenced by the following elements:

- More than a half of the employed people in 1997 were females (50.8%). They often undertake part time occupations in order to leave time for their household duties (Elder et al, 1999: 456).

Table 3.3. Eastern Flores and NTT: Some Major Economic Characteristics

No	Indicator	Year	NTT	East Flores
1	2	3	4	5
1	% labour force (to total population)	1997	49.4	49.4
2	Number of labour stock	1997	1,802,712	133,424
3	Annual growth of labour force	1995-97	1.9	1.7
4	Employment Capacity	1997	98.4	98.7
5	Annual growth of employment	1995-97	1.7	1.1
6	% workers in agricultural sector	1997	78.3	76.0
7	% workers in informal sector	1997	88.6	87.8
8	% female workers (to total employees)	1997	44.7	50.8
9	Labour force participation rate	1997	66.2	63.7
10	% unemployed	1997	1.6	1.3
11	Annual growth of unemployed	1995-97	12.9	39.6
12	% underemployed	1997	53.1	67.2
13	Annual growth of underemployed	1995-97	2.7	2.6
14	GDP per capita (Rupiah)	1997	766,042	590,941
15	Annual growth of GDP	1994-97	7.3	8.0
16	Income per capita (Rupiah)	1997	727,019	561,849
17	Annual growth of income per capita	1993-97	5.8	6.6
18	% PAD/LGOR *)	1996/97	24.0	2.6

* = PAD (*Pendapatan Asli Daerah*) means local governmental original receipt (LGOR)

Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1996; 1998a,b,e,f

- The large majority of employees (76.0%) work in the agricultural sector. They may work full time during the three month rainy season and work part time for the rest of the year.

- There is not much job variety in the local employment structure that would provide an opportunity for part time workers to use their working time more efficiently and increase their income. Ahlburg (1996: 236-7) argues that:

Rural households are fairly adept at dealing with seasonal functions in income due to the crop cycle, but poor households are less successful. Some income smoothing comes from increased hours of work, some from employment of men in the cash economy, and some from the employment of women on the family farm and in cottage industries, services and small scale commerce, some from selling assets, and some from limited borrowing from money lenders and from credit from shopkeepers.
Further smoothing comes from the migration of household members.

The data presented in table 3.3 also shows that labour supply grew faster (1.7%) than labour demand (1.1%) in Eastern Flores, as well as in NTT as a whole (1.9% and 1.7%). If this condition continues, it would result in an increasing volume of both unemployment and underemployment and encourage more people to seek jobs and better incomes beyond the home region.

3.5.2. Prosperity

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is one of the most commonly used variables to determine the economic level in a given state. Some reports (Barlow et al 1990; Hugo, 1995b, 1998), for example, who claim NTT as one of the poorest provinces in Indonesia have mentioned this variable as a factor causing out movement from the region. The local government (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998c,d) notes that in 1997, the GDP of Eastern Flores per year, per head was RP.590.941 which was equivalent to US\$84 at RP.7.000 exchange rate and it grew by 7.95% between 1994 and 1997 (table3.3). However, it was only 77.14 per cent of the GDP NTT (Rp.766.042) and 27.23 per cent of national GDP (Rp.2.169.869). Hence, Eastern Flores is poorer than the province and Indonesia as a whole and this undoubtedly is a factor contributing to the high level of international labour migration, particularly to work in Sabah.

Another economic variable to illustrate the prosperity level is income per capita. From the same data sources (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998c,d) it has been reported that in 1997, the average income per capita in Eastern Flores was Rp.561.849 or US\$80.26 per head per year and it grew annually at 6.60 per cent between 1994 and 1997 (table 3.3). Over this period the average income per capita for the province was higher than that of Eastern Flores (Rp.727.019 or US\$103.86) but it grew at a slightly lower level (5.79%). Although both Eastern Flores and NTT grew annually higher than Indonesia as a whole (5.75%), their achieved average income stayed behind the national average level. Indeed, it was only 29.79 per cent in Eastern Flores and 38.55 per cent in NTT compared to the achieved average income per capita in Indonesia as a whole.

The local governmental revenue or PAD (*pendapatan asli daerah*) in Eastern Flores also reflects the low economic prosperity of the region. It is shown in table 3.3 that in 1996/97 fiscal year, the PAD of Eastern Flores was only 2.59% (and 24.02% for NTT) of total budget for the region. The largest portion (97.41%) of the regional budget was supplied by external financial sources such as the central government and the contribution of remittances.

At the local level, variations in income per capita between districts in Eastern Flores are immense. As shown in table 3.4, 12 out of 13 districts in 1993-95 produced income per capita lower than the average for Eastern Flores as a whole. The lowest income per capita was experienced constantly by both Omesuri and Buyasuri districts where are locally known as *Kedang* region. Buyasuri at the bottom end produced less than fifty per cent of the regional income per capita. It earned only Rp.261.366 per head in 1995 or about 15.37 per cent compared to the national income per capita in the same year. At the opposite end, Larantuka, the capital city of East Flores produced three times higher than the average income in the region. Lebatukan, the capital city

of Lembata produced the second highest level of income per capita in the region during 1993-95. The high income per capita in the urban areas may relate to the presence of local banks where villagers accumulate large amounts of the money that they receive from overseas.

Although the income per capita in Eastern Flores is clearly lower than in NTT as a whole, some other indicators show the reverse. Table 3.5 suggests the same indicators of better economic conditions in Eastern Flores rather than in NTT. In 1997, for example, Eastern Flores has 44.31 per cent of the total savings in NTT as a whole while the remaining portion (55.69%) was contributed by the other twelve regencies or *Dati II* in the province. Interestingly nearly two-thirds (63.12 per cent) of the total population in Eastern Flores have deposited money into banks with an average savings value of Rp.495.779 per depositor. This is much greater than for NTT as a whole where it is Rp.226.865 and only 23.05 per cent of all the province' population are depositors.

To argue as to why the economy of East Flores seems to create a contradiction (low productivity and income level but maintaining better conditions in some economic indicators), here are three viewpoints. Firstly, in the subsistence economic circumstances of most traditional societies, particularly in Eastern Flores, people who are accustomed to consuming what they have produced by themselves may sometimes not report all the economic transactions they commit throughout the year to be recorded in a yearly statistical report. Hence, GDP per capita and income per capita may not always present an accurate figure or tend to be lower than the achieved actual amount. This is more likely in Eastern Flores than in NTT as a whole since the region

Table 3.4: Eastern Flores: Ratio Income per Capita per Districts 1993-95

No	District	1993	1994	1995	Growth 93-5
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Wulan Gitang	0.88	0.82	0.86	15.78
2	Tanjung Bunga	0.71	0.69	0.74	19.67
3	Larantuka	2.92	3.03	3.06	19.93
4	West Solor	0.79	0.77	0.74	13.05
5	East Solor	0.67	0.63	0.59	9.54
6	West Adonara	0.64	0.64	0.64	16.90
7	East Adonara	0.68	0.67	0.81	27.38
8	Naga Wutung	0.83	0.86	0.82	16.12
9	Atadei	0.64	0.65	0.63	16.11
10	Ile Ape	0.76	0.78	0.70	12.36
11	Lebatukan	1.01	0.91	0.93	12.69
12	Omesuri	0.57	0.55	0.56	16.32
13	Buyasuri	0.41	0.42	0.43	20.41
	Eastern Flores (%)	1.00	1.00	1.00	17.02
	Rupiah:	441,197	519,593	604,167	-

Source: Kantor Statistik Flores Timur, 1997

Table 3.5: Eastern Flores and NTT: Some Prosperity Indicators

Indicator	Year	NTT	E. Flores
% houses with stone/brick walls	1997	21.2	43.7
% houses with cement/tile floors	1997	30.0	41.5
% houses with non-grid electricity	1996	2.2	18.2
% household with monthly high expenses *	1997	16.7	20.0
% use doctor at childbirth services	1996	3.8	7.0
% use goose-neck toilet	1996	11.1	36.1
% watched television in last week	1996	17.5	22.8
% household financed university students	1995	5.1	5.5
% bank depositors (from total population)	1997	23.1	63.1
Average saving value per depositor (in Rp.)	1997	226,865	495,779

* = Rp.60.000 and over per household per month

Source: Kantor Statistik NTT, 1996, 1997b, 1998a

has a higher percentage in rural population (91.7%) than the province (86.1%) and is made up of many isolated villages in small islands.

Secondly, some agricultural commodities are exported illegally by traditional traders to get better prices. Merchants from West Nusa Tenggara using traditional boats often shift some commodities out from Tanjung Bunga in the eastern part of Flores to be traded to merchants of Surabaya, East Java. Moreover, the Kedanese, residents of both Omesuri and Buyasuri districts have maintained trade links with merchants from South Sulawesi. Some of the local (Muslim) traders often bring agricultural commodities to Makasar, South Sulawesi and come back with industrial goods. This traditional trade link may result in a lesser extent of household economic improvement but it operates beyond the statistical records. Consequently according to official data, the Kedang (Omesuri and Byasuri) is poorer than other districts of the region (see table 3.4). In fact, however, one who travels around the island Lembata would witness a reverse scenario. Most of the land in Kedang is planted with dense commercial plantation trees. In the last three decades Barnes notes that "Kedang was regarded as one of the richest areas on the island, especially in such goods as coconuts, candlenut, assam, and citrus fruit. Rice and maize seem to have been abundant enough to play a large part in external trade" (1974:7).

The last and the most important point is that the remittances sent by emigrant workers in Sabah have made substantial contributions to the local economy in many ways but often they do not appear in statistical records. For example:

- Remittances may often be sent directly from Sabah to outside Eastern Flores to finance the region's university students. Hugo comments that "there has been some leakage of funds earned by migrant workers and remitted back to East Flores out of the area, especially to Java. Bank officials in Larantuka estimate that

for every \$1.3 that are remitted, around \$1.0 is remitted out of the area to meet costs such as sending children to school” (1998b: 113).

- A significant amount of remittances is taken home in form of goods but the value may be not recorded in official data since it arrives directly in a remote village of the home region. Kapioru (1995: 61) notes that return migrants often charter traditional boats and take home a large amount of housing materials and other kinds of valuable goods.
- The bulk of remittances sent to family members in the remote villages of Eastern Flores are sent back through those who are returning migrants. Taylor et al explain that “money may be returned in the form of ...cash savings brought back by migrants or visiting family members, what Lozano Ascencio (1993) calls *pocket transfer*” (1996a: 187).

3.5.3. Sectoral Productivity

Agriculture seems to be the main sector contributing to GDP in both Eastern Flores and NTT compared to Indonesia as a whole. The data provided by *Kantor Statistik NTT* (1998c,d) reveal that in 1997 this sector provided 41.1 per cent of the Eastern Flores economy, 38.5 per cent for NTT and only 14.8 per cent for Indonesia as a whole (table 3.6). In this sector, food crops are the highest sub sector making a large contribution to total GDP for both NTT (22.1%) and East Flores (17.9%). The other agricultural sub-sectors contributing to Eastern Flores GDP in 1997 were fisheries (8.2%), commercial plantation crops (7.5%) and livestock (6.9%). For NTT, livestock provided the second largest portion (8.8%) while fishery and commercial plantation crops provided less than four per cent in the province. Except for forestry which contributes the lowest proportion (zero per cent) to the regional GDP, there seems to

be a more even distribution of income from agricultural sources in Eastern Flores than in NTT as a whole.

Table 3.6: Indonesia, NTT and Eastern Flores: Distribution of GDP per Sector in 1997

Sector	Indonesia	NTT	E.Flores
1	2	3	4
Agriculture	14.79	38.52	41.12
Food crops	7.62	22.10	17.94
Commercial plantation crops	2.48	3.78	7.73
Livestock	1.71	8.80	6.88
Forestry	1.46	0.47	0.35
Fishery	1.51	3.37	8.20
Mining	8.80	1.57	0.85
Manufacturing	25.05	2.37	1.46
Electricity, gas, water	1.25	0.97	0.55
Construction	8.08	8.24	4.46
Trade, restaurant and hotel	16.87	13.74	10.70
Transportation and communication	7.43	10.42	10.44
Monetary/Enterprise	9.04	4.67	6.07
Bank	3.93	1.91	2.42
Services	8.70	19.68	24.35
Governmental services	5.45	18.07	21.91
Total GDP: Percentage	100.00	100.00	100.00
Billions <i>Rupiah</i>	Rp.433,685.1	Rp.2,811.0	Rp.168.6

Source: *Kantor statistik NTT, 1998c,d*

The agricultural sector absorbs the large majority of workers in Eastern Flores and NTT but has the lowest productivity per worker (table 3.7). In 1997, this sector employed 100,080 or 76 per cent of workers and produced Rp.66.3 billion or 41.1% of the GDP in Eastern Flores, while in NTT it employed 78.4% of workers and

produced 38.5% of GDP (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998b,c). However, by comparing both the employment capacity and total production of the sector, agricultural productivity per worker is very low. In 1997, there were only Rp.692.948 per worker in Eastern Flores and Rp.778.6481 in NTT as a whole. These productivity levels were lower than the level produced in Indonesia as a whole (Rp.1.756.442) in 1995.

Both secondary and tertiary sectors have higher productivity per worker but employ only the smaller portion of the local workforces. The industrial sector involving mining, manufacturing, electricity (gas and water) and construction which employed only 7.6% of workers produced 7.3% GDP in East Flores (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998b,d). Industrial productivity per worker in Eastern Flores in 1997 was two times above the agricultural productivity (Rp.1.217.100). It was about three times the industrial productivity in NTT (Rp.2.601.800) in the same year and about nine times of Indonesia as a whole (Rp.10.886.700) in 1995.

The tertiary sector involving monetary and services produced more than a half of the Eastern Flores GDP but employed only 16.3% of the local workers in 1997 (*Kantor Statistik NTT*,1998b,d). This sector has the highest productivity per worker (Rp.4.051.900) in the region but it was still lower than the sectoral productivity for NTT in the same year (Rp.5.610.900) and for Indonesia as a whole in 1995 (Rp.5.354.100). It is apparent that the highest productivity rate in the tertiary sector is achieved by only a small-proportion of the local workers and this creates a distinction between the rich and the poor groups in the poorest region.

3.6. Social and Cultural Setting

3.6.1. The People

The people of eastern Flores are known as “*ata kiwan*,” a local term meaning “*orang gunung*” or mountainous people (Vatter, 1984). This term is used to distinguish them from the late comers called “*orang pantai*” meaning coastal or low land people. However, such terms are not popular as the most commonly used terms are the “*Paji, Demong* and *Kedang*” people. The *Paji* and *Demong* who speak the same language: *lamaholod* are known also as *lamaholod* people who now live in eighteen districts. Meanwhile the *Kedang* speak their own language and occupy the other two districts: Omesuri and Buyasuri of eastern Lembata. Although they all claim to have been the original people who inhabited the region, Vatter, (1984) argues that only the *Paji* is. McAsey (1995) claims that both *Demong* and *Paji* are from the same origin descending from a common ancestor probably before the 16th century but he doesn’t state where their ancestor came from. On the *Kedang*, Barnes notes that “it is thought that the original ancestors lived at the top of the mountain; and all original clans of *Kedang* are capable, at least theoretically, of tracing their ancestry to the original pair, *Bujaq Suri* and *Ome Suri*. These are brother and sister and the descendants of the sun and moon” (1974:28). Apart from the above claims, the following is a brief history of the people of eastern Flores.

Vatter (1984) and McAsey (1995) maintain that eastern Flores people believe in a myth that their ancestors lived at the top of the volcano: *Ile Mandiri*. The brother: *Lenurat* and his sister: *Watuele* were not born from a woman, they came out from the mountain where they lived and grew. Once they had made contact with a few *Paji* people who lived near a coastal place, both brother and sister married a *Paji* man and

woman. Lenurat and his wife had five sons who lived on the mountain area. They then attacked the other *Paji* living near them and made most of the *Paji* move to Solor, Adonara and Lembata islands. Whereas Watuele and her husband gave birth to the first king of Larantuka: Sira Demong Pago Molang, from whom this kingdom has been controlled hereditarily for ages. Since the third and fourth kings, this kingdom became so powerful that it could subjugate both the mountainous and coastal people in the land. This then created a strong competitor kingdom of Adonara after, perhaps, the sixth king, Igo who pushed out his young brother Enga. Enga moved to and controlled the *Paji* in strengthening the kingdom of Adonara.

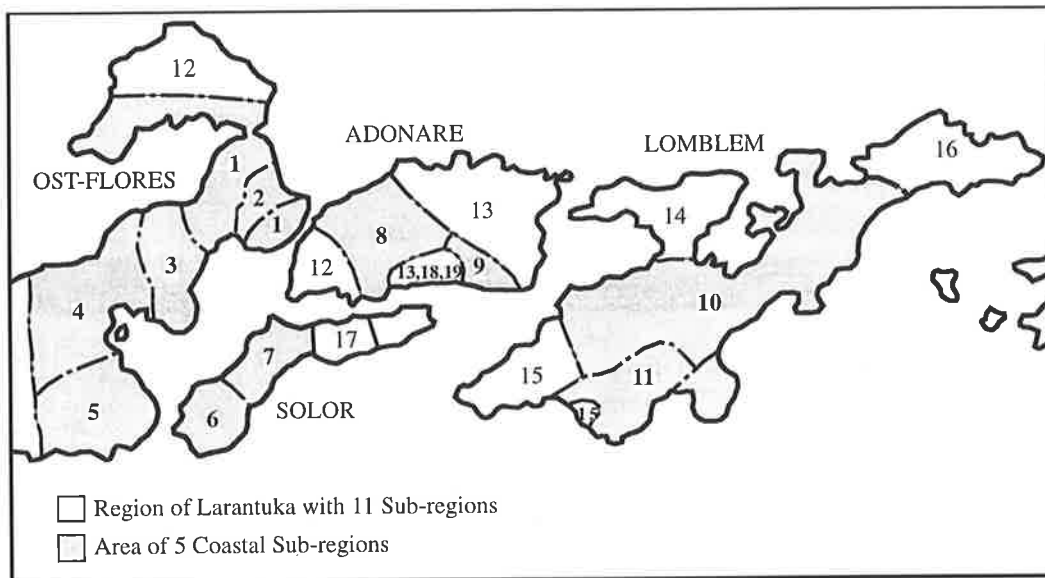
The internal conflict between the siblings, Igo and Enga, created bitter enmity between the Larantuka and the Adonara kingdoms. Barnes notes that “the *radja* of Larantuka and the *radja* of Adonara, were Demong and Padji respectively” (1974:5).

He comments that:

The division is found on each of the islands, and the two groups are traditionally enemies, formerly in a state of perpetual if sporadic warfare. The Demong of East Flores consider themselves the military stronger late-comers who drove the original population, Padji, out of the good lands in the center of the islands into the rougher and less productive extremities. In most areas, this seems to fit well with the distribution of two groups but not everywhere, certainly not in Eastern Adonara where the Padji are strong. All of the areas are either Demong or Padji, but there was no over-all system political structure based on the division before the Dutch stepped in. (ibid.5).

The mentioned land division is shown in figure 3.9. Though the traditional authority of both Larantuka and Adonara had been long subjected, the Demong and the *Paji* still persevere in retaining their borders up to now.

Figure 3.8. Eastern Flores: Division of Lands among the *Paji* and *Demong* in the Past and Present Time



Wilayah Larantuka:

- | | | |
|------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Larantuka-Lewo Tala | 5. Lewo Tobi | 9. Tanah Boleng |
| 2. Mudakaputu | 6. Lewo Lein | 10. Lewo Leba |
| 3. Wolo | 7. Pematikaju | 11. Lama Lerap |
| 4. Lewingo | 8. Horowura | |

Wilayah "Raja lima pantai"

- | | | |
|---------------|------------|---------------|
| 12. Adonare | 15. Kawela | 18. Lamahala |
| 13. Adonare | 16. Kedang | 19. lawaijong |
| 14. Lewo Tolo | 17. Trong | 20. Lamakera |

Source: Vatter, 1984

Historically, the submission of eastern Flores was due basically to economic reasons. Ormeling (1956) notes that the Europeans were founding settlements of Portuguese sandalwood traders as well as merchants from Malacca in the island of Solor in the second half of the 16th century. McAsey comments that "long before Europeans arrived in the 16th century, much of coastal Flores was firmly in the hands of the Makssarese and Bugis from Southern Sulawesi. The Bugis even established their own ports as parts of a trading network throughout the archipelago" (1995: 679).

Although Vatter (1984) didn't mention any specific economic activity among the new comers, he identifies certain ethnic groups coming into eastern Flores such as the Chinese, the Javanese and the Ternatense. By the presence of the merchants as well as the European invaders, there had been significant changes in the socio-economic, cultural and political features of the natives. For example, religious indoctrination has made both Catholicism and Islam as majority faiths in the region. In 1997, they were 78.7% and 20.6% respectively, and the remaining portion (0.7%) was comprised of Protestants, Hindus and others. In addition, a forced migration policy was implemented by the Dutch in late 19th century in order to exile many murderers from Adonara to Java, Borneo, etc., (see section 3.4.4) which might have been an embryo for the current heavy out migration of labour workers from the region.

3.6.2. Social Structure and Mutual Cooperation

Traditionally the population of Eastern Flores has sustained a social stratification. Liliweri (1989) notes that the old structure of the original people was composed of three strata. The highest position was *tanah alat (tuan tanah)* or the land owners. They had the authority to determine anything including the right to present a part of land to the late comers: *suku mehen* who were in the second stratum. Suku mehen had the prime role as the master to safeguard lands for the owners. At the lowest level, *suku ketawo* who were being given the right to settle on and manufacture the land had to help suku mehen in warfare which happened very frequently at the time.

The author adds that the old structure then changed as a consequence of the intervention of the late comers. The later structure acknowledges *atakebelen* as the highest position. It constitutes the nobility class that composed of *tatakebelen*, the king; *atakebelen*, nuclear family members of the king; and *atamehen*, extended family

members of the king that could be attained by either marriage or stipulation. At the second position, there is the *ataribu* class or the village community level. It is further constituted of three other levels that are:

- *Tuan-tuan tanah* or the land owners who supervised some clans
- *Suku-suku* or clans that are made up of some close families
- Household level

The lowest class in this structure belongs to *atariana*, the captives of warfares or poorer persons suffering many debts; and *krunang*, a generation of the nobility clerks.

Of special significance here is the evaluation of the extent to which this social structure has and will sustain regional development in the present and future times. It has been explained that:

Traditional cultures and lifestyles are regarded as clear signs of underdevelopment and as formidable obstacles to necessary socio economic advancementthis view and treatment of traditional cultural is in error and itself inimical to the process of development in Indonesia. The error I suggested, lies in viewing cultural as excess baggage that is borne by society but has no relationship basic processes of self perpetuation, except insofar as it disrupts them. In contrast, I maintain that traditional cultural is intimately bound up with and directly supports the basic social, economic and ecological processes of society (Dove, 1988: 1).

Structurally this traditional stratification allows proletarian people to attain the highest position as *ata mehen*, a position that plays an important role in improving local development. Requisites for the position are based not on hereditary as for *tatakebelen*, but on special qualities such as heroism or educational levels achieved. This has inspired competition among the proletariat to attempt to reach the highest social position. Until recently, any attempts to attain a better position in the community of Eastern Flores have been made mainly not only by individual efforts but involved many relatives in a mechanism of mutual beneficial cooperation. Commitments of the clan members to support one another, both material and spiritual

are very high for the clan's prestige. Hence, strong ties and mutual cooperation between the clan members are always maintained throughout the community of Eastern Flores because it determines the upward mobility of social status of the clan members. Practically the stronger the ties and the better the cooperation, the greater the achievements. Such the custom is applied in many ways such as building houses, sponsoring the education of children, sending family members to work overseas, etc.

Application of traditional customs in managing labour emigration to work in Sabah has been prominent. For example:

- Some of the clan members leave to work abroad, while others support the remaining young children and disabled and aged people.
- The family left behind often sends other potential migrant workers to substitute for migrants still away who intend to return home. This enables them to occupy certain jobs in the destination for decades.
- Clans also provide financial support for the emigration costs for each member. Every clan has a treasury that is accumulated from the cooperation between its members. The more the number of clan members sent to work in Sabah, the richer the clan. When undertaking the fieldwork, the researcher was told that some clans have in their treasuries more than two hundreds million *rupiah* (US\$22,222).

Adopting their traditional competitive customs to achieve a higher social status in the community, the head and clan members at the middle social stage (*ataribu*) manage their mutual cooperation with hope to make at least one of their clan members attain the highest social stage: *atamehen*. This can be achieved in many ways such as obtaining a higher educational degree, having wealth, holding a high bureaucratic position etc. On the other hand they try not to let anyone fall to the lowest stage:

ariana because of the resulting poverty and debts. Hence, the degree of the relationship and mutual cooperation between the clan members is of significant importance.

Historically competitions were made between clans but some having the same genealogy or living in the same *tanah adat* (authorized land) often cooperate with one another to support either their genealogical tree or development of their local residence. And at the end, they sustain the authority of their *tatakebelen* that may belong to either the *Demong* or the *Paji*. This traditional system may be applied to the contemporary governmental structure that clans strive for to afford their qualified people to become, perhaps, leader of the local parliament or *Bupati* which represents the old social status of *tatakebelen*.

3.6.3. Adat Ceremonies

Adat (customary law) ceremonies indicate the living cultural values that are sustained in a society by continuous rituals and rites. This may include a number of religious ceremonies such as a new pastoral inauguration and the Good Friday procession that long have been a part of cultural entertainment in the region. Liliweri (1989) comments that although the majority of the population in Eastern Flores are Christians, they still perform some rituals according to their old belief systems. Among other things they are involved in the ceremonies where “animist rites survive, including those for birth, name giving, marriage, the building of a new house, the opening of new fields in *ladang* (slash-and-burn) agriculture, and planting and harvesting crops” (McAsey, 1995: 705). It is usual that in celebrating *adat* ceremonies, distinction of social status among the society becomes more significant and fortunes of clans are shown off.

The marriage ceremony is one of the biggest events in the Eastern Flores culture. It costs a lot and this may symbolize the authority and wealth of the clan, especially for the groom and his family/clan paying the bridewealth and party costs. Daeng (1988: 64) writes that:

The institution of marriage payments is one element of traditional custom that is still strongly upheld throughout Flores..... Social status and respective parents, the degree of education acquired by the bride and groom is now often applied as a standard in setting the size of marriage payment..... In setting the amount of bridewealth, the girl's clan will in effect set the standing of both families in the communities as well as the clan..... No matter how much the bridewealth is requested, however, the boy's kin will almost never retract a marriage proposal once it is made. They would rather lose everything they own than suffer the ignominy of being unable to come up to the bride's clan's estimate of their financial-cum-social status.

The bridewealth almost always depends on her parents' social status. The lower the status the cheaper the bridewealth. It is measured basically in elephant tusks then increased with some additional goods such as goats, pigs and gold accessories for the highest class.

Total expenses for *adat* ceremonies in general and especially marriage payments become a major economic burden in the society of Eastern Flores. Every household in the society is responsible to pay the costs charged for any rites within and/or beyond the clan that often result in a regular payment. Hence, this may be considered too as an important factors encouraging migrants to find a job and a better income in Sabah. For example, the compulsory payment for *belis* or bridewealth alone is not cheap. Vatter (1984) estimated that in 1932, a *belis* in Eastern Flores was about 450 gulden or 720 mark. He also argues that at the time one would earn one mark per working day in the informal sector in Eastern Flores. Therefore, he continues that a man had to work two years full time just for a *belis* payment. By now, a medium *belis* level that is often charged at three tusks plus three goats may cost around Rp.23.4 million. Indeed, some informants estimate a medium size tusk is equivalent to Rp.7.5 million and a

standard goat is about Rp.300.000. Compare with the local minimum wages: Rp.1.800 per hour or Rp. 12,600 per week for seven hours (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998a), a man needs to work five years full time just for a *belis* payment. Hugo comments that “payment of bride price was an especially strong motivation in the early days of the movement to Sabah” (1998b: 52).

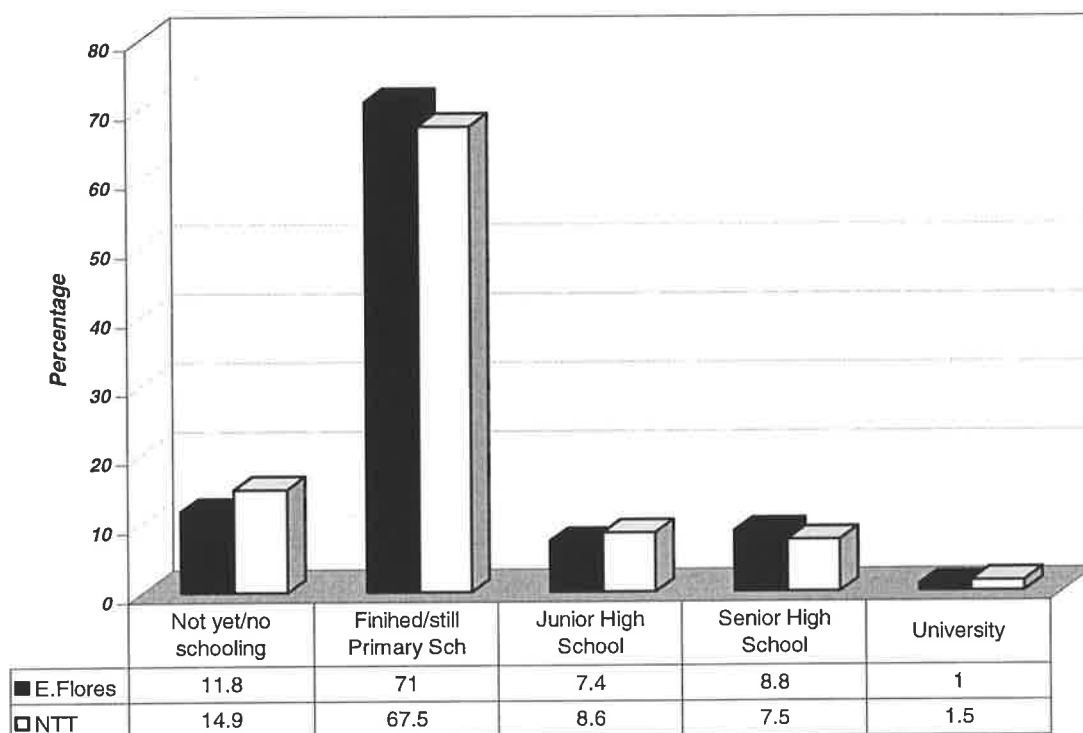
3.6.4. Education

Dating far before Indonesian independence, the people of Eastern Flores have shown a great interest in education. Vatter (1984: 30) writes of his impressions in 1932 (as translated by the researcher) that:

School attendance was in large numbers including higher levels of education. We often had a chance to observe some folk schools in rural areas and were surprised by the students’ learning progress and their great comprehension. With no doubt we might classify their intellectual level as not different from European students...School lessons in some standard courses required hard work, and their teachers helped them with this. Many of those students were very intelligent and some were able to show their scientific thinking.Therefore now in Flores, a seminary was built for indigenes people who wanted to become teachers, while there was also another nine year course which is equivalent to university

Further evidence indicating high interest and great success in education is the fact that many civil servants even senior officials and university lecturers come from Eastern Flores. Some lecturers have done either their Masters or PHD programs. This indicates not only their high level of interest in study, but also their access to income sources to meet the educational costs. As explained earlier in this chapter the region supports a very low income but the people show their adroitness and determination to make progress by moving to work in Sabah from where they make substantial contribution to regional development including educating their children.

Figure 3.7. Eastern Flores and NTT: Educational Attainment of Population Aged Ten Years and Over, 1997



Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998b*

Figure 3.7 provides information of educational attainment in 1997 in Eastern Flores and NTT as a whole. The data shows that the portion of not yet/no schooling in Eastern Flores is lower than in NTT. This is influenced, perhaps by both the indications of a lower fertility rate in the last five years and a higher schooling participation rate in Eastern Flores than in NTT as a whole. Higher percentages in both the finished/still primary school and senior high school support the second assumption that schooling participation is higher in Eastern Flores than in the province. Another uncommon fact found in the Eastern Flores data is that the portion of junior high school (7.4%) is lower than the portion of senior high school (8.8%). This suggests probably that a significant portion of those who finished primary school

have moved to work in Sabah rather than to continue to study in junior high school. This assumption supports what has been found (Hugo, 1998b: 49) that the large majority (64.7%) of migrant workers from Eastern Flores to Sabah completed primary school.

Finally, the portion of those having a university background is smaller in Eastern Flores than in the province. However, this may not be seen as a sign that the people of the region have low participation at the university level. The proportion indicates those who live and/or work in the region. Many university graduates originating from Eastern Flores who benefited from the contribution of remittances refuse to come back to their homeland and prefer to find better jobs in other places, particularly in Java. This has had a 'brain-drain' effect in the villages of Eastern Flores (Hugo, 1998b: 106).

3.7. Conclusion

The present chapter has discussed the regional background of Eastern Flores as a major source of labour migration from the Eastern Indonesian region. The physical setting of the region is very poor. It is remote, volcanic with high lifted lands, low rainfall, a long dry season, erodable soil, lack of water supply, poor natural resources and low land productivity (Barlow, et al, 1990; 1991; Dugan, 1991, Monk et al, 1997). All these have been significant challenges for the local population trying to improve their household economies with the existing local natural resources.

The economy of Eastern Flores is also weak due to lack of natural resources. Statistically both the regional GDP and income per capita are far below the levels attained by the province and country as a whole. In fact, the large majority of the local

population lives in the rural area and relies on the contributions of agricultural subsistence. Facing severe pressure resulting from both the economic constraints and natural resources, the local people have made some attempts to sustain their lives. Moving to work beyond the home region, particularly in Sabah, seems to be the most popular way out. Some evidence indicates that labour migration out of the region began in the first half of the last century and has increased in the last three decades. Hence, it is necessary to further assess the patterns, causes and consequences of the migration in the late chapters.

Chapter Four

RESEARCH METHODS

4.1. Introduction

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of the study, information has been collected from both primary and secondary data sources. The scarcity of data sources for international labour migration is a major constraint not only in the region of Eastern Flores but also in Indonesia as a whole (Hugo, 1997) and the Asia-Pacific region in general (Massey et al, 1998). The present study has utilised several data sources in order to explain the patterns, causes and consequences of labour migration of Eastern Flores. To collect data, a survey was designed and conducted through fieldwork undertaken between April 1998 and February 1999 in the East Nusa Tenggara province where the study area is situated.

The present chapter outlines the design of the field study, the methods used and assesses the quality of the information collected. This is a necessary preliminary for interpretation of the results presented later in the study.

4.2. Data Sources for International Labour Migration in Indonesia

Indonesian population data is published regularly by BPS (*Biro Pusat Statistik* = Central Bureau of Statistics), especially in the three main population data sources: population census, intercensal survey of population and population registration. These sources do not provide information on international labour migration. Commenting on the scarcity of data sources for international migration in Indonesia, Hull argues that “bureaucrats and political leaders might simply wish not to know (*tidak mau tahu*)” (1997:285) the importance of providing such data. National census data that Weeks defines as “lenses through which we form images of our society” (1999:42) provide very limited information on population mobility in Indonesia and as Hugo explains, the decennial censuses do not “collect data on international labour migration out of the country” (1997:69). The censuses record only interprovincial migration but are not able to detect most non-permanent migrations as well as movement within provinces and out of the country.

The Intercensal population survey or SUPAS (*Survey Penduduk Antar Sensus*) is the second main source of population data in Indonesia. Lucas (1999a:5) explains that the survey is used to test the accuracy of census and registration data. This decennial survey that is provided between two censuses uses the same variables as in the population censuses and hence it also fails to collect information on international migration.

The annual population registration system is the third main data source available for population statistics. It “provides continuous data on vital events but each register is kept separately so it is difficult to get a complete picture of the individuals in the population” (Lucas, 1999a:7). In the Indonesian registration system, the head of the

village is the key person to record events and provide population statistics throughout the year. By the end of each year, staff collect the data provided by the heads of villages and produce *kecamatan* (district), *kabupaten* (regency) and *propinsi* (province) *Dalam Angka* reflecting an area's population in statistical figures. Such data sources, however, also fail to collect information on international labour migration although the registration system is based on annual reports made by heads of villages who usually grant recommendation letters for emigration. This is because most of the village heads have low education, live in the remote villages and do not know the importance of recording such data.

It is also apparent that the registration system in Indonesia often involves inaccuracy. For example, it is reported that nearly all PPLKB (Family Planning field staff responsible for collecting data provided by the village head) in the NTT province tend to manipulate data to please their superiors commonly known as ABS = *asal bapak senang* (*Pos Kupang*, 12/11/1999). In addition, publication of both East Flores *Dalam Angka* 1997 and *kecamatan Adonara Timur Dalam Angka* 1996-97 were delayed until February 1999 due to inaccurate data submitted to the local statistics office. The data was then rejected for a re-check but it was not published on time and this has been a significant problem for those who intend to use the most recent data in population analysis.

In commenting on the difficulties of studying international labour migration throughout Asia and more specifically Indonesia, Hugo notes that "official statistics are usually limited, scattered and incomplete" (1992a:5). In addition, Weeks suggests that "knowing that censuses and the collection of vital statistics were not originally designed to provided data for demographic analysis everywhere to keep their collective eyes open for any data source that might yield important information"

(1999: 63). The following are some sources that often provide data on international migration in Indonesia. Firstly, the directorate of Immigration in the Department of Justice records information on those going overseas legally; the identification of migrant workers can be assessed from both departure and arrival cards (see appendix B). However, the Indonesian immigration data is not computerized and it fails to record a large number of those who move through illegal channels as is usual for the main bulk of labour emigration from Eastern Flores.

Secondly, the department of Manpower through *Ditjen Binapenta* (Directorate of Training and Placement) and AKAN (office for overseas employment) provides information on those going to work overseas through official channels. Migrant workers can be identified through overseas labour supplier forms as shown in table 4.1-2. However, it seems that not all OCWs are documented as Hugo points out, “only a selective part of Indonesian overseas labour migration is detected in the AKAN office” (1992:5; 1993: 109).

Thirdly, the State Company (*PT Bijak*) and all Private Labour Supplier Firms (PJTKIs) record those who have been recruited and deployed overseas through either legal or illegal channels. However, it is sometimes very hard to get information from such sources especially for illegal migrant workers. The researcher, for example, failed to collect information from two of the eight PJTKIs (see appendix C) operating in the region of NTT although the researcher had a recommendation from a senior staff of the local Manpower office (*Kanwil Depnaker NTT*) to interview the PJTKI staff. The reason for rejecting the interview was that the local staff of PJTKI required the researcher to be recommended not only by local government but also by the authorized PJTKI and/or approved State Company in Java.

Table 4.1. Indonesia: Report of the Indonesian migrant workers who have been deployed oversea

Kanwil/Balai AKAN/Kandepnaker:

Embarkation airport :

Month :

Year :

No	Name of the Local Manpower Office	Name of PJTKI (recruiting agency)	Destination Country	Type of job occupation	Sectoral Employment overseas	Length of time working overseas	Wages	Number of migrants		Notes
								Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

Source: Depnaker, 1997

Table 4.2. Indonesia: Report on Embarkation and Deployment of Migrant Workers Overseas

Name of Company:

Address :

Month :

Year :

No	Name, place and DOB of Migrant workers	Gender	Address in Indonesia	Job agreement	Job and wages	Name and address of Employer	Name and address of company	Name and Address of PJKI	Number and date of Passport and visa	Number of contract for working overseas	Number of bank account of migrant	Notes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Source: Depnaker, 1997

The eight PJTKIs operating in NTT employ several staff in the local companies. Those who have been appointed to work for a PJTKI in Java usually continue working in their usual jobs either at private companies or in public service. They seem hesitant to provide data without recommendation from their employer/PJTKI in Jakarta or Surabaya because it could cause job replacement if the data given is misused. This indicates that legal PJTKIs in Java work illegally through the appointed staff in NTT and they are likely to provide inaccurate data regarding international labour migration out of the province.

Finally, references including newspapers, case studies and discussion papers are some sources for international labour migration. The Indonesian newspapers have been a significant source for international labour migration in explaining the process of movement, problems encountered in the area of destination, etc. Information regarding international labour migration gathered from different sources often “estimates of the numbers involved in the movement vary considerably” (Hugo, 1998a: 5). Hence, the more sources available the more comprehensive information would be achieved.

4.3. The Study Area

4.3.1. Selecting the Study Area

Studies of international labour migration can be conducted in either the region of origin, destination or both. Table 4.3 provides information about the determinants of international labour migration to be analyzed including the identification of the preferred group of respondents in the areas of origin and destination. In addition, table

Table 4.3. Focal groups for data collection at origin and destination to study
the determinants of international migration

Type of analysis	Quality of option	Focal groups for data Collection at origin	Focal groups for data collection at destination
1. Determinants of out-migration of individuals from country A	Barely acceptable	* Households in country A with members who have left the country (proxy respondent necessary)	None
2. Determinants of out-migration of individuals from country A to country Z	Acceptable	* Other household in A Non-migrant in country A	Migrants from country A in country Z
	Barely acceptable	* Households in A with members who have migrated to Z (proxy respondent necessary)	None
3. Determinants of out-migration of individuals from country A to main destinations (Z,Y,X,etc)	Preferred	* Other households in A Non-migrant in country A	Migrants from country A in countries Z,Y,X,etc
	Barely acceptable	* Households in A with members who have migrated to Z, Y, X, etc (proxy respondent necessary)	None
4. Determinants of out-migration of households from country A to country Z	Acceptable	* Other households in A Households remaining in country A	Migrant households from country A in country Z
	Preferred	Households remaining in country A	Migrant households from country A in countries Z,Y,X,etc.
6. Determinants of out-migration of individuals (and households) from countries A, B, C, etc to countries X, Y, Z, etc.	Preferred	Non-migrant individuals and households in countries A, B, C, etc.	Individual and household migrants from countries A,B,C, etc. in Z,Y, X, etc.
7. Determinants of return migration of individuals from country Z to country A	Acceptable	Individuals who migrated from A to Z and returned to A	Migrants from country A remaining in country Z
	Not acceptable	None	* Households in country Z with members that have returned to country A (proxy respondent necessary) * Migrant households from country A all of whose members are still in country Z
8. Determinants of return migration of households from country Z to country A	Acceptable	households who migrated from A to Z and returned to A	Migrant households from A remaining in Z
	Barely acceptable	* Households in A containing members intending to migrate * Other households in A	None

Source: Bilborrow, et al, 1997: 250-1

Table 4.4. Focal group for data collection at origin and destination to study
the consequences of international migration

Type of analysis	Quality of option	Focal group for data Collection at origin	Focal group for data collection at destination	
1. Consequences of in-migration for individual migrants in country Z	Barely acceptable	None	* Migrants from countries A,B,C,etc. in country Z * Non-migrants in Z	
2. Consequences of in-migration for individual migrants from country A to country Z	Acceptable	Non-migrants in country A	Migrants from country A in country Z	
	Barely acceptable	None	* Migrants from country A to country Z * Non-migrants in Z	
	Barely acceptable	* Households in country A with members who have migrated to Z (proxy respondents necessary) * Other households in A	None	
3. Consequences of in-migration for individual migrants from main countries of origin (A,B,C, etc)	Preferred	Non-migrants in countries of origin A,B,C, etc.	Migrants from countries A,B,C, etc in country Z	
4. Consequences of in-migration for households from country A to country Z	Acceptable	Households in country A	Migrant households from country A in country Z	
	Barely acceptable	None	* Migrant households from country A in Z * Other households in Z	
5. Consequences of in-migration for households from countries A, B, C, etc. to country Z	Preferred	Non-migrants households in countries A, B, C, etc.	Migrant households from countries A,B,C,etc in Z	
	Barely acceptable	None	*Migrant households from countries A,B,C,etc in Z * Other households in Z	
6. Consequences of in-migration of individuals and households from countries A,B,C, etc to countries Z, Y, X, etc	Preferred	Households in countries A, B, C, etc.	Migrant individuals and households from countries A,B,C,etc in Z,Y,X,etc	
	Barely acceptable	None	* Individuals in households that migrated to country Z and who have returned to A (proxy respondent necessary) * Other households that migrated from A to Z	
		Acceptable	* Individuals who migrated from A to Z and returned to A * Non-migrants in A	None
		Preferred	Individuals who migrated from A to Z and have returned to A	Individuals who migrated from country A to Z
7. Consequences of return migration for individuals returning to country A	Acceptable	* Households that migrated from A to Z and have returned to A * Other households in A	None	
	Preferred	Households that migrated from A to Z and have returned to A	Households that migrated from A to Z	
8. Consequences of return migration for households returning to country A	Preferred	Households that migrated from A to Z and have returned to A	Households that migrated from A to Z	

Source: Bilborrow et al, 1997: 256-7

4.4 has also identified types of analysis of the consequences of international labour migration.

Both tables above have identified a key decision to design surveys that analyze the determinants or the consequences of international migration. The decision is to determine the most appropriate area of study whether in the area of origin or destination as well as the groups of people from whom data is to be collected. It has been shown that the determinants of out migration of individuals could be identified by interviewing the proxy respondents of migrant and non migrant households in the home region as well as migrant workers in the area of destination. Consequences of labour migration in the home region can be identified from interviewing proxy respondents of recent migrant and non-migrant households as well as return migrants.

In order to study the migration process streaming from eastern Flores to Sabah, a decision was made to conduct fieldwork in the area of origin alone. Several reasons were responsible for this decision. A major factor was the cost. The resources available for the present study were limited and it was impossible to support the researcher collecting field data either in the receiving end or in both regions. In addition, the area of origin was also selected for the following reasons:

- In the home region it is possible to interview return migrants who are able to give information involving the entire process of labour migration. They have experiences in all stages of the emigration process: arrangements to migrate, en route adventures, living and working in the destination, and returning to their home village. Hence, “surveys may be carried out in areas of heavy out-migration to locate return migrants and investigate reasons for their return and the effects of their return on themselves and on their origin households and communities” (Bilsborrow, 1984a: 62-3).

- Non-migrant households are available in the area of origin to be included in migration studies as a comparative group to migrant families. It has been suggested that:

Data from non-migrants in the area of origin are also highly desirable. Such data are needed in almost any type of analysis of the determinants or consequences of ...migration. First, and most obvious, data on the (remaining) origin area populations are needed to evaluate the consequences of the out-migration on the origin community(ies). Data for the same two groups are also needed for a study of the (micro) determinants of migration, to determine why some individuals and households migrated and others did not. Finally, information about both origin area(s) groups is likely to be useful to assess the structural or community factors influencing migration (Bilsborrow, 1984a :71-2).

- The middlemen involved in the process of labour migration of Eastern Flores are mainly return migrants who have maintained reliable kinship networks with their former employers and senior recent migrants in the area of destination as well as with relatives and close friends in the en route stage. They often facilitate potential migrants who are also relatives and provide them easier, cheaper and satisfactory services. Besides, there are community leaders available to give their opinion regarding consequences of labour emigration on the family left behind. It is important to collect information from different sources.
- Information on recent migrants still away can be collected from family who remain behind. Oberai notes: "it is possible to get some information about individuals who have left the household to live in elsewhere from remaining members of the household" (1984: 146). This is especially significant in a community like Eastern Flores where the remaining members (of both household and clan) maintain strong ties with recent migrants and hence undoubtedly know about the conditions of migrants in the destination country. They usually are involved in the emigration decision making, keep in contact with migrants in the

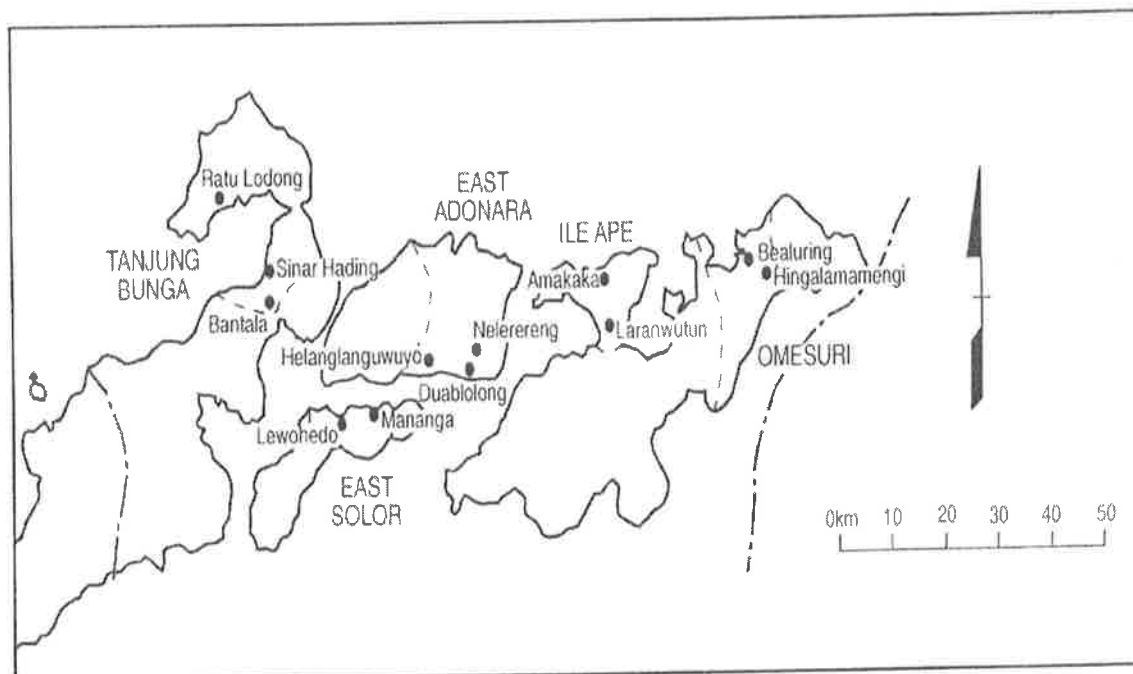
destination and are preparing to send other members of the family to substitute for migrants who want to return home.

4.3.2. Selecting Village Samples for the Case Study

To select village samples for the primary data collection in eastern Flores, purposive cluster area random sampling was applied. Gall et al explain that the term purposive” sampling refers “to the practice of selecting cases that are likely to be information-rich with respect to the purposes of ...study” (1996: 231). In order to get more comprehensive data, district samples were selected from a locally known district with a vast, moderate, and slower emigration status. Through the discussions with the local official staff, five districts were chosen randomly; one represented medium level emigration and each pair represented larger and smaller emigration districts. By area sampling, each district was chosen from a populated island of the region but two districts represented the island Lembata (Figure 4.1). The reason why two districts were taken for Lembata is that the island, which now is a separate *kabupaten* (beginning in December 1999) has half of all the districts in the former East Flores regency. It is occupied by two distinct societies: the *Lamaholot* and the *Kedang*. The latter being made up of both districts of Omesuri and Buyasuri is socio-economically distinct from the rest of Eastern Flores.

A further step was to select the village samples from the chosen districts. A purposive cluster random sampling was applied. For purposes of the study, it was necessary to involve a pair of villages from each district sample in which the one represented high level emigration and the other low level emigration. Ten villages were initially selected, but later, another two were added to provide sufficient

Figure 4.1. East Flores: Location of the village samples



Source: Kantor Statistik Flores Timur, 1997

Table 4.5. East Flores: Names and some indicators of the district samples

District	Island	Villages	Sample villages	Sex Ratio
Tanjung Bunga	Flores	18	3	83.0
East Solor	Solor	13	2	77.8
East Adonara	Adonara	53	3	76.2
Ile Ape	Lembata	18	2	62.6
Omesuri	Lembata	15	2	71.6
East Flores	-	233	12	80.4

Source: Field data, 1998

Table 4.6. East Flores: Name and some indicators of the sampled village

Village	District	Family Numbers	Sex Ratio
Bantala	Tanjung Bunga	242	81.3
Sinar Hading	Tanjung Bunga	177	79.4
Ratu Lodong	Tanjung Bunga	334	96.4
Mananga	East Solor	320	82.9
Lewohedo	East Solor	109	51.9
Helanglanguwuyo	East Adonara*	316	79.5
Nelerereng	East Adonara*	166	67.7
Duablolong	East Adonara*	227	70.7
Laranwutun	Ile Ape	209	68.8
Amakaka	Ile Ape	212	58.9
Bealuring	Omesuri	341	95.8
Hingalamamengi	Omesuri	206	68.1

Note: *) = The district of East Adonara was represented by the sub-district of Ile Boleng, from where the three village samples are taken.

Source: Field data, 1998

numbers. Details for the chosen district and village samples are presented in tables 4.5-6. To select these village samples, discussions were held with *para camat* (head districts) to whom the researcher explained the study purposes and the criteria designed for sampling while they introduced the researcher to the approximate conditions of the villages of the districts.

Through the discussions held with the heads of the sampled districts, the researcher decided change the designed criterion for selecting sampled villages. It was change which meant the use of sex ratios rather than the population density. Previously it was designed to use the village density level as the determinant factor indicating the local pressure for labour emigration with an assumption that the denser the village the

greater the pressure for emigration. Goma et al (1993) explain, for example, that 52% of the respondents interviewed in East Adonara who have arable land lesser than 0.5ha experience very low income and hence they send their family member(s) to work in Sabah. Using sex ratios as a criterion for sampling is more likely to indicate the resultant impact rather than population density (Hugo, 1998b). Moreover, sex selectivity is a common indicator in labour migration studies. Therefore the villages taken from each district comprise one with a lower level and the other with a higher level of sex ratio than the average level for the district. The village representing each group (lower or higher sex ratios) is taken randomly with an assumption that it is information-rich to support the study purposes. Indeed, Bilsborrow notes that “for migration surveys judgement samples have indeed been the rule. Either one or a small number of areas is chosen at the first stage” (1984b: 92).

4.4. Primary Data Collection

4.4.1. Sampling Frame

To draw samples for interviewing respondents, it is necessary to have a sampling frame. Bilsborrow et al (1997:269) write:

The sampling frame provide the basis for drawing a sample of elements belonging to the domains of interest. Elements are the ultimate units being analyzed in the present case, individual migrants and non-migrants or their households. The quality of the sampling frame is a major determinant of the extent to which the sample is representative of the population in the domain of interest. A sampling frame is a listing of elements in the domain of interest. A frame is perfect if every element appears on the list separately, once and only once, if no element is omitted, and if no inappropriate entries are on the list.

It has been indicated earlier in section 4.3.1 that there are four possible data sources available for labour emigration in the area of origin. They are the family of recent migrants, non-migrants, return migrants and middlemen. Each is a domain of analysis

in the present study. Bilsborrow explains that “a ‘domain’ is a subset of the population for which it is considered desirable to undertake specific analysis” (1984b: 89). The household was designated as the basic unit of analysis of this study because “in developing countries individual migration movements are often decided upon by the whole family rather than by the individual migrant: Migration is one of many inter-related household decision made to help satisfy perceived family economic and other needs” (Bilsborrow, 1984a: 82). In the society of eastern Flores, family ties are quite strong and the household is the basic unit of production as well as of decision making.

To provide a comprehensive list for the study that avoids neither omitting nor duplicating elements in the sampling frame, it is very important to define the domains of interest. The first domain is the household of the migrants. It is the household from where one or more member(s) have emigrated to work in Sabah, Malaysia and are still away. The notion of household used here adopts the criteria of standing that “define as household members those who usually sleep in the same dwelling unit or those who usually share cooking and eating facilities” and “those who contribute to the work and income support of the unit” (1984: 189). This means that before and after leaving for Sabah a migrant is still considered to be a family member who is working to sustain the household economy. The commitment of migrants still away, to support the household economy is determined by one or more of the following indications:

- The flow of remittances
- The flow of letters/news explaining work difficulties or income problems experienced in the destination
- Intention to return home bringing back the money earned in the destination

Time reference required for this domain ranges from three months to ten years in emigration. Migrants who have left within three months are excluded. Long-term migrants in Sabah (over ten years) who have never returned to the home village during the time are considered as permanent resident and hence also excluded although they may have sent remittances.

A second domain is the household of non-migrants. It refers to households with no member(s) in or have ever been to Sabah for the purpose of seeking or undertaking a job even for a brief period during the last ten years. This includes households with members who experience migration which is either internal or international labour migration to a country other than Malaysia.

Return migrant households are the third domain. A household head is a member who has returned home after having worked in Sabah for a period of time. This includes those who have returned by their own choice as well as those who were forced to come back home by deportation or job suspension. Those who return independently may appreciate that "they have saved 'enough' to be able to go back and start a business or because they had planned to stay only for a limited period" (Oberai, 1984: 165). They may also have returned for other reasons such as to build a new house, to get married, to visit the family left behind and then go back overseas for the next session, etc. Those involved in this domain were the return migrants who had arrived in the home village between a minimum of three months and a maximum of ten years.

The last domain is that of middlemen. This refers to a person/s who plays a very important role in helping potential migrant(s) become actual migrant(s). This role ranges from motivating people to work in Sabah, lending money, organizing documents, looking after dependant family member(s) remaining at home and

providing recommendations for potential migrants to get access into the established kinship networks in the boundary area and the destination country. A middleman participating in this particular case is more likely to provide help for his relatives to work overseas rather than offering services for financial profits. In a later analysis chapter (section 5.3.2) this will be distinguished from what is most often known as “*calo*” or professional recruiters.

Though the domains to be analyzed have been defined clearly, it is still difficult to provide a list of them to allow sampling. This is due to two reasons. On the one hand, there are no documents available in the village administrative records that could be used to identify relevant households according to the domains defined above. Moreover, the head and staff of each village did not know exactly how many households there were of migrants, non-migrants or return migrants because the flow of incoming and outgoing illegal migrants to and from Sabah was continuous. On the other hand, it is common to find in the regency and especially in the villages sampled that a household has simultaneously fulfilled two or more conditions of the domains. For example, a household will have a member of still away working in Sabah and a return migrant who plays the role of middleman in helping other people to emigrate.

4.4.2. Sampling Procedures

A sampling procedure represents the technique used for selecting the sample for the universe of interviews. A careful choice of methods is necessary because it determines the quality of the study results (Alpert, 1971; Barnett, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Gall, et al, 1996). Yet “there is no one particular method of sampling that is uniformly the best for all purposes and all situations. Nevertheless it is possible to make a rational choice of a method that is close to being the best, considering the information

that is available in advance” (Stephan, et al, 1965:26). In addition, Bilborrow comments that “sampling is as much an art as a science” (1984b: 89).

This section aims to explain how the number of interviewees was decided and in what way they were drawn from the target populations. The sample size was determined largely by the resources available to the researcher which involved a total of 264 sampling units. The following are sampling procedures to draw samples that are shown in table 4.5. Firstly, the total sampling (264) units were distributed into four clusters according to the domains of interest defined above. Secondly, the sample units of each cluster were dispersed into five areas of the determined districts. This means that each district which composed two or three villages had four categories of samples comprising household migrants (domain A), household non-migrants (domain B), household of return migrants (domain C) and household of Middlemen (domain D). Later, the sampling units by the cluster of domains and area of districts were further distributed into the village level. It was determined to draw samples as many as the quota permitted from each village per cluster of domain.

Based on the given numbers of sample units per domain in each village and/or district a quota sampling approach was implemented. Bilborrow (1984b: 93) explains that:

The most commonly used procedure for selecting elements in a non probability fashion is a quota sample in which a fixed a priori number of elements of (a) given type(s) are selected from an area regardless of their actual prevalence in the area. For example, an interviewer could walk through an area seeking and interviewing migrants until satisfying the quota set for the area.

The quota sampling technique sometimes produces imperfect results. Certain biases may result from data collection in the field:

Interviewer biases have been shown to exist and to be serious, even for carefully trained interviewers, time and time again whenever the interviewers have any choice in the final selection of household: viz., they tend to choose those which

are easier, more accessible, or their own socio-economic class, etc. This leads to not only a biased selection of elements, but is also impossible to estimate the representativeness of the sample (ibid. 93).

In seeking to minimize such possible biases for this study, consideration was given to these issues in recruiting interviewers or field assistants as well as in allocating the time given for them to collect the data.

Table 4.7. East Flores: The Survey Sampling Composition by Domains and Area

District and Village	Domain				Total Units
	A	B	C	D	
<u>Tanjung Bunga</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>66</u>
Bantala	6	5	6	5	22
Sinar Hading	6	5	6	5	22
Ratu Lodong	6	5	6	5	22
<u>East Solor</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>44</u>
Mananga	6	5	6	5	22
Lewohedo	6	5	6	5	22
<u>East Adonara</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>66</u>
Helanlanguwuyo	6	5	6	5	22
Nelerereng	6	5	6	5	22
Duablolong	6	5	6	5	22
<u>Ile Ape</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>44</u>
Laranwutun	6	5	6	5	22
Amakaka	6	5	6	5	22
<u>Omesuri</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>44</u>
Balauring	6	5	6	5	22
Hingalamamengi	6	5	6	5	22
Total	72	60	72	60	264

Note: (Domain) A = Households of migrant still away
 B = Households of non-migrants
 C = Households of return migrant
 D = Households of middlemen

Source: Field data, 1998

To draw the sample to fulfil the quotas in villages, there were several steps. Initially, a list of the clans and names of the heads of each clan in the village was made with the help from the *kepala desa* or head of the village. Indeed, the clan was used as the basic unit from where individual samples were drawn rather than the lowest administrative unit: the *Rukun Tetangga* because there is a tendency to cooperate and support clan members who are close relatives. The head of the clan also has a good knowledge of migration experiences of individual households.

Secondly, the clan head was called on to identify the clan members (all households in the clan) and they were classified according to the cluster of domains: A, B, C and D as long as the conditions defined were fulfilled. Some clans might only provide two clusters such as households of migrants and of return migrants. Sample units or households with “double conditions” such as having both a return migrant and a migrant still away and/or a member who has role as middleman at the present time were dispersed into the domain fulfilled considering each unit had only one possibility for sampling.

Thirdly, lists were provided by recording names of household heads in each cluster of domains. Four lists were provided for each village representing the cluster of domains and each of them listed the names taken from each clan of the village. Fourthly, samples were drawn from the lists provided in each village and each of the names recorded had the same probability to be drawn in the sample using a random sampling technique. Finally, the respondent representing each sample unit was the household head or the name recorded in the list in the first priority but alternatively a representative household member with a good knowledge of the migration process and/or its impact could be involved in the interviews.

4.4.3. Data Collection Methods

Primary data was collected using several methods. The main field data was obtained by implementing the “questionnaire interview” method. The term used here combines the two data-collection methods of “questionnaire” and “interview”. Gall et al, explain that the questionnaire method involves “documents that ask the same questions of all individuals in the sample. (If the sample has subgroups, the questions asked of each subgroup may vary.) Respondents record or write a response to each questionnaire item” (1996: 289). They further argue that “interviews consist of oral questions by the interviewer and oral responses by the research participants. Interviews typically involve individual respondents, but there is increasing interest in conducting group interviews” (ibid. 289). By combining them, the interviewer asks the questions set systematically in the questionnaire which are responded to orally by the respondent. Hence, the questionnaire guides the process of the interview. This technique was applied because most respondents of the present study are unable to read and write well.

A series of questionnaires were designed, tested and reconstructed for the main data collection. The questionnaire design was in the form of multiple choices or a set of short-answer options with closed and semi open questions. They were developed into four sub-modules in which each one was designed to interview representative respondents of each cluster of domain. Miles, et al, argue that “the questions represent the facets of an empirical domain that the researcher most wants to explore. Research questions may be general or particular, descriptive or explanatory. They may be formulated at the outset or later on, and may be refined or reformulated in the course

of fieldwork” (1994:23). The substance of the questionnaire involved is attached in appendix D.

To conduct the interviews, five field assistants were recruited, trained and then sent to interview respondents in their homes. Each of them was responsible to collect data in the district where he was born and grew up. The interviewer for the three villages of Ile Boleng East Adonara is a civil servant who now lives and works for the government as a Family Planning Illuminator (*Penyuluh Layanan Keluarga Berencana* = PLKB) in the sub-district. He was recruited at the time of organizing the research permit in the area. The data collector for the other three villages in Tanjung Bunga works voluntarily as a teacher for the Junior High School in her district of origin, and was a former student of the researcher who graduated from the Department of Geography in the University of Nusa Cendana. The researcher met her through her father who is a senior official staff of the district. The field assistant for East Solor was also a former student who was met by chance in the city of Larantuka. He is unemployed and was happy to assist in collecting data in his district of origin. Through him two other unemployed university graduates were recruited as field assistants for Ile Ape and Omesuri.

Recruiting and employing these field assistants as interviewers made the data collection run well. This was facilitated by the following:

- As natives the data collectors were able to speak in the local language, know the local customs and social structures that needed to be dealt with and have prior knowledge of emigration in the area.
- They have solid a educational background (university graduates) and had the basic knowledge and skills for interviewing.

- To conduct the interview, they were given sufficient time each day for each respondent or a total of 44 days for two village district and 66 for the three village district. However they could work up to 75 and 100 days maximum.
- During the given time they were accompanied in rotation by the researcher for eight days working together in each village. The field assistants were very conscientious and cooperative.
- They were stimulated to earn the amount of cash set for each respondent at Rp. 25,000.- This was twice the daily *upah minimum* (local minimum wage).

During the interviews, they found that some respondents of migrant families (migrants still away and return migrants) did not open up completely in responding to the questions relating to the process of illegal migration to Sabah.

Another method used in collecting primary data was in-depth interviews pursued by the researcher himself in order to research further the information gained using questionnaire interviews. The in-depth interviewees were drawn from among those who had been already interviewed by field assistants. Re-interviewing some respondents had two benefits. On the one hand this enabled the researcher assess how accurately field assistants had managed their interviews. On the other hand, this aimed to obtain more detailed information “some may be visited again for more intensive interviews to learn more about their experience, their motives and the problems that they have encountered. Such re-interviews can be done for a probabilistically selected sub-sample of migrants” (Bilsborrow et al, 1997:292). The number of respondents involved in these re-interviews was forty, twelve for each of the domains A and C, and eight for each of B and D. They were selected by the judgement of researcher and became representative of the district rather than the village.

In-depth interviews were conducted in order to enhance the information gained through the questionnaires but also to evaluate randomly the interviews that had been conducted by the field assistants. In these interviews, the researcher always began with the questions set in the questionnaires but then developed them to explore the specific experience, impression or perception of every interviewee. Questions thus varied in number and content from one to another interviewee, however, they kept to the same purpose of getting more detailed information to support the study objectives.

In addition to collecting data using both questionnaires and in-depth interviews, non-participant observation was also conducted during the few months living in the field. Things already observed involved the physical development in the village, social systems and mutual cooperation, job division and work participation, housing conditions, facilities and consumption patterns. By observing such conditions, the researcher got ideas to develop questions for in-depth interviews in order to get more detailed information. Some of the facts observed were pictured and are presented in the thesis.

4.4.4. Obstacles to Data Collection

The present study experienced a few obstructions at the early stage but attempts were made to overcome the problems and the required data was successfully collected. When the questionnaires were to be tried out, the researcher took the opportunity to conduct interviews with fifteen respondents. This enabled the identification of the specified obstructions.

It was the researchers impression, and also the general opinion that the villagers of Eastern Flores were generally very friendly, talkative and helpful. The researcher greatly admires their generosity and hospitality. A first greeting of "*kreu ina*" or "*kreu*

ama” meaning peace in meeting you madam or sir, is offered to anyone they meet even though he/she is a stranger. They also start chatting and offering refreshments or cigarette and are eager to help. This is ingrained in the local culture.

When trying out the questionnaires in a district it was experienced, however, that some respondents acted somewhat contrary to the expected cultural norms. Four persons tried to avoid interviews relating to labour emigration to Sabah. The larger portion (nine respondents) refused to respond to oral questions but they asked the researcher to leave with them the questionnaire sheets for at least three days. When collecting the questionnaires, two types of unconventional responses were identified. Firstly, the responses given by seven persons (of different households) were identified to have very quite similar answers, and had only two types of hand writing styles and pen colors. It was quite clear that they had been responded to only by two persons who had provided “collective responses” for seven respondents. Secondly, the responses given for several questions (especially relating to illegal movements) were not quite accurate. They provided answers just to please the interviewer known as *jawaban ABS (asal bapak senang)*. These faulty responses were identified in the week following after the researcher had built solid relations with three of the respondents who informed the researcher the reasons behind this behavior.

The main reason behind their feeling uncomfortable to be interviewed or giving true information was that they were worried if the study would generate new policy interventions that might create more difficulties in moving procedures. A few respondents spoke of what they had experienced in Sabah and feared that once they were interviewed, results would then be published in the newspapers and controls would be tightened which would create many more obstacles for illegal migrants. It is apparent that the present study which was pursued at the time of the economic crisis

might also have been suspected as a tool for discovering both their network operations and hiding places in the destination in order to restrict illegal emigration and/or to accelerate deportation from Sabah.

Fortunately the tendency to avoid interviews or to give incorrect information was known at the early stage of data collection (when trying out questionnaires) so that attempts could be made to help to overcome such problems in the further steps of field data collection. The attempts were made through the following ways:

- Questionnaires were changed from open questions to multiple choices with closed and semi open short-answer options.
- Questionnaires were made in simple, easier and clearer sentences for respondents and field assistants who led interviews through the questionnaires.
- Field assistants were selected from locally educated people who were able to conduct interviews in their own language.
- Respondents were approached through their clan head in order to build good relations, make better selections of individual respondents and reduce suspicion.
- Clan leaders as well as respondents were convinced that the study was prepared not for mass media consumption but for academic purposes/scientific needs.

4.4.5. Field Organization

The fieldwork was conducted in the following five steps. They are as follows:

Step one: Preparation for the survey was carried out in Kupang/West Timor within twenty days (April 15th to May 5th 1998) that comprised:

- Organizing research permission at the level of the province

- Discussing¹ and revising research questionnaires
- Collecting preliminary information regarding East Flores.

Step two: Pre-survey was undertaken in East Flores within 33 days (May 11th to June 13th, 1998). This involved:

- Organizing research permission at the level of the regency
- Negotiation with the local governmental staff
- Selecting sample districts
- Organizing research permission at the level of the district
- Selecting sample villages
- Recruiting field assistants and questionnaire interviewers
- Trying out questionnaires in Tanjung Bunga district²
- Pre-assessing the accurateness of writing responses
- Built solid relations with three respondents and confirming some suspicious writing responses

Step three: Arrangements for the actual survey were made in Kupang/West Timor within forty days (from June 22nd to August 1st 1998). This included:

- Analyzing the information obtained during the pre-survey
- Reconstructing the questionnaires
- Designing sample procedures
- Carrying out negotiations and discussions

¹ Discussion was made with some staff of the Population Study Center (*Pusat Studi Kependudukan*), University of Nusa Cendana Kupang.

² Pre-test questionnaires were tested by the researcher and the field assistant for the district of Tanjung Bunga with interviewed a total of 26 respondents selected from the villages of Sinar Hading and Ratulodong. The respondents were representative of the households of: migrants still away (8), non-migrants (6), return migrants (7) and middlemen (5).

Step four: The actual survey was carried out in five districts in the regency of East Flores. This took about four months (August 10th to December 12th 1998), involving:

- Introducing the aims and purposes of the study
- Training the field assistants
- Selecting sample units
- Questionnaire interviews
- Assessing the quality of the data given through questionnaire interviews
- Presenting regular meetings with questionnaire interviewers
- Observation and in-depth interviews
- Collecting secondary data
- Checking completeness and thoroughness of the questionnaires

Step five: The post-survey that constituted the last activities of the fieldwork was conducted in January and February 1999, involving:

- Evaluating the completeness of all data required
- Extending some information
- Formal appreciation

4.5. Secondary Data Collection

A discussion of secondary data sources for international labour migration in Indonesia has been presented in an earlier section of the present chapter. However, it is necessary to explain briefly the nature of the secondary data obtained in order to complement and supplement information from the primary sources. The secondary data that was collected here came from three main sources:

1. Published information and statistical figures were collected from governmental institutions, libraries and mass media.
2. Unpublished documents such as private records, reports and formal notes were collected from some institutions. For instance, the Office of Manpower Department or *Kadepnaker (Kantor Departemen Tenaga Kerja)* for East Flores and Alor provided evidence such as:
 - Information on remittances sent through bank and post office
 - Data on illegal migrants from Sabah sent to the local manpower office in East Kalimantan who then produce formal notes to the local government of labour migration sources including the East Nusa Tenggara province.
3. Oral information was collected from some key informants to get feedback. It is suggested that “feedback may happen during data collection, too. When a finding begins to take shape, the researcher may check it out with new informants and/or with key informants, often called *confidants* (Miles et al, 1994: 275). Those who were interviewed were regarded as having special knowledge or perceptions that may be for or against labour emigration from East Flores to work in Sabah. Such key informants were:
 - Local official staff such as from *Bappeda* (Development Planning Body), *Depnaker* (Manpower Department) and *Kecamatan* (including the head of village)
 - Spiritual leaders or chairpersons of both Catholic and Muslim groups
 - Traditional leaders particularly chieftains chosen from the five districts
 - Academicians or intellectual persons originating from East Flores.

4.6. Coding, Processing and Analyzing Data

All information collected using questionnaires that were prepared for quantitative analysis had already been transferred into numbers or coded after finishing the fieldwork. However, to do so two prerequisites were met. Initially, the data was checked carefully by the researcher and the five field assistants. Each interviewer was responsible for the clarity and completeness of the information acquired from the district in which he conducted the interview. Later, a coding book was constructed in order to guide the process of coding the responses item by item in the questionnaires. All codes were checked carefully before entering them into the computer for further data processing.

The data then was processed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) program version 7.5. The output yielded using the program constituted evidence collected through questionnaire interviews and provided a wide range of descriptive data. For further analysis, both the quantitative and qualitative methods were used together as they are viewed as “inextricably intertwined” methods (Miles et al, 1994:41). By the quantitative method of analysis, explanations were made through frequency distributions and cross tabulations. Furthermore, by qualitative methods these statistical descriptions were interpreted, illustrated, clarified and validated. This method of analysis included the consideration of all information collected through both observation and in-depth interviews in order to justify the facts discovered and draw conclusions.

4.7. Conclusion

Designing methods to run the study was an important task because it determined the quality of the data obtained as well as the subsequent results of the present study. This chapter has already explained the methods used in selecting the study area, drawing sample units, collecting and processing the data. In order to explain the pattern, causes and consequences of labour emigration from East Flores to work in Sabah, the main data was collected using questionnaire interviews. Data was collected from 264 respondents drawn from four representative clusters of sample units that were households of migrants still away, households of non-migrants, households of return migrants and households of middlemen. To complement and supplement the data, information was also obtained from secondary sources such as published and unpublished documents as well as oral information from key informants. Such data was then examined carefully to fulfil the objectives of the study.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT WORKERS AND THE MIGRATION PROCESS

5.1. Introduction

Labour migration from Eastern Flores to Sabah has occurred over several decades and has involved a substantial coming and going of migrant workers with some remaining in that area of destination but most returning to Sabah and some moving repeatedly. The vast bulk of this population movement occurs outside the official system run by the Indonesian government. It is clear from the long and continuous history of movement that it has been a largely successful one from the perspective of the migrant workers.

In this chapter the researcher seeks to gain an indepth understanding of the movement by first of all establishing the characteristics of those who move. One of the universal features of all population mobility is that it is selective to particular groups and this selectivity gives important clues as to the causes of the movement. Secondly, this chapter probes in some depth the process of labour migration. Such analyses of undocumented labour migration are very limited in the literature and are needed to help understand why migrant workers take the risk of moving without appropriate documentation.

5.2. Characteristics of Migrant Workers

5.2.1. Sex and Age Structure

Trewartha argues that “migrations are likely to be age as well as sex selective. The extent to which males and females of various ages are involved in population shifts depend on the nature and distance of the migration” (1969: 118). Regarding sex selectivity, it has been traditionally acknowledged that males have more chances to move to work overseas than females (White, et al, 1980; Newman, et al, 1984; Chant, et al, 1992). In recent years, however, international migration of women workers who move independently has shown a very significant increase in scale; however, an understanding of this process in the literature remains very limited (Hugo, 1992a; 1998d; Lee-Sharon, 1996; Lim et al 1996). In the Indonesian context, the extent to which out migration of women to work overseas may vary between ethnic backgrounds also needs special analysis.

In terms of age selectivity, Hugo comments that “migration is almost always highly selective of young adults and this is especially the case in international labour migration” (1998b: 46). Lee et al (1996) found that most foreign workers in Taiwan are between 20-29 years old and Osaki (1999) notes that the average age of Thai emigrant workers is in the twenties. Others provide analysis of the average ages of those returning home. Firdausy (1998a) explains that 60 percent of 101 Indonesians returned from both Malaysia and Singapore aged between 30 and 40 years. Muchtar (1997) also notes that 90 percent of 456 Indonesians repatriated from Malaysia were between 18 and 40 years. If most migrant workers are still away in their twenties and return in their thirties, this suggests that a significant number of them may undertake their first emigration in their late teens.

In order to explain the age-sex patterns of the labour migrants of Eastern Flores who move to work in Sabah, data have been collected from respondents of return migrants and of family members of migrants still away. A question was set out to identify the age and sex of all family member(s) who were still working in Sabah at the time the survey was undertaken. Table 5.1 presents information of the ages at which migrant workers move for the first time to work in Sabah. It shows that most of the migrant workers from Eastern Flores (70.1%) who move to work in Sabah are between 14 and 19 years of age. The rest (29.9%) move for the first time in their twenties, probably between 20 and 24.

Table 5.1. Age at the First Time Moving to Work in Sabah

Year	Return Migrants		Migrants Still Away		Total	
	Freq.	Per cent	Freq.	Per cent	Freq.	Per cent
14-19	48	66.7	53	73.6	101	70.1
20-29	24	33.3	19	26.4	43	29.9
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0	144	100.0

Source: primary data

Table 5.2 indicates numbers of family members who have moved out of each sampled household and are still working in Sabah. A large number of households have two or three family members who are still working overseas at the same time. A half of the households of migrants still away have two family members still in Sabah. The proportion of households of return migrants which have no family members who are still working in Sabah is only 30.6 per cent and this is lower than those having one or two members with the same percentage (33.3%). Overall, it is interesting that five respondents have three family members still simultaneously working in Sabah.

However, the extent to which a person is being claimed as a member of a given household in Eastern Flores may be different than in other societies. For example, a father of Adonara claims that his two sons who currently work in Sabah are members of his household though in fact they have their own separate houses and families in the village.

Table 5.2. Number of Family Member(s) Still Away per Household of Respondent

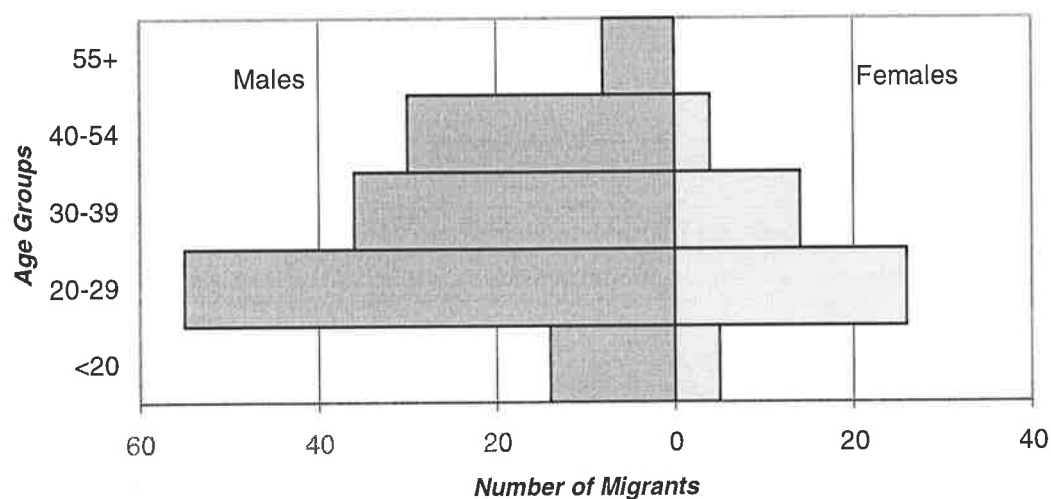
Number of Family member(s)	Migrant Still Away		Return Migrant		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
0	-	-	22	30.6	22	15.3
1	33	45.8	24	33.3	57	39.6
2	36	50.0	24	33.3	60	41.6
3	3	4.2	2	2.8	5	3.5
Total	72	100.00	72	100.00	144	100.00

Source: Field data

Figure 5.1 displays the age-sex structure of all family members who were working in Sabah at the time the survey was undertaken. Of the 192 persons, 143 are males 15 and 63 years, and 49 are females from 17 to 48 years. The pyramid also shows that most of these migrant workers, both males and females, are in their twenties following the age pattern of many international migration flows. In analyzing the eastern Flores – Sabah migrant workers, Hugo comments that “among migrants still away it is people in their 20s who are dominant and among both groups female migrants are on average younger than their male counterparts” (1998b: 46). The pyramid also shows that males are older than females on average among those still away. Among the male group, 8 persons or 5.6 percent are 55 years and over while

there is not one female in that age group. At the other end, males are more likely to emigrate at younger ages (15 years) than females (17 years).

Figure 5.1. Age-sex Structure of Migrants Still Working in Sabah



Source: Filed data, 1998

The fact that the ages of migrants still away range from teenagers up to 40s for females and 60s for males diverges somewhat from traditional pattern which suggests that migration is almost totally confined to younger ages. However, other field studies undertaken in the region explain the same things. Goma et al, (1993: 410) found that 57.6% of those who still work in Sabah (involving both sexes) were aged between 15 and 44 years. This means that the remaining percentage (42.4%) is older than 44. Kapioru (1995) also reports that the majority of recent migrants were between 15 and 55 years. The range of ages indicates a pattern in which much of the migration does not involve a one-off temporary move to Sabah in the younger age but a pattern of conditions in which labour migrants spend a high proportion of their working ages

away working in Sabah but frequently returning home as well. Circulation for many is an entrenched pattern of livelihood.

In order to clarify the extent to which migrant workers spent their productive ages working in Sabah, assessment was also made through other key questions which required the ages at which the first emigration to Sabah took place and the age of the latest return. Return migrants reported their ages at the time of returning home as shown in table 5.3. The ages range from the 20s to over 55 years.

Table 5.3. Number of Return Migrants by Age at the Last Time Returning Home

Year	Males	Females	Total
20-29	10	4	14
30-39	22	3	25
40-54	13	2	15
55 +	18	-	18
Total	63	9	72

Source: primary data

The fact that migrant workers leave mainly at early ages and spend a lot of time working in Sabah has at least two implications. Firstly, it would weaken human resources for the next generation since children are prompted to earn money overseas rather than continuing to study. Daliyo et al (1999) who conducted field work in West Timor and Flores conclude that the majority of students in the regions finish only primary school and many of the small number who junior high school do not even complete their studies. It has been indicated in Chapter Three (section 3.4.6) that the proportion of children continuing their education to SMP (junior high school) is lower in Eastern Flores (7.4%) than in NTT as a whole (8.6%).

Secondly it suggests that the younger the workers leave for work the sooner the better life will be achieved. A clan leader of East Adonara explains pursuing emigration from early ages onwards is intended to achieve gradual development in their society. To achieve a better life from moving and working overseas, emigration is usually repeated several times in accordance with the age pattern and the main target is economic achievement as has been summarized in table 5.4.

It is apparent from the information presented in table 5.4 that a repetition of emigration is of necessary to support a sustainable familial development through the contribution of remittances. At the first round of emigration involving age groups between 15 and 24 years female migrants work to support their parental household economies but male migrants seek money primarily to build new houses for themselves and prepare for a new family establishment. At the second round of emigration pursued mainly from the 20s to 30s, emigration is intended to raise money for a new family establishment including marriage celebration and *belis* payment. The *belis* or bridewealth is very expensive and compulsory (see section 3.6.3). Those who earn high incomes, accumulate sufficient capital and have invested their remittances in productive assets such as minibuses may not need to further repeat emigration. The third round of emigration involves about 70% of return migrants who are aged mainly between their 30s and 40s and is intended to improve the household economy. The income earned at this stage is used not only to support daily consumption but more importantly to increase savings, cash and/or properties, as much as possible. For such needs many husbands leave their wives and children to work in Sabah, other couples move together before having a child or leave children with close family in their home village. The last round of emigration involves only about 15% of those who have ever worked in Sabah and is often undertaken by older people (50s to early 60s years old).

They are mainly encouraged to seek financial support for their children undertaking university programs, particularly those who send children to study in Java or those having two or more family members studying at the local universities.

Table 5.4. Eastern Flores: A Model of Repeat Emigration

Migration Steps	Repetition Probability	Ages at Emigration	Main use made of remittances	Skill level prior to emigration
ONE	100%	15 to 24 years	Males: build new house Females: daily needs	No Skill
The first period of returning home ¹⁾				
TWO	98%	20s to 30s	New family costs	Basic Skill
The second period of returning home				
THREE	70%	30s to 40s	Household improvement	Advanced Skill ²
The third period of returning home				
FOUR	15%	50s to 60s	Education costs	Advanced Skill ²
Returning home permanently				

1): Returning home is usually with intention to stay in the home village for few months or years. This excludes special returning home just for days or shorter than three months.

2): The skills earned from working experience in previous round of emigration.

Source: In-depth interviews of clan heads, 1998.

The fact that emigrations are repeated by the same person to the same area of destination, even working for the same employer, indicates that migrant workers of the region have their own rules. In general, one wishes not to return before the main goal for moving to Sabah is achieved except returning for a short visit that usually takes a only few days. Migrant workers almost always work hard, have good attitudes and earn the trust of their employer so that they can be re-employed after returning home.

Migrant workers usually return home if the amount desired is fulfilled. They returned home for a given period and spend the money while staying with their families in the home village. Usually the bigger the amount taken home, the longer the period of stay in home village. However, migrant workers from Eastern Flores always have their own target while the target set does not really relate to a specific amount of money or a number of years working in Sabah but relates to a specific objective for migrating to Sabah. For example, a migrant worker who wants to sustain his household economy by having a *bemo* (minibus) as the main productive asset would work for an amount equal to the current price of a minibus. In addition, one who expects to educate two or more children in university would work in Sabah until his children graduated without considering how much was to be earned or how long he was to stay in Sabah.

When one returned home, the job left is usually will be occupied by a family member, clan member, close relative or friend so that he can organize a job for the returning migrant if he were to come back to work for the next period. This was also intended to save the job from being occupied by a stranger.

It is apparent from the above explanation that once emigration is commenced in the teenage years, migrant workers tend to repeat moving to work several times in

Sabah and some work up to an old age to achieve the main goal set for the emigration. This also suggests that emigration has been a tool for young people in Eastern Flores, especially males, to deal with their own efforts in preparing a house before marriage, taking responsibility for their new family costs, supplying their daily household consumption while saving for the future and educating their children.

5.2.2. Marital and Familial Status

Hugo points out that “migration was often the results of family based decisions concerning deployment of family labour resources” (1995b: 285). It is important to provide an analysis regarding who are the family members to be deployed overseas to work for the household economy in Eastern Flores. Both marital and familial statuses are to be assessed in this section.

The fact that most of migrant workers from Eastern Flores commence emigration to Sabah in their teenage years (table 5.1) indicates that they are children and still single. However, since emigration continues and involves the productive ages of migrant workers, their status changes. The present study asked return migrants to indicate their status when returning home while representative respondents of migrant households provided information on the current status of the recent migrants.

Table 5.5 shows that the majority of return migrants (69.4%) are married and this corresponds to the returning age pattern (table 5.3) with 80 per cent of those returning home being 30 years old and over or in marital ages. Returning mainly with a married status rather than still single has long been evident. Goma et al (1993) who did a case study in the early 1990s found in a village sample of the present study that 72.6 of per cent respondents of return migrants were married. Adi (1996:231) found in West Java

that returned OCWs with married status were 83 per cent but the majority of migrants still working overseas were also married.

Table 5.5. Marital Status of Return Migrants and Migrants Still Away

Status	Return Migrant		Migrant Still Away	
	F	%	F	%
Single	18	25.0	36	50.0
Married	50	69.4	34	47.2
Widow(er)	2	2.8	2	2.8
Divorced	2	2.8	-	-
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0

Source: primary data

Table 5.5 also shows that those who still work in Sabah are mainly single (50%) rather than married (47%) and widowed (2.8%). This is nearly the same as found by Mantra, et al (1999) in the same study area that were 53.4 % single and 46.6% married. In that study, they also found that emigrants leaving Lombok and Bawaen and still working overseas were mainly married rather than still single. The dominance of single migrants working overseas and of married workers returning home among Eastern Flores people may be a result of a tendency among teenagers to commence emigration earlier and return when they got married although many of them then repeat their emigrations at older ages. This study found only two divorced return migrants but none appeared in recent migrants. This suggests that social control is still effective in preventing marital break-ups. A further study with a larger sample will have proven this assumption.

Table 5.6 presents information on the family status of recent and return migrants in the study area. It shows that husbands are dominant among returnees (62.5%) while sons and daughters are the majority (58.3%) still working overseas. Among 68 husbands involved in this study, 66.2% had already returned home and 33.8% were still overseas. The majority (70%) of the children involved in the study still work in Sabah. Four single parents returned home while five persons were still overseas leaving their children with close family.

Table 5.6. Familial Status of Return Migrants and Migrants Still Away

Status	Return Migrant		Migrant Still Away		Total Migrants	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Husband	45	62.5	23	32.0	68	47.2
Wife	5	6.9	2	2.8	7	4.9
Child	18	25.0	42	58.3	60	41.7
Single Parent	4	5.6	5	6.9	9	6.2
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0	144	100.0

Source: Primary data

The involvement of a wife as 'a key migrant' (the person who is responsible to earn money overseas for the household economy) is very small. To compare figures from Java, Adi (1996) reports that of most female migrants, 53.2% were still away and 79.7% of those who returned home were married or of wife status. This reflects the dominant pattern in Java of female migration to Saudi Arabia and several Asian destinations to work as domestics. In eastern Flores, many wives do not wish to emigrate but permit husbands to work overseas while they take over all duties (see section 7.3.3) in the absence of their husbands. They mainly work at home with help

from young children and extended family members (Kapioru, 1995). Of those involved in emigration, some went with husbands but few wives moved alone.

Table 5.6 shows that five married female respondents had joined their husbands overseas and returned alone while their husbands remained in Sabah. Through in-depth interviews, it was found that about 20 wives from the village were still in Sabah joining their husbands as key migrants. Graham who conducted a field study in the same area comments that “women travelling from Flores to Sabah often set out to join menfolk (usually brothers or husbands) already settled there” (1997:4). An infrequent case found in East Adonara is that wives emigrate to work independently in Sabah while their husbands and children stay. They are included in table 5.5 as migrants still away with wife status. Such cases are rare in the society. The clan head disapproved of this and felt embarrassed by the clan members who allowed their wives to migrate alone (see section 6.4.2). However, he allowed that movement after being convinced that such wives were not migrating alone but were joining their brothers. Moreover, they are both the wives of primary school teachers who still live in conditions of poverty while their husbands have no chance to move to work overseas. Although it is rare, the movement of wives without husbands has changed the customs of the society.

5.2.3. Religion

The discussion here attempts to explain whether or not religion has characterized labour emigration from Eastern Flores to Sabah. An assumption here is that some migrant workers expect to work in a circumstance where a similar faith between themselves and employers or most associate workers would support their spiritual needs. Worship or prayer to God has been part of life and it is usually found to be an

enthusiastic practice in most traditional societies including the people of Flores. In the destination country emigrant workers wish to continue their regular prayer without disruption which may be done more frequently than usual in order to lessen any stress or feelings of trouble. A Javanese migrant worker, for example, had spent six years working successfully in Saudi Arabia with no religious problems. She then took another two years working on contract in Malaysia because its closeness would enable her to visit her husband and six children left at home. Although she got a better job and satisfactory income in the latter country, she worked there only for half the stipulated period and returned a year earlier because her employer often prevented her praying and this was a most disappointing experience (Mughtar, 1997: 59-61).

In order to prove the above assumption the data collected using questionnaires are not adequate because they identify emigrants only by their religion in which 79.2% are Catholics and 20.8% are Muslims, but there are no details about their religious practices and any problems. However, through in-depth interviews, the researcher collated the following experiences that may be significant.

- A Catholic father from Tanjung Bunga explained that his 21 years old daughter had previously tried to escape with her Islamic friends recruited by a PJTKI staff who intended to send them to work in a country other than Malaysia. However, she was then waylaid by family members and had been sent to join her brother working in Sabah. He said that they would be very angry if she was sent to work alone with Islamic people. Other respondents in Omesuri and East Solor agreed with such a principle.
- Among respondents of non migrant households, an Islamic boy (19 years) in Omesuri said that one of two strongest reasons which made him return from working illegally for 4.6 months in Singapore was religious harassment. He

reported that he was frequently treated badly for refusing to eat food that was not *halal* or pork contaminated and was not free to do *solat* (five times daily prayer). He strongly believed that if he had continued disobeying Islamic laws, he would experience more difficulties.

- Two return migrants from Ile Ape and one from East Adonara expressed their happiness at working for a Christian employer in Sabah. They explained that working for an employer who had a similar faith was very pleasant because the employer treated them like his family members. “He trusted us, motivated and admonished us with love”.

The information gained through in-depth interviews shows that religion has characterized the emigration choices in Eastern Flores. Indeed, Islamic emigrant workers are more likely to allow recruitment through PJTKI channels and accept to go to different areas of destination. Also the Muslims are often mobile moving from one employer to another as well as from one area of destination to another in order to avoid any unexpected problems they meet. In contrast, the Christians, inherently Catholic migrant workers who dominate labour migration out of Eastern Flores are more comfortable with moving through the maintained kinship networks to work in Sabah. Hugo notes that “almost all of the migrants from East Flores are Christian rather than Muslim ... Hence more than a third of Sabah’s population was Christian at the 1991 census compared to 8.1 per cent in the nation as a whole” (1998b: 76-7).

5.2.4. Education

Educational attainment is an important part of international labour migration selectivity. It is because education has special implications for economic and social development in both areas of origin and destination (Hugo, 1998b). Low education

and poor skills are sometimes viewed as an obstacle for economic improvement and emigrant workers with such attributes are often assumed to be making a very low economic contribution. On some occasions, poorly educated workers may have a limited opportunity to move to work overseas than those having a better education. White et al (1980) note that generally the more educated the person the higher the intention to emigrate. Nevertheless, explanations regarding labour emigration in the Asian region show that the massive flow of migrant workers especially those who move illegally to fill the '3D' jobs in a neighboring country are poor in education and skills (Firdausy 1998a; Kurus, 1998; Hugo, 1998c; Battistella, 1999; Archavanitkul et al, 1999). Hugo comments that "the bulk of migrant workers from East Flores have quite low levels of educational attainment and hence are predominantly unskilled workers in Sabah" (1998b: 49).

Table 5.7. The Educational Attainment of Return Migrants and Migrants Still Away

Education	Return Migrant		Migrant Still Away	
	Freq.	Per cent	Freq.	Per cent
Primary School or Lower	63	87.5	65	90.3
Junior High School	8	11.1	3	4.2
Senior High School	1	1.4	4	5.5
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0

Source: Primary data

Table 5.7 shows that the majority of respondents (87.5% of return migrants and 90.3% of recent migrants) had not gone beyond primary school. This educational level may be described as quite poor. Other researchers (Goma et al, 1993; Kapioru, 1995; Mantra et al, 1999) have also found that most migrant workers leaving Eastern Flores to work in Sabah were only primary school graduates.

The data presented in table 5.7 implies that after graduation from primary school most children are more likely to work overseas rather than continuing study. Once they have decided to continue study, they are more likely to finish senior high school rather than just junior high school. Indeed, a number of migrant workers with higher levels of education reveal that return migrants who have completed migration involved a large number of junior high school leavers while migrants still away involved a large number of senior high school graduates. There were 8 returnees who had graduated from junior high school with only three migrants still away while only 1 returnee of migrant worker had graduated from senior high school and four migrants were still away. Changes of the percentage between return migrants and recent migrants have indicated that primary school graduates rose from 87.5% to 90.3% while junior high school graduates fell from 11.1% to 4.2%. This assumption correlates to the data presented in Chapter three (Figure 3.7) that the percentage of junior high school is lower (7.4%) than that of senior high school (8.8%) in Eastern Flores.

Informal leaders explained that recently many primary school graduates refuse to continue study even if their parents are able to finance them. Children feel they are likely to make money in Sabah so that they can spend their own money on anything they want but if they continue at school, they would have limited money and pressure to do homework so they go to Sabah.

It is clear that the educational level in Eastern Flores is not only poor but also seems to foster further low levels of education since most children are more interested in making money rather than continuing study. This will weaken local human resources over the next decades.

5.2.5. Occupation and Income

The flow of labour migrants to work overseas is associated with a search to find better jobs and income. Better jobs usually require highly qualified workers who generally having a good education and skills. White et al (1980) argue that the white-collar jobs favor professional workers. Hugo, (1998b; 2000a), Battistella, (1999) and Archavanitkul et al, (1999) explain that the unskilled migrants are demanded to work in informal sectors pursuing what are usually classified as 3D collar-jobs with low payment. Local workers are generally unwilling to pursue such jobs.

It has been explained in section 5.2.4 that most of migrant workers from Eastern Flores are poor in education and skills so it is hard for them to obtain better jobs and earn higher incomes. However, it is not impossible for those who move and work in Sabah. It has been shown in Chapter Three (section 3.5.2) that such the low qualified migrant workers have made a very significant contribution to the economy of their home region, especially improvements in living and housing indicators as well as in savings per capita. Taking this into consideration, the following discussion aims to describe the conditions of both the occupation held and the average monthly income of migrant workers. Furthermore, it also identifies the extent to which migrant workers are able to achieve improvements in careers over the period of their emigration in Sabah.

Table 5.8 shows the occupations held prior to and during emigration. Before leaving to work in Sabah, each of migrant workers held an occupation over the last six months. Return migrants provided information on the occupation held prior to emigration as well as on the last job they had before coming back home. The family left behind reported the last occupation held before leaving and the current job being held by the migrant still working in Sabah. It is apparent that emigration resulted in a

change. 9 return migrants and 14 migrants still away ended their unemployed status and were holding jobs in Sabah. A number of new school leavers (18 persons) also left and made money overseas. Agriculture was the major industry that absorbed the majority of migrant workers prior to the emigration.

Table 5.8. The Main Occupation Held by Migrant Workers

Occupation	Return Migrant	Recent Migrant	Total
Six months prior to emigration			
- Unemployment	9	14	23
- Attending School	7	11	18
- Agriculture	46	41	87
- Household Duties	9	6	15
- Construction/Carpentry	1	-	1
	72	72	144
The last job while in emigration			
- Agriculture-plantation	28	35	63
- Forestry	12	16	28
- Factory	5	3	8
- Domestic	2	4	6
- Transportation-mechanic	16	11	27
- Entertaining	1	-	1
- Construction	8	3	11
	72	72	144

Source: Primary data

In Sabah, plantation is still the largest sector and employed 38.9% return migrants and 48.6% migrants still away. Hugo (1998b: 55) explains that this sector employed up to 68.5% of the documented Indonesian workers in Sabah. In addition, he also mentions a result of a village survey in eastern Flores. 54% of return migrants worked

in this sector (ibid.56). The second largest sector is transportation and mechanical services for return migrants and forestry for migrants still away. These two sectors are conversely the third largest occupations for the two groups of migrant workers. It seems that transportation and mechanical services are part of both plantation and forestry that operate in the rural areas. Six returned migrants indicated that they used to drive trucks transporting agricultural and forest goods. Another two respondents who have good mechanical skills explained that they obtained such skills when working in forestry areas as drivers and later as the operators of heavy machines. They often encountered machinery disorders that compelled them to try to solve the problems. They learned mainly from their seniors but when facing a serious problem, their *majikan* or boss helped them.

It is apparent that the forestry and plantation industries provide both unskilled and skilled work which attracts the majority of migrant workers. Migrants still away show a high concentration in these sectors with a few in urban employment such as construction and industry. They report that working in rural employment has the advantage of hiding from police controls for those migrant workers without documents or with incomplete documents as well as overstaying migrant workers. Moreover, new entrants are able to work with their seniors from eastern Flores and learn some useful skills such as driving, operating or repairing machinery, carpentry and grafting plants. After gaining skills and money or feeling more confident, some may decide to move to work in the urban area from where more various jobs are available. For example, Nimu, a 38 year old return migrant explains:

As soon as I graduated from junior high school, I went to Sabah at 16 to join my uncle who worked in forestry. I worked as a manual laborer together with more than 10 new migrants. I received a monthly income of RM 200 (US\$120). Three years later, I could drive and was able to split trunks into small and thin boards and received a higher income, so I left with another two relatives to work in Kota

Kinabalu. We worked in a timber factory but I spent only 15 months there. Later, I moved again to a Music Bar because I have talents for playing the guitar and singing. I developed my career there over 14 years and reached the position of RM 5,000 (US\$3000) monthly income. Finally I returned in early December 1994 and established D'NAME BAN, the first and only music bar in Maumere Adonara. My current income is very low but it is sufficient for our daily consumption and remains little amount for savings.

In spite of a large number of labour migrants still working in the plantation sector, table 5.8 shows a significant diversification of the job occupations they held in Sabah rather than in eastern Flores. Hugo explains that “the types of jobs which East Flores migrant workers have gone into in Sabah have become more diversified” (1998b: 57). More interesting is the fact that the jobs undertaken by migrant workers in Sabah do not only vary but also involve some highly skilled work. This indicates that the less educated migrant workers of Eastern Flores were able to undertake some jobs they had never experienced in their place of origin. This is very likely because some were able to develop their skills and fulfil the prior conditions of some jobs demanding highly skilled workers.

The way by which eastern Flores migrant workers were able to acquire better skills was to follow the adage, “learning by doing”. No respondents undertook any formal skills training before moving overseas which is compulsory for those who move through the official channels. However, once getting a job in Sabah, an emigrant develops his skills by learning from senior workers who teach him the skills they have. The extent to which migrant workers have improved their skills may not be seen only from their capabilities to pursue some skilled jobs in the destination country but may also be proven by the income rate they earn from such jobs. Indeed, the better the skill acquired the higher the rate of income they earn.

Tables 5.9 and 5.10 present information on the income earned by return migrants from the last jobs they held before returning home. By comparing data in the tables it is apparent that the income earned is more likely to correspond to the total years spent in emigration rather than to the level of education attained. This is because the education attained may not supply the skill demanded by such jobs. While working there for some years migrant workers are able to improve their skills through their work experience.

Table 5.9. Numbers of Return Migrants per Monthly Income Earned in Sabah and Their Educational Attainment

Monthly Income	PS ¹	JHS ²	SHS ³	Total	Per cent
Less than M\$ 400	12	1	-	13	18.1
M\$ 400 - 699	12	2	-	14	19.4
M\$ 700 – 999	15	2	-	17	23.6
M\$ 1,000 – 1,499	9	2	-	11	15.3
M\$ 1,500 – 2,499	9	-	1	10	13.9
M\$ 2,500 and over	6	1	-	7	9.7
Total	63	8	1	72	100.0

Note: 1) Primary School and lower; 2) Junior High School; 3) Senior High School
Source: Primary data.

The income levels shown in the tables are evenly divided among the six categories while the average monthly income earned (in Sabah) is much higher than the average level of income in Eastern Flores. The largest portion (23.6%) of return migrants earned M\$ 700 – 999 per month while the two lowest income levels or those who earned lower than M\$700 per month were also significant (37.5%). Hugo argues that “wages in Malaysia tend to be around M\$ 300-400 per month (around the average

annual income in NTT)... However especially in Sabah wages tend to be much higher reaching between M\$1,000 and M\$ 2,000...”(1998b, 87). It is clear that the average monthly income earned by return migrants was high in Sabah and was very high compared to the average income per capita in the home region. In 1996 when both the local economic growth and the exchange rates were not yet influenced by the monetary crisis, the annual income per capita in East Flores was Rp.547,628 (*Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998e*) or around US\$ 274. This means that the monthly income per capita that year was only US\$ 22.8 while those working in Sabah earned about M\$ 800 or US\$ 484 per month.

Table 5.10. Numbers of Return Migrants per Monthly Income and Total Years Spent For Working in Sabah

Monthly Income	Total Years Working in Sabah				Total	Per cent
	<5	5 - 12	13 -19	20 +		
Less than M\$ 400	9	4	-	-	13	18.1
M\$ 400 - 699	-	12	2	-	14	19.4
M\$ 700 - 999	-	2	15	-	17	23.6
M\$ 1,000 – 1,499	-	1	10	-	11	15.3
M\$ 1,500 – 2,499	-	-	2	8	10	13.9
M\$ 2,500 and over	-	-	1	6	7	9.7
Total	9	19	30	14	72	100.0

Source: Primary data

The highest income category (M\$ 2,500 and over) indicates the level of productivity that return migrants achieved in Sabah. Among those in this category,

one person got M\$ 4,000 and two got M\$ 5,000¹ per month including bonuses. Earning M\$ 5,000 (around US\$ 3,000 or Rp 6 million) per month is an extraordinary achievement three times higher than the regular monthly income (*pokok gaji*) of an Indonesian university professor² in 1995/96. However, it is important to raise a question: Are such high income levels rational? In other words, is it possible for the lowly educated migrant workers to earn such a high rate of income in Sabah?

Asis explains that “higher income is possible abroad even if one is not educated. I know of some who cannot read nor write, but they have money” (1995: 338). Gordon comments that “if an individual’s income is too low, his productivity is too low. His income can be increased only if his productivity can be raised. At least in the long run, the converse is also presumed to be true - that an individual whose productivity increases, *ceteris paribus*, will automatically increase his wages” (1972: 29). This means that a high rate of income is a function of returns to a given high productivity rate without considering the level of education attained. In the same source the author also explains that technically a higher rate of income may be earned by a lowly educated worker who has shown special ability. In turn, Hugo argues that “East Flores workers have gained a reputation for being diligent and hard working in Sabah” (1998b: 87). The local Manpower Office. (*Kanwil Depnaker NTT*, 1996) and Mantra et al (1999) also highlight this reputation. It is apparent that by maximizing their abilities to achieve a high productivity rate, the lowly educated migrant workers from

¹ The highest income level earned here, however, is still lower than the minimum income level to be considered for a foreign worker to apply for a permanent resident status in Malaysia. Gatra (19/3/02) notes that earning M\$7,000 per month for single immigrant worker or M\$10,000 for family can apply for permanent residential status in the country.

² The researcher had witnessed from the lists to be signed for monthly income in Nusa Cendana University, West Timor, revealed that a Professor earned no more than Rp. 2 million (US\$1,000) per month.

eastern Flores are able to optimize their income rates, their employers are also satisfied and a mutual symbiosis is established.

An example of a high rate of income being earned by a poorly educated migrant worker from Eastern Flores is the case of *pak* Petrus. He is 61 years old and returned in December 1995 after working for over 38 years in a timber processing factory in Sandakan. During his last 5 years in Sabah, he had earned up to M\$5,000 per month from his position as a key employee in that factory. Although educated to primary school level only, *pak* Petrus was able to operate and repair heavy machinery as well as other types of engines such as cars, generators, etc. He acquired these skills through work experience. Some of his jobs were manual laborer, truck driver, wood craftsman, toppling main trunks (*tukang tumbang*), lorry operator and machinery caretaker. Due to his superior machinery skills, his boss who is also a machine specialist rarely had to become involved in solving machinery problems. Petrus was also trusted to control over 40 *anak buah lapangan* (field workers) who were mainly Eastern Flores people. He returned home for three reasons (1) his son and nephew took up the job he had left, (2) His daughter and another son had completed their university degrees, (3) He was getting old.

5.3. Recruitment and Movement Processes

5.3.1. Recruitment Process: Migration Networks

Migration networks have played an important role in accelerating international labour migration throughout the world, especially in the Asian region (Massey et al, 1998; Shah, 1998a,b). These networks are defined as follows:

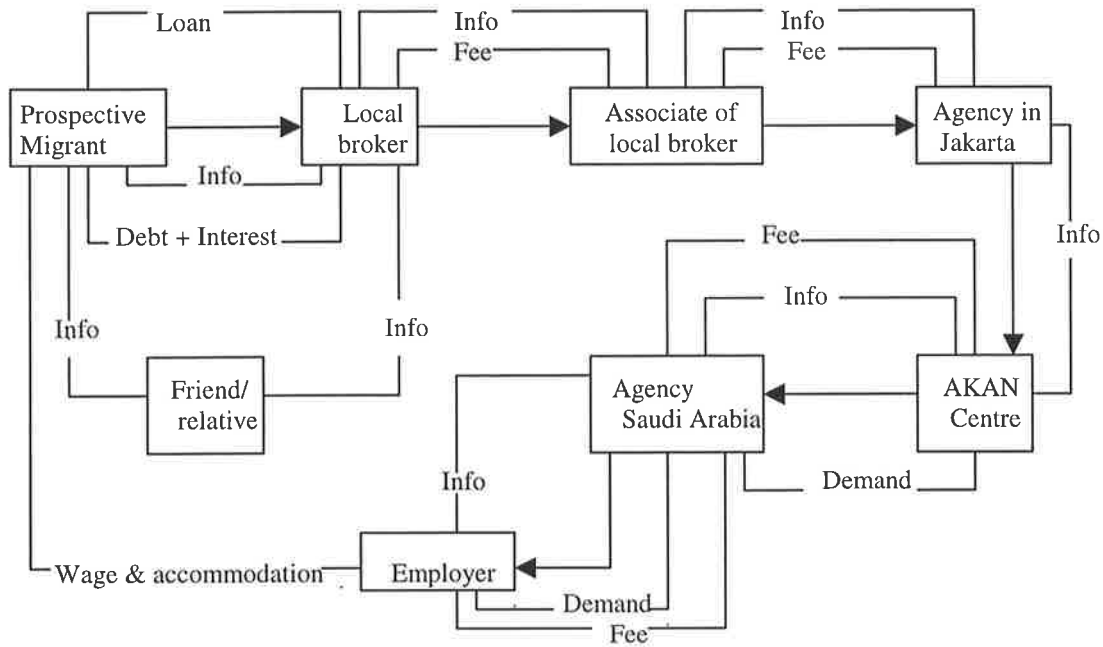
Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship,

friendship, and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. Network connections continue a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to various kinds of financial capital: foreign employment, high wages, and the possibility of accumulating savings and sending remittances (Massey et al, 1998:42-3).

In recent years, networks have been maintained elsewhere and employed to access substantial out movement of migrant workers from one country to another. For example, Shah (1998b) explains that a large number of migrant workers who move from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka are facilitated by relatives, friends and neighbors from the home country. She adds that previously the majority of migrant workers were organized through governmental channels or licensed recruitment agents but recently they have become too expensive and require complex requirements, while the jobs obtained are often worse than what the migrants were promised. Kinship networks also facilitate substantial out movement of Sri Lankans to work in Japan, Jordan, Lebanon and Italy (Gunatilleke, 1998), Filipinos in Italy (Nagasaka, 1998; Tacoli, 1999) and Indonesians in Malaysia (Hugo, 1995b; 1998b; Mantra et al, 1999).

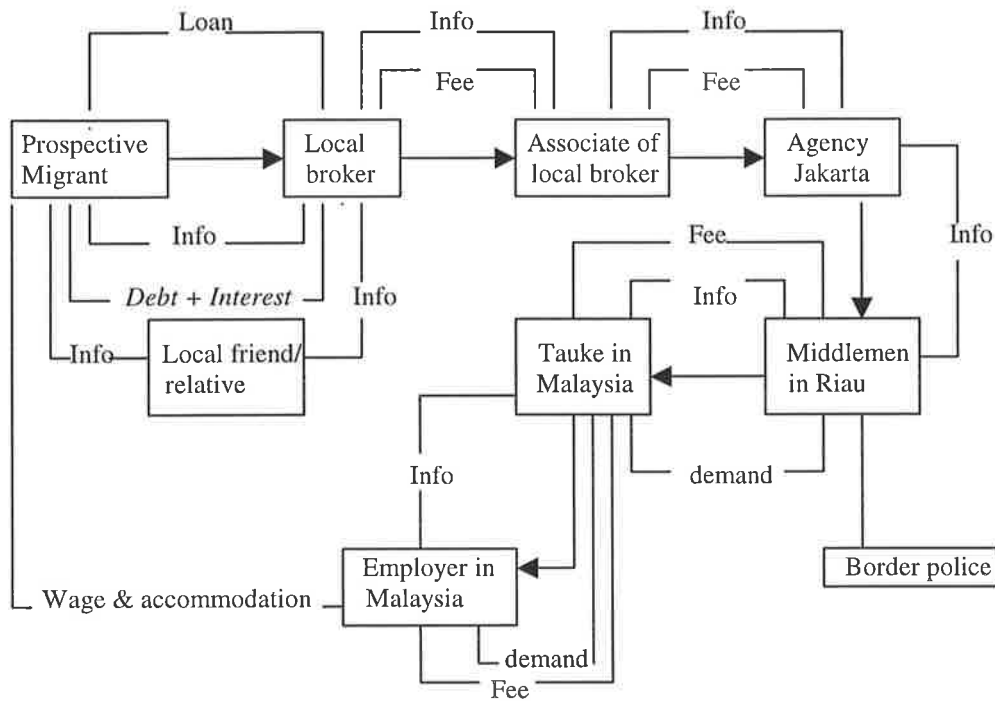
The growing importance of the kinship networks is a consequence of the fact that the services provided by institutional networks are disappointing. Spaan (1994; 1999) explains that professional brokers recruit migrant workers to send them to work overseas through institutional networks, channeled either officially or illegally. However, "the system whereby migrants are passed on from one middleman to another makes the process unfathomable and increases the chance of exploitations" (Spaan, 1994:109). Figure 5.2 shows an example of a brokerage network for processing labour migration from Indonesia to work in Saudi Arabia through the official channels. This network involves the Indonesian government represented by

Figure 5.2. Example of a brokerage network for official migrants to Saudi Arabia



Source: Spaan, 1999: 297

Figure 5.3. Example of Broker Network of Illegal Migrants to Malaysia



Source: Spaan, 1999: 297

the AKAN (overseas employment) center and also local brokers and agencies that are no different to the network maintained to process illegal migrants to work in Malaysia (figure 5.3). Both these institutional networks which involve professional brokers are to be distinguished from kinship networks. Kinship networks that involve relatives and friends in processing labour migration to work overseas often provide simple, trustworthy and satisfactory services. Gunatilleke (1998: 77) explains:

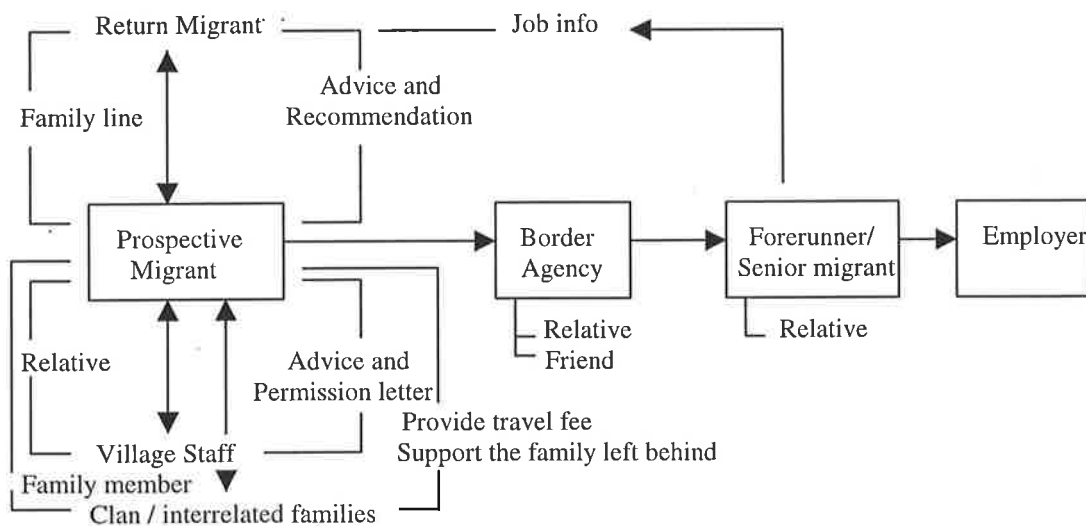
The network provides the migrant with information from those who have first hand knowledge of the households and the type of employer he or she would serve. In the network placement, the person in the host country is well acquainted with the employer concerned. Hence, the migrant is able to obtain better conditions, benefits and security. For example, Muriel was able to get better salary and other conditions than normal. Somalatha on the other hand, was able to return on vacation every two years and also secure better wages and better working conditions. She would not have returned to the same house if the work conditions were not so favorable.

Shah (1998b) also notes that on average those moving through the kinship networks were poorly educated but received higher incomes than those moving through licensed recruitment agents who were better educated but received lower incomes.

The bulk of labour migration out of Eastern Flores to work in Sabah is processed through kinship networks. Figure 5.4 illustrates the networks providing services to facilitate new emigrants who move from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah. The networks involve only four major steps. Firstly, the preparatory step includes dissemination of information regarding job opportunities as well as arrangements on how to get there. Information is given by return migrants to family members in and beyond the clan or to other neighboring ethnic groups through the family lines. An emigration almost always gets support from relatives and friends. Traveling from the home region to Sabah is usually undertaken in a team involving new entrants and those who repeat emigration. A re-emigrant usually guides the travel and makes it easier and cheaper. Secondly, the border transaction is made between migrants and

their relatives or friends to process legal entry documentation or to pass through an illegal way. Re-emigrants who have better skills from previous work experience often possess working visas but new emigrants often possess only a visiting passport but then overstay and work illegally in Sabah. Thirdly, in the area of destination migrant workers meet their 'forerunners' (senior migrants). They usually have better skills and job positions and are trusted by their employers. Finally these 'forerunners' introduce the newcomers to their employers to be employed.

Figure 5.4. Illustration of the Kinship Network Facilitating New Emigrant from Eastern Flores to Work in Sabah Malaysia



Source: In-depth interviews, 1998

By applying kinship networks, migrant workers from Eastern Flores provide help for new entrants not just only to get secure entry, accommodation and jobs in Sabah but they expect to multiply their benefits from working overseas. Two most important expectations emerge. Firstly, the preservation of their job opportunities in Sabah for generations. They usually recruit their relatives and introduce them to their employer, work with them and provide them with training in skills and all these are intended to

prepare their relatives to continue occupying the jobs to be left by those who intend to return home. Before returning home, a senior migrant worker has to place one or few subsidiary worker(s) from his relatives to fill the same job/position left and this process is repeatedly enacted. This strategy enables them to strengthen their job opportunities for decades or generations although the working period of every migrant is on a temporary basis. In part of this strategy, senior migrants who have legal documents for working in Sabah always almost protect their relatives who work illegally in the same workplace. For example, those who work as drivers and/or security guards have a role as spies and would inform and/or help their relatives to escape from being arrested by the police.

Secondly, it is to achieve better success during the period of working in Sabah. Recruiting relatives and work with them in the same workplace enable migrant workers from Eastern Flores to apply their mutual beneficial cooperative habit and help one another to maximize their income. Indeed, new entrants work with their seniors and learn new skills by which they will be able to improve both their careers and income levels. Conversely, senior workers have the chance to attain a higher position in career (with income improvement) and/or to get bonuses if they are considered to be able to manage their subordinates who are mainly their relatives to achieve a high production rate for the company they are working for. Based on the information gained from in-depth interviews, there are six levels of career hierarchy to get through to achieve the highest position and income level:

- **Coolie**: newly entrants who have no skills. They usually earn less than M\$400 per month. They work as subordinates of senior migrants.
- **Tander**: those who have a little improvement in skills

- **Mandor**: those who have a little improvement in both working and managerial skills and are responsible for the control of some subordinate workers
- **Keranik**: those who have advanced levels in skills to work and control subordinate workers. They earn about M\$800 – 1500 per month in this position
- **Superwese**: (supervisor) those who possess expertise in a special job and master a few related skills. They control many subordinate workers and earn higher incomes
- **Foreman**: the most trusted worker with expertise in a special job and has mastered a few related skills and manages subordinates. The monthly income plus bonuses is up to M\$5,000.

By practicing these mutual cooperative habits, migrant workers from eastern Flores are able to attain high positions, earn high income rates and trust from their employer, and hence, have the chance to recruit more relatives. Three respondents indicated that they were able to become foremen in their last working period in Sabah. This is because they have high skill levels, good attitudes and working performance, successfully manage their subordinates, inspiring them to be diligent and hard working to satisfy their employers. To attain the highest position, migrant workers had to be working consistently for about 20 years without a long-term intermission or having no more than 30 days off. During this period wives often stayed with them or circulated more frequently to visit husbands in the workplace and support their careers. By occupying the highest position level (also *keranik* and *superwese*), migrant workers have substantial opportunities to recruit more relatives from the home area. They are usually trusted to take new migrant workers into the company they are working for. They are also active in sending information back home for any vacant positions. For this reason, Hugo (1995b: 289) comments:

Frequently a patron-client, mutual dependence relationship develops between an employer and a family or group of families from a particular origin. This relationship not only guarantees potential migrants employment but also assures the employer of a regular and trusted supply of labour. Employers and middlemen are therefore drawn into the family based networks.

In addition, Tacoli also argues that “ethnic stereotypes thus appear to play a crucial role in employer’s preferences” (1999: 667).

5.3.2. Middlemen

The term middlemen is used in a similar meaning with *calos*, *taikongs*, employment brokers or intermediaries referring to those who play roles or are involved in various stages in the migration process. Hugo notes that “they include the recruiters, money lenders, travel providers, agents of various kinds, lawyers, government official etc... The services which they provide are varied – from supplying forged documents to travel, obtaining a job for migrant at the destination, loaning money for the journey, facilitating the return of remittances etc” (1998c: 88-9). The extent to which numbers of intermediaries or types of services are required for providing support throughout the migration process depends on type of the network they must go through. Hence, the discussion here aims to identify those who are usually involved in facilitating migrant workers from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah.

There are two main categories of intermediaries operating in the region of eastern Flores. The first recruits prospective migrants to go through institutional or professional channels. The services given consist of disseminating information, persuading prospective migrants and promising higher income rates and better services if migrant workers go through the migration channels they work for. The target group they usually approach is single, young females in the Muslim villages

and those who have already been convinced are advised to find friends or relatives to work overseas through this migration channel. Those acting as recruiters are usually local people or what Spaan (1994; 1999) has termed 'local brokers'. They work for, and on behalf of, an authorized PJTKI³ in Java of which six are registered to operate in Eastern Flores (appendix C). It is unfortunate that recruitment through this channel often encounters low sympathy from most prospective migrants in the region. For example, Bandiono (1997: 6) explains that between 1994 and 1996 the PJTKIs operating in Eastern Flores sent only 368 migrant workers (males and females) overseas and this number is very low compared to those moving through other channels. This is because this movement is processed through via complex procedures (figure 5.2-3) which enable exploitation and produces uncertainties. Moreover, the local brokers are often deceitful. For example, it is reported that some young females escaped without their parents' permission (*Pos Kupang*, 30/10/1997b), by manipulating their documents (*Pos Kupang* 2/11/2000) and the services given are often furnished with many deceptions (*Kompas*, 15/10/1997).

The second type of middlemen in Eastern Flores have been identified and presented in table 5.11. They are involved in processing labour migration through kinship networks. Temporary and permanent return migrants are of the key actors in disseminating information regarding job opportunities in Sabah. The way they usually spread information differs from the usual practice of recruiters for institutional networks. Return migrants do not go from village to village to find and persuade people to go overseas as is often done by professional brokers. Return migrants usually inform close family members of employment in Sabah from whom the information then rolls on automatically following family lines (blood and/or marriage)

³ Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (The agency for supplying overseas labour workers)

Table 5.11. Middlemen, Their Major Roles in Assisting New Emigrants from Eastern Flores to Work in Sabah and Numbers of Interviewees

Middleman	Major Roles	Number of Interviewees
<i>In the Home Region</i>		
Clan head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivates and gives permission for emigration - Gives advice to emigrant and the family left home - Provides financial support for prospective migrant and takes care for the family left behind 	16
Permanent returnee, ⁴ (representative of close relative)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disseminates information regarding overseas job - Provides fees and makes emigration arrangements - Gives advice and recommends migrant to see a relative or friend in the border region as well as in Sabah - Takes care and supports the family left behind 	24
Temporary returnee, ⁵ (representative of close relative and friend)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disseminates information regarding overseas job - Provides fees and makes emigration arrangements - Leads the travelling of new emigrants into Sabah 	-
Religious leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gives advice to emigrant and the family left home 	6
Village/community leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gives advice to emigrant and the family left home - Provides travel permission letters 	13
Traditional boatman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transports migrants when it is demanded 	1
		60
<i>In the Border Region</i>		
Relative who settles permanently in the region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accommodates and arranges further travel - Resolves hard problem of migrant workers - Processes entry documents 	-
Re-emigrant who is travelling together	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Processes entry documents - guides the travel through cheaper and secure points 	-
Immigration staff (usually close friend)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Processes entry documents 	-
<i>In the Destination</i>		
Senior migrant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accommodates and finds job for newly arrival - Gives advice and trains skills for new migrant - Sends information back home 	-

Source: In-depth interviews, 1998

⁴ He usually recommends prospective migrants to see and becoming subordinates of his most trusted worker(s) in Sabah. A worker with obedient subordinates often earns trust from his employer.

⁵ In repeating their emigration, temporary returnees almost always travel together with new emigrants for their convenience during the en-route stage (Mantra et al, 1999). However, no one of them was involved in the sample taken for middlemen because they were interviewed as return migrants.

as far as possible. Once a person has decided to go, he/she usually contacts the informer (return migrant) for further arrangements, what should be prepared, how much money to bring, with whom he will go etc. Indeed, return migrants do not seek payment from prospective migrants because they are relatives while recruiters for the professional channel usually charge a certain amount for their services. Hence, moving through the kinship network is more common in the region as Raharto et al (1999: 48) report that not one of the 169 respondents interviewed the village Bantala, East Flores went to Sabah through the institutional channels.

The middleman in the border area is mainly a relative or close friend. The head⁶⁾ of Ile Boleng sub-district (*camat pembantu*) explained that some people of Eastern Flores who have permanently settled in Nunukan and Tawau often helped migrant workers pass the boundary without many obstacles. For the help given they receive payment but it is very cheap. About four of them in Tawau are known as *taikongs*. They usually pick migrants up from the border area and deliver them to the locations where jobs are available. They have a lot of connections and provide special help to see that people arrive securely in the destination. Alternatively, three return migrants indicated that in the most recent years, the majority of migrant workers did not rely much on the help of the Eastern Flores people in the border area. They could be the exceptional few but emigrants who need help are in the majority. They ask for help if faced with severe difficulties. In order not to waste time if the 'helpers' are not available in the border area, they have built close friendships with a few immigration staff whom often process travel documents as soon as possible. Indeed, Spaan (1994;

⁶ The informant had spent 40 days in early 1998 visiting his young brother who work in a Japanese Tire Company in Kinabalu Sabah. He used that time to visit so many places as he was welcomed very much (as relative as well as a governmental staff) to spent a day in each place he visited to have fun with migrant workers. Hence, he knows much about the sorrow and happiness of migrant workers in Sabah.

1999) notes that some governmental staff in Indonesia often play important roles to facilitate migrant workers through illegal channels.

The middlemen in the area of destination are senior migrants who usually play the role of intermediary between new migrants and their employers. Demand for additional manual workers are often requested through senior workers who have a remarkable reputation. Senior workers from Eastern Flores often have gained positive reputations and are trusted by their employer to recruit their relatives and work with them as subordinates.

Table 5.12 provides information about the services given over the last year by the middlemen who have been identified in the last table. It is clear that the main motives for assisting migrant workers and/or the families left behind are to help their relatives and/or to accomplish their leadership duties but none of the respondents acknowledged that their involvement in the migration process is primarily to seek income.

The data shown in the table reveal that there were only a few respondents who expected to receive money for the services they provided. Seven respondents (11.7%) received money in the form of interest fees for the amount loaned from the clan treasury. Three persons (5%) who are known as job referrers often received some amounts or incentives for their services. They are permanent return migrants who had attained good job positions in Sabah and often sent new migrants by referring them to see a trusted person in that area of destination for further help. Those who come from families usually give an amount (incentive) to the referrer in order to symbolize their closeness and thankfulness for the given job referral. A well-known job referrer says

Table 5.12. Middlemen: The Service given Over the Last Year

Indicator	Number	Percentage
<i>The most significant type of the service given:</i>		
- Financial support	11	18.3
- Family care	27	45.0
- Encouragement, advice, job referral	15	25.0
- Administration and transportation support	7	11.7
<i>Number of persons/families served:</i>		
- Less than 10	9	15.0
- 10 to 19	29	48.3
- 20 and over	22	36.7
<i>The main motive for the service given:</i>		
- Helping relatives	43	71.7
- Accomplishing leadership duty	17	28.3
<i>Reward received:</i>		
- No reward received for the service given	19	31.7
- Helping to be helped when it is required	31	51.6
- Receiving interest for the service given	7	11.7
- Receiving incentive for the service given	3	5.0
Total sample	60	100.0

Source: Field data, 1998.

that he is often given an amount of Rp.25.000 or Rp.50.000 (US\$3.6 or US\$7.1) and this incentive is traditionally seen as '*uang rokok buat orangtua*' (a cigarette fee for parenthood). The amount given in this context, however, totally depends on the willingness of prospective migrant of how much he may value a job referral. This definitely differs from what is common in the professional recruitment system where a middleman often demands high fees for his service (Battistella, 1999; Spaan, 1999).

There are two reasons why a job referrer in Eastern Flores wishes not to charge a certain amount to be paid by prospective migrants for the help he has given. Firstly, it is because they are relatives, and secondly, the prospective migrant referred would become subordinate and support the proxy migrant worker of the job referrer in the area of destination.

When asking what type of reward was received for the services they had given to prospective migrants or their families over the last year, the majority of respondents (51.6%) indicated that they help relatives so that they will be helped when it is required. It is commonplace in the society that an emigrant who got help from relatives is responsible to reciprocate by providing help for family members of the relative who had assisted him in his migration process. Through this cultural practice, the society enables its families to tighten their ties and activate their mutual cooperation to grow together in the development of the household economy.

5.3.3. The Movement Process

Hugo comments that “illegal entry to Malaysia from neighboring Indonesia is neither difficult nor excessively expensive” (1998b: 5). The main reason often has been attributed to geographical and cultural closeness, particularly similarity in language (Ibid.5). However, the movement process is well organized by migrants and this makes their journey easier and cheaper. For example, Mantra et al (1999: 41) explain that migrant workers of eastern Flores and Bawean, East Java usually travel together in a group including new movers and those repeating emigration. They add that re-emigrants know exactly which points to go through to evade official controls and to lessen the costs of moving. By travelling together, they are able to lessen the costs of hiring a chartered vehicle from the home village to get to the nearest transit port for

the public ship going to the border region as well as from the state border to the area of destination. On the other hand, new emigrants usually have no difficulties on their first journey of moving to work in Sabah.

Table 5.13. Moving Costs Taken on the Last Emigration of Eastern Flores to Sabah

Indicator	Return Migrant	Recent Migrant	Total	
			Freq.	%
<i>The amount taken (Rp.000)</i>				
- Lower than Rp.700	34	27	61	43.4
- Rp.700 - 999	38	33	71	49.3
- Rp.1000 or over	-	12	12	8.3
<i>The source of money</i>				
- Own pocket/core family	29	11	40	27.8
- Personal family	9	22	31	21.5
- Treasury of the clan	34	39	73	50.7
Total sample	72	72	144	100.0

Source: filed data, 1998

The costs of movement have been presented in table 5.13. The amount that return migrants paid for the last emigration costs was lower than a million *rupiah* (US\$500: \$1=Rp2000) before the crisis but some of recent migrants (8.3%) who moved in the early crisis period paid as high as or over a million *rupiah*. The movement costs have changed due to the economic crisis and it reveals that moving before the crisis was cheaper in Indonesian currency but more expensive in the US dollar. Conversely, moving in the early time of crisis was cheaper in the US dollar rather than in Indonesian currency. Indeed, the largest amount taken by recent migrants in the early crisis was only US\$145 or Rp1.300.000 (\$1=Rp9000) compared to US\$500 (Rp.

1million) before the crisis. Some major expenses of the migration costs was calculated by a return migrant for an individual movement in 1998 as follows:

- Permission letter from the head of home village Rp10,000
- Transportation fees (home village to destination) Rp340,000
- Border's administration (processing documents) up to Rp700,000
- Accommodation and others about Rp250,000.

He also informed that the amount that emigrants brought on their traveling to Sabah was calculated at a maximum cost so that they could expect not to run out of money before getting a job in the destination.

As the process of recruitment of prospective migrants operates through the family, the family is almost the only money provider to finance family members who move to work overseas. Very few borrow money from a stranger or bank and as they have to pay a high interest. The family members who often provide migration fees are mainly return migrants who support their close relatives in going overseas. The money loans are usually repaid in kind and it entails no interest. The clan has always been the money provider for its members who need help. Money loaned from the clan treasury entails interest. Although a standard rate (100%) has been regulated for the loan given, the clan head sometimes allows a repayment that ranges from 50 to 150 per cent. It depends on the condition of the person who used the money, whether or not he is a clan member or his job position in Sabah.

Table 5.14 presents the information given by return migrants regarding their first experience of moving to work in Sabah. It is surprising that the large majority of respondents (88.9%) indicated that they held passports when crossing the national boundary and this is contradictory to a common understanding of the fact that the bulk of the movement between the two regions is illegal. In addition, through a village

survey pursued in the home region, Hugo (1998b: 53) notes that 84 out of 125 respondents (67.2%) had passports while working in Sabah and again legal migrant workers were dominant. The information gained from in-depth interviews may give a clearer picture in regard to this seeming contradiction.

Table 5.14. Return Migrants: The First Experience of Moving to Work in Sabah

Indicator	Number	Percentage
<i>Passport held on the first entry</i>		
- Holding passport	64	88.9
- No passport	3	4.2
- Don't know	5	6.9
<i>Number of migrants travelling together</i>		
- Less than 5 persons	2	2.8
- 5 to 9 persons	31	43.0
- 10 persons and over	39	54.2
<i>Total years spent on the first entry</i>		
- Less than 5 years	13	18.1
- 5 to 9 years	32	44.4
- 10 years and over	27	37.5
Total sample	72	100.0

Source: Field data, 1998

The information given by a key informant and six return migrants involved in in-depth interviews reveals that three types of passports are offered by the immigration staff in Nunukan, the border area between both Indonesia and Malaysia. They are:

- *Passport lawatan* (visiting passport) with a month's visa. Holding this passport needs extension if staying longer and does not permit the holder to undertake jobs.

- *Passport kerja* (working passport) with a visa for working purposes. It gives two or five years and needs extension if working longer.
- *Passport lintas batas* (border pass) granted a day trip around the border area.

In fact most migrant workers from Eastern Flores only hold visiting passports but then work for years in Sabah. They use this type of passport because it is easier and cheaper to purchase. Migrant workers often process working passports after having skills and money from working illegally for several years. By having working passports, they can get better jobs or to move to work in urban areas. For example, Antonius (30 years) who had enough experience, skills and money after working 4 years in Sabah using a visiting passport then purchased a 5 year working passport from Nunukan and moved to work 5 years in Jatiluhur (in West Malaysia) at a higher income rate. Later he came back and worked for another 5 years in Sabah without extending his working passport. Hence, those who hold working passport almost always overstay and undertake their jobs illegally.

Working illegally in Sabah is not so problematical for migrant workers of Eastern Flores. It is because relatives and employers often aid in preventing deportation and guarantee those who have illegal status to remain and work in Sabah. This is evidenced by the case of Domi (27 years old) who was arrested but then set free without any penalties as soon as his employer called and explained to the police that Domi bin John was his employee. Daniel, a 24 years old recent migrant wrote to his parents as follow:

On 16 May 1998 a friend from South Sulawesi and I went for a weekend to the city where I was accidentally arrested by a policeman because I had no passport. I was taken to cell at the police office only for a day but it was extremely stressful and felt like a year in prison. During the day in the cell, I used only underpants and was thrown a bunch of amaranth root to eat like a pig. I'd been told that I would be taken 4 or 5 days later to the deportation camp to be sent back home if I didn't pay the levy. Fortunately my friend told our employer that I was arrested. He called the

police officers and told them that I was his employee. I then was set free only a few minutes after the call but I didn't pay anything.

Yosep has a different story. He was arrested and got what is termed '*cok merah*' or a 'red spot' and had to leave the region. However, he was helped by a permanent resident originating from Eastern Flores who manipulated his original name 'Yosep' into 'Yakob bin Nadab' on a new identity card. With this new name he worked for another seven years in same factory. This has shown that there are operational syndicates that sustain illegal migration in Sabah.

Three return migrants said that passing the state boundary and working in Sabah before 1990s with no passport caused no fear at all. When they tightened control in the early 1990s, migrants used to charter a '*smokol*' (speedboat) to escape from official control. In recent years, manipulating identity cards have become common. The information gathered from in-depth interviews indicated that many migrant workers from Eastern Flores hold at least two different valid identity cards. They produced forged identity cards that have names similar to Malaysians such as Yacob bin Nadab, John bin Peter, etc. However, the informants said that they did not know who was involved in producing such cards and where their relatives had organized them. This indicates that an attempt to control illegal movement is always followed by a new strategy to defeat the control.

The bulk of migrant workers of Eastern Flores in Sabah are illegal, but the attempt to identify them sometimes is very difficult. Spaan (1994: 104) explains that shady syndicates operate in various ways such as manipulating identity cards and organizing the theft of passports, using stolen papers, etc. Indeed, organizing working passports in Nunukan may be a part of such shady syndicates. Migrant workers may hold valid

documents but they could be illegal. The following are three conditions that tend to provide biased information regarding illegal movement from Eastern Flores to Sabah.

Firstly, some migrants have poor knowledge regarding the form of passport that allow migrants to undertake jobs overseas. Thomas, a return migrant said that the permission letter he obtained from the head of his village was his passport to work in Sabah. It has been long regulated in Eastern Flores that migrant workers have to pay the village administration fees⁷ on leaving and returning while migrant workers are given a permission letter to work overseas. A permission letter with legal stamp is considered as a legal '*pass*' (passport) to work in Sabah.

Secondly, the tendency to travel in a group of migrant workers (table 5.13) often results in an impression that the movement pursued is legal. It is usual that the one who leads the team organizes working passports for a few re-emigrants and a visiting passport for each of the rest. Those who hold the last type of passport or those given just a border pass believe that they have a legal passport to work overseas same as their teammates. Meanwhile, the staff who help process the entry documents often collaborate to slip off illegal entrants by receiving bribes from the team.

Thirdly, some migrant workers tend to manipulate their responses to any questions asked about the legality status of the movement pursued to work overseas because they are so anxious that such the investigation would result in tightening controls and limit the opportunity to work in Sabah (see section 4.3.4). According to three in-depth interviews, manipulating responses is the same as manipulating identity cards and is used along with other tricks to defeat tightened controls that often follow investigations .

⁷ In Ile Ape, for example, every migrant worker has to pay Rp.10.000 on departure and Rp.15.000 on returning home. This payment is compulsory to support the village development programs.

The last element to be explained here is the pattern of working or the length of stay in Sabah. It has been shown in table 5.14 that the majority of respondents (44.4%) returned home after working 5 to 9 years in their first emigration in Sabah. Some 37.5 per cent worked 10 to 14 years and only 18.1 per cent spent less than 5 years. Indeed, returning home is considered to be a stay of time no longer than three months. The period of working overseas excludes short returns of less than three months. Most in-depth interviewees explained that a short return is often permits no more than 30 days if they wish not to lose the job position they left. If one spent longer than 30 days but less than three months he would be re-employed in the same workplace but in a different job and wage level. If one goes back to work in Sabah after spending more than three months returning home, he should apply to get a job in the same workplace he has left but a senior worker who has good reputation in a workplace is often re-employed without new application. Migrant workers from Eastern Flores undertake a short visit to the home village just for special necessary needs (e.g. party, celebration, sickness or death). They are likely to persist in working without intermission so that they can earn trust and get higher job positions and bonuses. The length of time they have spent for the first entry to work in Sabah indicates three factors. First, they feel secure and satisfied from working in the area of destination. Second, they might wish to bring more money back home from the first trial in Sabah. And last, they intend to spend a longer time working overseas while they are still single. However, recently the total time spent working in Malaysia may significantly change as the prolonged crisis and increased migration from Indonesia results in tightening controls and enforced repatriations (*Kompas*, 12/4/02).

5.4. Conclusion

The chapter has focused on two questions: who are the migrant workers moving from East Flores to work in Sabah, and why do they persist in moving to the same destination? The information collected reveals that emigrants are dominantly males but females are also present in significant numbers. In addition, the bulk of migrant workers are poorly educated and have no skills so that theoretically they should have very few opportunities to get better jobs and payments. However, they are able to improve their careers and income through the following ways. They usually commence emigration in their teenage years, go in pairs (husband-wife, father-son, brother-sister etc) and work in peer groups to help each other, spend a longer time to get more benefits in the destination, are diligent and hardworking, learn new skills and improve relations with employers. They repeat the emigration several times up to their 60s in order to make systematic regular improvements in their household economies.

The bulk of migrant workers are usually recruited through kinship networks. Those who have roles as middlemen are return migrants in the home region, senior migrants in the area of destination and close relatives and/or immigration staff in the area of the boundary. Spaan argues that “those networks of close relations are instrumental in providing the migration process a momentum of its own and contributing to the sustainment of the system. It advances chain migration...”(1999: 301). Most migrants cross the international boundary legally but they undertake jobs illegally in the area of destination. It seems that syndicates have helped them defeat official controls. Moreover, moving to work in Sabah seems not only easy and cheap

but also secure and satisfying. For such reasons, migrant workers from Eastern Flores persist in emigrating to work in that particular area of destination.

Chapter Six

CAUSES OF LABOUR EMIGRATION

6.1. Introduction

The outflow of labour from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah is a result of several complex influences. Both economic and non-economic variables shape out movement from the home region and attract immigration into the area of destination. It is apparent that economic pressure in the home region is the chief reason encouraging the large out migration of workers from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah. Tisdell et al (2000) comment that the decision to move among the rural poor is more likely to be influenced by push factors while pull factors seem to be more important for potential migrants from the rural rich. This suggests that if migrant workers are not strongly expelled by local economic conditions, emigration may not occur in a large number, or it did the outflow would go into several wealthier destinations over time. Hence, this chapter aims to assess the extent to which economic problems have influenced the Eastern Flores to Sabah movement. It is important to identify the reasons as to why some people move and others stay in the home village and why Sabah has been chosen as the most attractive place of destination.

6.2. Local constraints to labour emigration

6.2.1. Land use and income sources

Agriculture is the mainstay of the household economy for most Eastern Flores families. In 1997, the provincial government (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998e) identified 78.8 per cent of households in Eastern Flores as being involved in agriculture. The percentage of agricultural households was a bit lower in NTT as a whole (77.8%) in the same year and far lower in Indonesia as a whole (52.8%) in 1995 (*SUPAS*, 1995).

Table 6.1. NTT: Number of Villages by Main Sources of Household Income 1997

Regency	Agriculture		Industry	Trade/ Services	Total Villages	% of Agri. Villages
	Food Crops	Other crops				
West Sumba	118	1	3	3	125	95.2
East Sumba	95	2	-	3	100	97.0
Kupang	227	14	6	28	275	87.6
TTS	165	1	-	4	170	97.6
TTU	106	6	-	3	115	97.4
Belu	77	-	2	3	82	93.9
Alor	50	3	-	5	58	89.8
Eastern Flores	191	31	4	7	233	95.3
Sikka	74	14	-	2	90	97.8
Eende	82	14	1	6	103	93.2
Ngada	117	15	-	5	137	96.4
Manggarai	222	29	-	6	255	98.4
NTT	1524	77	16	75	1743	91.8

Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998e

Table 6.1 shows that in 1997, 95.3 per cent of the villages in Eastern Flores relied on agriculture as the main source of household income and this percentage is a bit

higher than in NTT as a whole (94.8%). The table also shows that food crops appear to be the most important household income source (86%) in Eastern Flores and this indicates high demand for land for farming. Fik explains that such an agricultural system “is a practice characterized by a predictable and destructive production circle in which land is first cleared, crops are planted and harvested seasonally, and the land is abandoned once parcels cease to be productive in terms of yield” (2000: 190).

Table 6.2. NTT: Percentage of Land Uses per Regency in 1997

Regency	Settlement	Cropped Land	Fallow land ^{*)}
West Sumba	3.6	42.8	53.6
East Sumba	2.1	36.2	61.7
Kupang	4.2	25.0	70.8
TTS	4.7	35.2	60.1
TTU	2.7	41.2	56.1
Belu	3.4	29.6	67.0
Alor	3.1	19.9	77.0
Eastern Flores	1.7	24.9	73.4
Sikka	2.8	37.6	59.6
Eende	3.6	28.9	67.5
Ngada	1.8	16.7	81.5
Manggarai	2.8	16.9	80.3
NTT	3.1	28.8	68.1

Note: *) includes forest, conservation area, volcano, swamp and dry land

Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998a

The agricultural system practiced in Eastern Flores demands a large area but the arable land for farming is limited. Table 6.2 shows that the percentage of land cropped in 1997 in the region was lower (24.9%) than in NTT as a whole (28.8%) and this may

be affected by the local geographical condition, surrounded by twelve volcanoes and steeply sloping mountains (see chapter three).

Table 6.3. NTT: Average Production (q/ha) of Selected Main Food Crops, 1997

Regency	Paddy	Maize	Cassava	Peanut
West Sumba	25.7	22.4	91.0	9.6
East Sumba	23.9	21.4	90.0	9.3
Kupang	29.9	22.5	83.0	9.7
TTS	26.8	21.5	83.0	10.1
TTU	25.3	29.7	89.0	12.7
Belu	23.3	21.6	78.0	9.5
Alor	18.7	23.2	110.0	9.6
Eastern Flores	19.8	20.4	78.0	8.0
Sikka	19.4	20.2	118.0	7.6
Eende	23.4	19.0	96.0	9.4
Ngada	27.4	19.1	102.0	8.4
Manggarai	30.9	21.3	96.0	9.4
NTT	26.4	21.8	91.0	9.3

Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998e

A further consequence of the fact that there are a large number of farmers but smaller amounts of farming land in Eastern Flores than in the province as a whole results in low production in the agricultural sector. Table 6.3 shows that in 1997 the average production (measured in quintal per hectare output) of all the selected main food crops in Eastern Flores was lower than in NTT as a whole. The information collected in the present case study (table 6.4) reveals that the majority (72.1%) of respondents interviewed report that over the last two years the food they produced from the land they cultivated was insufficient to meet their annual consumption needs.

Since food crops are the main source of household income of the large majority of peasant households in the region and production is low, the pressure to find better jobs and higher income by moving to work in Sabah is understandable.

Table 6.4. Eastern Flores: Sufficiency Level of the Food Produced from the Land Cultivated over the Last Two Years

Level of sufficiency	Return Migrant	Recent Migrant	Non-Migrant	Total	
				No	%
Insufficient	48	57	42	147	72.1
Sufficient	20	13	15	48	23.5
Surplus*	4	2	3	9	4.4
Total sample	72	72	60	204	100.0

Note: * Food surplus is mainly supplied by tree crops.

Source: Field data, 1998

Furthermore, table 6.5 provides information that the land cultivated in 1997 for farming food crops, tree crops and livestock was only 1.7ha per peasant household in Eastern Flores and 2.5ha in the province as a whole. The limited size of the farming land restricts the use of extensive farming systems. Firstly, through shifting cultivation they produce food crops to meet their subsistence consumption needs. Fik comments that “subsistence farmers today live much the same as their ancestors did a thousand years ago. Food preferences have remained fairly stable over time” (2000: 190). Maize, paddy (upland rice) and cassava are the main food crops which supply annual household consumption. They are usually planted mixed with other crops such as squash, bean, tomato, papaya, chili, etc (Fox, 1992; Jessup, 1992). It is common that output declines after two years of cropping (Miller et al, 1990). The farmer should allow ten years fallow so that the nutrients may be stored for the next cropping

session. This consequently impacts on either acquiring a new field to be opened for two years of production or continuing to plant crops on the same field with subsequent low yields. The last option seems to be the more dominant agricultural practice in Eastern Flores because arable land is limited in the region.

Table 6.5. East Flores and NTT: Agricultural Indicators, 1997

Indicator	East Flores	NTT
Percentage of the Cultivated land to total land	24.9	28.8
The cultivated land per peasant household (ha)	1.7	2.5
Percentage of peasant households	78.8	77.8
Main production of peasant households:		
• Food crop (%)	100.0	100.0
• Livestock (animal/poultry) (%)	100.0	100.0
• Tree crop (%)	44.8	43.6
• Fishery (%)	9.0	4.0
Annual production per peasant household:		
• Rice (kilogram)	264.9	553.3
• Maize (kg)	1170.2	1024.5
• Cassava (kg)	897.6	1695.1
• Coconut (kg)	224.4	96.2
• Coffee (kg)	6.9	21.9
• Pigs (number)	2.2	4.8
• Goats/sheep (number)	2.6	1.7
• Fish (kg)	191.9	122.4
Contribution of agricultural sector to GDP (%):		
• Food crop (%)	17.9	22.9
• Tree crop (%)	7.7	3.8
• Livestock (%)	6.9	8.8
• Fishery (%)	8.2	3.4

Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998a,d,e

The second way of using farm land is for animal husbandry. Almost every peasant household has at least two kinds of livestock, either chickens and pigs or chickens and goats. Cattle, horse and ducks are additional livestock in the household economy of the region. They feed the animals and poultry for cash, consumption and other purposes (ritual, *adat* celebration, etc). However, catering for livestock may be another problem because land is limited. A more open area is required for extensive breeding systems in which livestock are usually free to wander to find food themselves. In more densely populated districts like East Adonara, East Solor and Ile Ape (see chapter three), farmers tend to limit having livestock which also means that the lack of sufficient land has limited their additional source of household income. Table 6.5 shows that among all the agricultural sub-sectors in Eastern Flores in 1997, livestock contributed the lowest portion to the local GDP. It was also lower than the portion contributed to the GDP of NTT as a whole.

The last form of cultivation on the land is tree crops. This sub-sector consists of planted tree crops and cultivated wild trees such as tamarind and *lontar* palm. Various types of fruit trees are planted but coconut and coffee are the most important export commodities from NTT. Among the twelve *kabupaten* in the province, Eastern Flores was the second largest source of coconut and the fourth of coffee in 1996-7 (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998e). Other significant exports of tree crops were candlenut and cashew of which Eastern Flores was the first and second largest source respectively. It is apparent that the growing importance of tree crops in Eastern Flores indicates a positive impact of the ideas gained from work experience on plantations in Sabah. Unfortunately only 44.8 per cent of all peasant households in the region have planted tree crops while the rest do not because they may have insufficient space to grow

long-term crops. They are more interested in producing their basic consumption needs by planting food crops rather than tree crops for each on the limited land they own.

Table 6.6. Eastern Flores: Respondents by Size of Cultivated Land

Land size	Migrant	Non migrant	Return migrant	Overall
<0.50 ha	38.9	15.0	2.8	19.1
0.50 – 0.99 ha	36.1	35.0	20.8	30.4
1.00 – 1.99 ha	22.2	38.3	50.0	36.8
2.00 ha and over	2.8	11.7	26.4	13.7
Sample (N)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average of land size	0.81	1.20	1.62	1.21

Source: Field data, 1998

Table 6.6 gives a picture of size of the land holdings cropped by respondents over the last two years. On average, the land cropped by respondents was only 1.21ha per household, lower than the average land used in 1997 for the regency as a whole (1,7ha). This is because more than a half of the respondents were taken from the central villages of each district sampled and these tend to have high population densities. The households of migrants who are still away cultivated the smallest area of land (0.81ha) compared to both return and non migrant households and this is due to the fact that the family workers who farm the land are women and children. Spaan (1999) found in East Java that the family with a small landholding is more likely to be unable to work overseas because of difficulties with paying for the movement costs. In other peasant societies where family members work overseas, the recent migrant households who cultivate small areas of land have sold a part of the land they usually cultivate to meet the emigration costs (Go et al, 1986). In Eastern Flores, the size of

the land cultivated does not always represent the land owned privately. Whenever men go to work overseas, women and children farm a small part of land while the rest is cultivated by the other relatives who stay in the village. Expenses for moving costs usually come from the clan treasury and it does not depend on the size of the setting land. Each family in the region has the right to farm on the area owned privately but also on the land possessed collectively under control of the clan head or by elders in the genealogical tree.

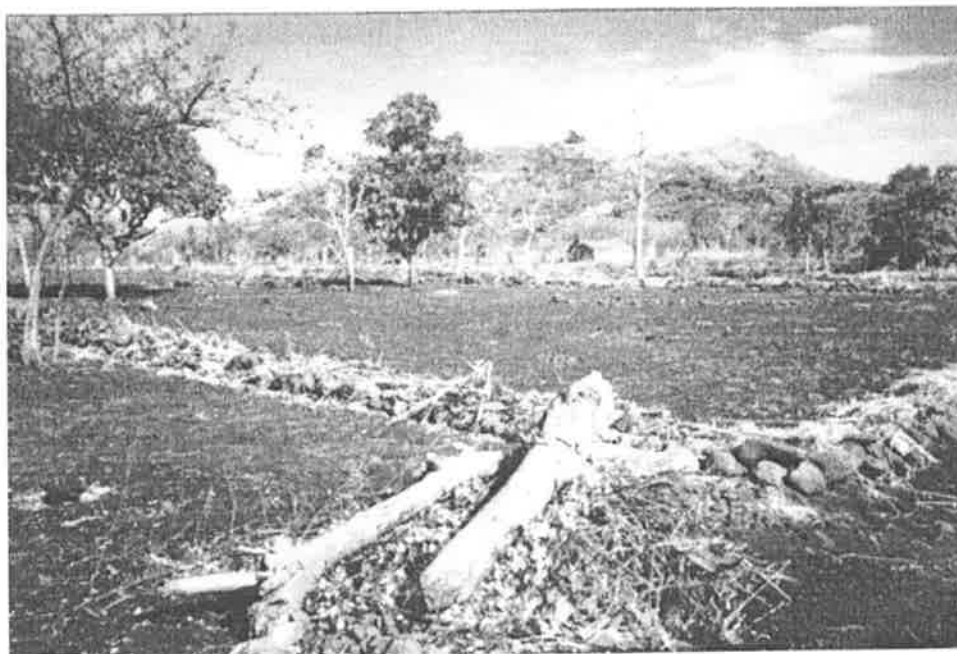
The land owned privately by individual family is in the form of a house yard (Plate 6.1) and what is called '*kebun tetap*' or "small plots of land on a fixed-field basis (**netak**)" (Graham, 1997: 7). The latter is usually planted with tree crops and this type of permanent garden has become increasingly popular in conjunction with the promotion of cash crops in the region (ibid.7). The land possessed collectively by the clan members is primarily employed for farming food crops and herding animals (Plate 6.2) but its size varies significantly between one village and another. In less densely populated villages "each year one swidden was opened for cultivation, while the others were ideally left fallow. Clan rights to such fields usually rest on oral historical consensus that clan ancestors originally cleared the primary forest from the land and were the first to cultivate it" (ibid.7).

The land cropped by the households of non-migrants is around the average (1.2ha) and its composition reflects the land pattern possessed by each clan in the village. For example, a clan head in the village of Helanlanguwuyo had only one hectare of land to be shared by 9 families while each of them has about 0.10 to 0.25ha of house-yard for private use. Goma et al (1993) found in Nelereren, one of the sampled village of the present study, that 28.8 households have no farming land while the majority (52.0%) cropped less than 0.50ha per family. The head of the sub district also explains that all

Plate 6.1. Eastern Flores: Example of House Yard for Private Use



Plate 6.2. Example of Tribal Land for farming food Crops
And Herding Animals



families in Ile Boleng are farmers but some (about 20%) have no land. Such land shortage seems not to be influenced by the domination of landlords (Bachriadi, 2000) or by the introduction of capitalist agriculture that results from structural change (Hawlett, 1980) but from an imbalance between the size of the peasant communities and the land available for farming purposes.

The land cultivated by return migrant families is larger than that cultivated by the other two categories of respondents (table 6.6). This is because some return migrants are likely to implement their work experience in Sabah and grow tree crops in a fixed area rather than just farming food crops. A case in point is Hendrikus, a successful migrant worker who has returned to East Adonara which is over populated. He has bought land in Nubatukan on the island Lembata and has grown several kinds of tree crops.

6.2.2. Natural Effects

Natural constraints restrict farm output in Eastern Flores and NTT in general. They take various forms such as climate, pests, winds, drought, erosion, etc. Climate is of primary importance as soil moisture enables crops to grow well and produce adequate yields. In fact, the climate of the region is well known for its long dry season or what Duggan (1991) termed the 'short hot wet season' (4 months) and 'long dry hot season' (8 months). Farmers usually grow crops in the period of the short wet season and the yields cropped are expected to meet household consumption needs throughout the year. Unfortunately they more often experience crop failure which results in a shortage of the annual household food supply.

In analyzing food crop development in NTT, Pellokila et al (1991) identify some natural factors affecting low yields as follows.

- Low rainfall is considered to be the chief factor. As explained in chapter three, the total rainfall in NTT ranges from 700 to 1500mm per year and Eastern Flores has the lowest rainfall levels. Although the hot wet season is supposed to run for four months, rainfall is often intense only in January and February but scarce in December and March. There is considerable variability between years. Moreover, the intensity of rainfall fluctuates with rains falling very heavily for a few days, and pausing over the next few days. This sometimes complicates the growing of farmers' food crops. In addition, these heavy rains often cause intensive erosion and floods that can cause harvest failure.
- Strong winds usually occur during the rainy season and often devastate crops or break plants before the harvest, particularly in the high sloping fields.
- Soil material in Flores may be fertile because it is derived from volcanic ash but it has a low water-retaining ability that increases stress to crops over the long drought throughout the year.
- Relief with a high proportion of steep slopes may result in losses of fertile soil and failing crops
- Insects are a significant problem destroying crops. Integrated pest management techniques and chemicals are not available to control the insect attacks.

In early 2001 for example, food crop failure was of great concern as reported in the local newspapers. In January 2001 it was stated that all districts, about 80 per cent of the farmers in Eastern Flores would fail to harvest their basic food crops, both maize and paddy (*Pos Kupang*, 6/1/01). A month later, another report (*Pos Kupang*, 3/2/01) indicated that some alternative crops such as peanuts, beans, etc, had also failed. Farmers grow these crops on a large scale to substitute for failures in the basic food crops. Both reports indicated that the problems affecting the failed crops were

uncertain rainfall and pests. Indeed rainfall was the most important factor and seems to be the primary cause of all the crop failures in the region. When the respondents were asked to indicate the main reason as to why their food crops were insufficient to meet their consumption needs over the last two years, the responses given were low rainfall (49.0%), shortage of cropped land (47.6%) and other (3.4%).

Another significant natural constraint for the household economy in Eastern Flores is the remoteness of one island from another and the distance of the region from the central economy of both the province and country as a whole. It can cause low prices of farming products if in the market. Durrenberger comments that “the higher the price and the closer the market, transportation expense is lower, the return to labor is greater” (1984:11). Because of regional remoteness, farmers have a reduced opportunity to convert their surplus crops to cash. Consequently barter is commonly practiced in the weekly market in the village area with available crops being exchanged to meet food needs. In three different village markets observed coconut and/or banana were exchanged for maize, cotton for maize, maize for fish, fish for cassava, etc. Nonetheless, barter is more likely to be applied in the absence of cash earned in the remote villages. Some respondents (38.2%) involved in the barter system over the last year were households of non migrants (62.8%) and migrants still away (37.2%), but none were return migrants.

6.2.3. Employment Opportunities

In analyzing the interdependencies between development and migration, Fisher et al argue that “in the higher income echelons the incentives to migrate internally or internationally decrease although more people than ever can afford to go” (1997: 99). It is also explained that low income and incidence of rural poverty are often indicated

by a high concentration of labour in subsistence agriculture (Janvry et al, 2000: 180). Table 6.7 shows that agriculture in Eastern Flores and NTT as a whole employed more than three-quarters of the local workforce in 1997 and this was very high compared to that in Indonesia as a whole as well as in some neighboring countries. Since the traditional sector is considered to produce insufficient income for the large majority of the employed workforce, employment in Eastern Flores and its province is very likely to force out movement of workers to find better jobs and higher incomes in more prosperous workplaces.

Table 6.7. Percentage of Employment per Sector in 1997

Region/Country	Agriculture	Manufacture	Services
Eastern Flores	76.0	7.6	16.4
East Nusa Tenggara	78.4	7.9	13.7
Indonesia	41.2	12.9	39.8
Malaysia	17.3	23.4	49.0
Philippines	40.4	9.9	42.9
Thailand	50.3	12.9	29.9
Korea	11.0	21.3	58.1

Source: - *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998b
 - Manning, 2000: 113

The proportion of those who were employed in the subsistence agriculture in NTT decreased from 77.1 per cent in 1980 to 76.0 per cent in 1990 (Eki, 1994: 11) but then increased to 78.4 per cent in 1997 (table 6.7). Other studies explain that since the Indonesian economic crisis began in mid 1997, agriculture absorbed a substantial proportion of those who were displaced from the non-agricultural sectors (Hugo, 2000b; Manning, 2000). A high concentration of workers in the sector often results in a high proportion of underemployed people and low incomes.

Table 6.8. NTT: Regional Employment per Sector, Unemployment and Underemployment, 1997

Regency	Employment				Unem- ployment	Under- employment ^e
	Agr. ^a	Manf. ^b	Serv. ^c	Total ^d		
West Sumba	83.9	8.8	7.3	68.8	1.0	60.7
East Sumba	72.1	7.8	20.1	62.7	4.2	47.3
Kupang	68.8	6.8	24.4	58.7	3.9	45.4
TTS	88.2	5.4	6.4	65.8	0.5	61.4
TTU	83.2	8.2	8.6	69.2	0.6	49.9
Belu	78.6	6.6	14.8	64.7	0.9	49.4
Alor	81.0	5.3	13.7	55.7	1.4	53.9
Eastern Flores	76.0	7.6	16.4	62.9	1.3	67.2
Sikka	70.6	13.3	16.1	66.3	0.8	50.3
Eende	63.6	17.9	18.5	65.8	2.6	65.3
Ngada	82.3	6.9	10.8	66.9	1.6	66.1
Manggarai	86.3	5.5	8.2	70.9	0.4	39.7
NTT	78.4	7.9	13.7	65.2	1.6	53.1

Note: a. Percentage of those who were employed in Agriculture
 b. Percentage of those who were employed in Manufacture
 c. Percentage of those who were employed in Services
 d. Percentage of those who were employed per total population
 e. Percentage of those who worked under 35 hours per week

Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998b

Table 6.8 shows that only 62.9 per cent of total population in Eastern Flores in 1997 were employed and over one-third (67.2%) of all those who worked were underemployed workers. In analyzing labour utilization in developing countries including Indonesia, Leanor suggests that any attempt to assess underemployment should include the 'hours worked' and the 'income earned' (1985: 178). Those who work less than 35 hours per week in Indonesia were underemployed according to the ILO convention which has fixed the daily working time at eight hours and weekly

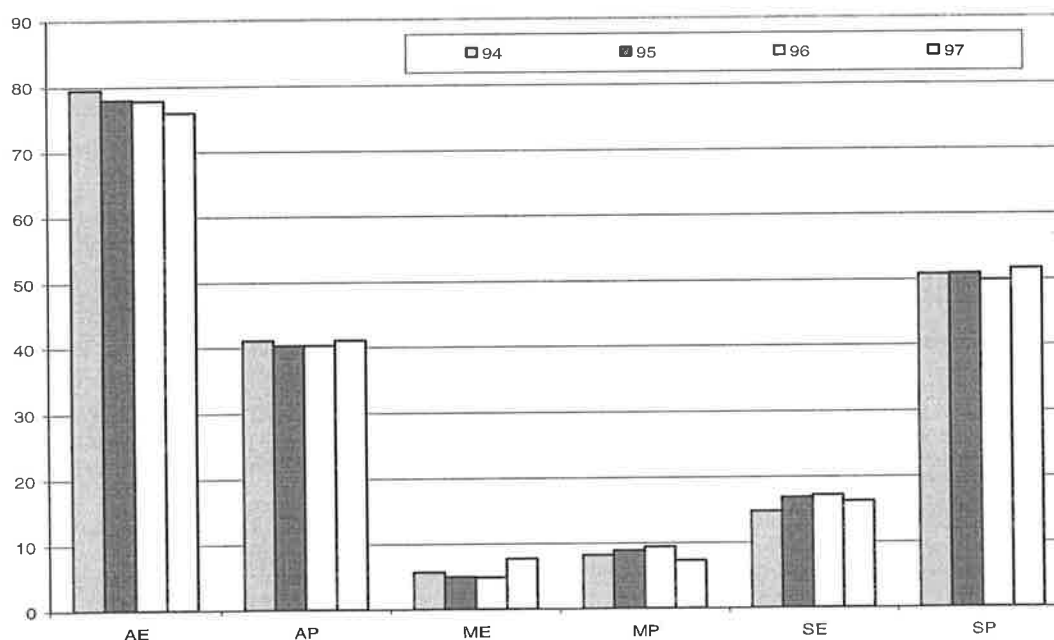
working time at 48 hours (Bosch, 1999: 132). Todaro explains that “there are many individuals who may work full time in terms of hours per day but may, have very little income” (1976: 14). In the Indonesian population censuses, the data indicating those who work full time but having low income are shown by the numbers of those who work 35 hours per week and over but are still looking for another job. For example, Eki (1994) explains that underemployed workers in terms of ‘hours worked’ in NTT in 1980 were 44.2 per cent and in terms of ‘income earned’ were 1.7 per cent or in total were 45.8 per cent. This portion increased to 51.8 per cent in 1990 (49.4% in terms of worked hours and 2.3% in terms of income earned). The data presented in table 6.8 records only the percentage of underemployed in terms of hours worked but it was 67.2 per cent for Eastern Flores in 1997 and 53.1 per cent for NTT as a whole in the same year. It is also evident that underemployment does not involve only a high percentage local labour but has also increased consistently over the last two decades and this indicates a very poor condition of the employment opportunities in the region.

Figure 6.1 illustrates conditions of employment by sector and its contribution to GDP over the last four years in Eastern Flores. It is apparent that agriculture absorbed a large majority (over 75%) of the local labour force with a slight and gradual decrease and contributed a significant and steady portion of the GDP, but its annual productivity per worker was very low. In 1997 for example, the achieved productivity level in the sector was only Rp.692,800 (US\$77) per worker per year while it was Rp.1,225,800 (US\$136) in manufacture and Rp.4,042,700 (US\$449) in services (Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998b,d). The high concentration of labour in the traditional sector occurred dominantly in food crops as it was essential to supply household subsistence while high productivity was in livestock, tree crops and fishery. Forestry was very poor (less than 0.50%) in both employment opportunity and contribution to

the GDP. The prospects of agricultural expansion, particularly tree crops, livestock and food crops may be limited due to the shortage of the available farming land as well as the harsh natural constraints. Meanwhile fisheries are argued by Fox (1996:163) to be “a still unexploited potential” but need qualifications (technical and managerial skills) as well as substantial capital investment. In 1997, fisheries was the second largest GDP contributor in Eastern Flores (table 6.5) but it involved only nine per cent of all households in the region and the fishing methods were predominantly traditional (Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998e):

- Without boat (seashore catch): 30.3%
- Traditional boat (without engine): 65.7%
- Motorboat or ship: 4.0%.

Figure 6.1. Eastern Flores: Sectoral Employment and Productivity, 1994-7



Note: AE = Agricultural Employment, AP = Agricultural Productivity
 ME = Manufacture Employment, MP = Manufacture Productivity
 SE = Service Employment, SP = Service Productivity

Source: Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998b,d.

Manufacture was the smallest sector in Eastern Flores viewed from both its employment opportunity and contribution to total GDP but its level of annual productivity per worker was far above the traditional sector. In 1997 for example, manufacturing earned two times that of agriculture even though its total production dropped by 2.1 per cent from the previous year. Unfortunately the sector employed only five per cent of the labour force in 1994-6 and 7.7 per cent in 1997. Indeed, a significant increase (2.8%) in manufacturing in the last year occurred in the early part of the economic crisis and this seemed to reverse the decrease of employment opportunities in both agriculture (1.9%) and services (0.9%). This means probably that manufacture was not affected by the crisis since it was able to provide new jobs for about 2800 workers who might have been displaced from the urban sectors, return migrants from Sabah and new entrants to the labour force. Such an increment seems to be an exception to Hugo's claims that "agriculture has absorbed a substantial proportion of workers displaced by the crisis" (2000b: 119).

The reason why new jobs were created in manufacturing while employment in agriculture declined is a result of the economic crisis but also the mechanism of the departure and return of workers between Eastern Flores and Sabah. The crisis began in mid 1997 with a sudden raise in the exchange rate and resulted in the flow of workers and remittances back home while others left to work overseas. Hugo (2000a) has highlighted the substantial number of return migrants from Sabah to East Flores due to the effects of the crisis. However, it has also been explained in chapter five that those people returned in the early period of the crisis. Although a few were forced back as a result of tightening control in Sabah, the bulk of them returned voluntarily with the money earned overseas to maximize their profits from increasing exchange rates in the home country. As they returned either temporarily or permanently, their close family

members who worked as farmers were sent to fill the jobs left in Sabah while those returning home become involved in manufacture, particularly in construction. This sub-sector employed more than 70 per cent of workers and dominated the new jobs created in the early time of crisis. From field observation, it was found that plenty of new houses were still in the process of being built. The high involvement of workers in construction (figure 6.3) was made possible by the inflow of money brought back by return migrants as well as sent by migrants still away to take advantage of the high exchange rates.

Service is traditionally the most productive sector but it employed a smaller number of workers. Over the last four years it employed less than 18 per cent of the labour force but produced half of the GDP and this resulted in a very high annual production rate per worker in the region (US\$449). In 1997 the services sector earned about six times that of agriculture and nearly four times that of manufacturing, but it was still lower than the average level achieved in Indonesia as a whole: US\$684.4 per worker in 1995 (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998c). The high productivity rate in this sector was made possible through two major contributions. Firstly, small-scale selling activities (the trade sub-sector) dominated employment opportunities provided in the service sector. The extent of these activities, however, depends on market supply and demand of agricultural outputs as well as the stock of cash accumulated in the region. In the early period of the economic crisis for example, the production of this sector increased by 1.7 per cent in accordance with the rising market prices of a few export commodities (cashew, candle nut, copra, etc) as well as substantial remittances sent from Sabah. It is argued that "relative prices changed dramatically

Plate 6.3. Example of House Building Activities in Eastern Flores, 1998



between tradeable (exportable and importable) and non-tradeable activities, owing to the huge depreciation of the exchange rate” (Manning, 2000: 117).

Secondly, public services (*jasa pemerintahan umum*) provided job opportunities for a significant number of workers and contributed the largest portion of GDP compared to other economic sub-sectors in the region. In 1997 they contributed 22.6 per cent followed by food crops (agriculture): 17.9 per cent and trade (services): 10.5 per cent. In comparison, public services were the second largest productive sub-sector in NTT (18.1%) following food crops (22.1%) while their contribution was very low (only 5.4%) in Indonesia as a whole in the same year (*Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998c*). The high contribution of public services in Eastern Flores indicates a high dependency of the region’s economy on the official budget to finance the on going services as well as to provide new job opportunities.

From the above explanation, there is no clear evidence that the employment opportunities provided in the region would satisfy the local workforce for the next decade. Mehmet comments that the “top-down approach to employment planning has generally failed because line Ministries lacked the necessary analytical skills for sectoral employment planning and monitoring” (1994: 181). Stahl adds that “growing emigration pressures in the Third World can be attributed to development strategies which have failed to provide sufficient employment and income growth to satisfy rising aspirations” (1995:215). Adding to this pressure, the tendency to move out from the region would be greater than ever with the already established migration networks that enable potential migrants to move to work overseas.

6.3. Decision Making Regarding Labour Emigration

6.3.1. Reasons to Move or Stay

The decision to move or stay indicates a household strategy response to an actual pressure in the recent place of residence. The decision to move may be a consequence of deficient income resources or poor conditions and thus a movement is intended to satisfy basic needs from working in an alternative place of residence. In contrast, the out movement may also stem from a positive condition and is intended to optimize income from better economic opportunities in a new place. In other words, a decision made to move out from positive living conditions is dominantly influenced by pull factors while push factors become the main reasons for moving out from poor circumstances (White, et al, 1980; Tsuda, 1999; Tisdell, et al, 2000). This section aims to identify why some have decided to move and others stay, in the home village.

Table 6.3 displays the reasons given by return and recent migrants to leave their home village. Low income seems to be the prime reason for moving out from Eastern Flores and this has also been found in previous studies undertaken in the region (Goma, et al, 1993; Kapioru, 1995; Hugo, 1998b; Mantra, et al 1999). Land restrictions also plays a significant role in leaving home because it provides insufficient output for household consumption needs (see table 6.4) while alternative income sources are not available. Not having a job in the village usually indicates unemployment involving new school leavers. It is apparent that unemployment has been a main reason for moving if the household economy is very poor. Young adults may decide to stay home and become long-term unemployed if there is sufficient financial support available from their family (Todaro, 1976; Asis, 1995; Stahl, 1995).

Table 6.9. Eastern Flores: The Reasons Given by Return and Recent Migrants for Leaving the Home Village.

Reason	Return Migrant		Recent Migrant		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Having low income	31	43.1	27	37.5	58	40.3
Cropping land limited	25	34.7	22	30.6	47	32.6
Having no/limited job	4	5.6	12	16.7	16	11.1
Family order/persuasion	6	8.3	8	11.1	14	9.7
Other*	6	8.3	3	4.2	9	6.3
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0	144	100.0

Note: The other (*) represents a view or judgement of the average conditions of household economy of migrant and non migrant in the village.

Source: Field data, 1998

In addition, it has been a custom in Eastern Flores that the clan head and parents often order or persuade their young family members, particularly men, to move to work beyond the village. This is very clear from a *Lamaholot* proverb that states:

Pana seba hebako-kenarit (= go to search for tobacco-matches)

Balik taan gelekat lewo (= return to develop your village)

Pana seba lewo agoon pake (= go to search for jewelry for your village)

The proverb illustrates that the original reason for temporarily leaving the home village is to search for tobacco-matches which represent basic needs, and next moves on to jewelry as a symbol of subsidiary needs for household and/or village improvements.

The personal view or judgement of average conditions between the household economies of migrants and non-migrants has been also considered in migration

decision making. If one finds that the migrant households are far better off than non-migrant families in accordance with vast improvement from the money earned from working overseas, the pressures to leave the home village become greater. Hugo reports that “houses tend to be made of brick or stone rather than wood or *atap* and have glass windows, televisions and other modern appliances and there is an air of prosperity... In East Flores the contemporary symbol of success in migration is the purchase of a *parabola* or dish to receive satellite television from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Australia...”(1998b: 97). This ‘well-off’ condition is achieved through the contribution of remittances from Sabah and encourages more labour emigration.

Table 6.10. Non-migrant Families: The Reasons to Stay in the Home Village

Reason	Farm Family		Farm-plus family		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Non economic reasons	31	83.8	7	30.4	38	63.3
Community services	9	24.3	3	13.0	12	20.0
Family services	22	59.5	4	17.4	26	43.3
Economic reasons	6	16.2	16	69.6	22	36.6
Having sufficient income	3	8.1	12	52.2	15	25.0
Having sufficient land	3	8.1	2	8.7	5	8.3
Having better job	-	-	2	8.7	2	3.3
Total	37	100.0	23	100.0	60	100.0

Source: field data, 1998

Table 6.10 presents the reasons given by non-migrants as to why they have decided to stay in the village. It is obvious that most farm families are restrained by non-economic reasons (83.8%). They stay to look after their dependent family members including family members of close relatives who are still working in Sabah. ‘Farm-

plus' respondents¹ have generally decided to stay after considering their potential income sources in the home village. Those having sufficient income, in fact, possess better income sources. Two persons who have better jobs than most are well known as brick producers and their products supply consumers from villages to the city of Lewoleba. Those having sufficient land earn better income by marketing cash crops (figure 6.4). Although farm-plus families have their own land and grow crops, they primarily participate in various small selling activities in which they purchase farm and non farm products for the purpose of further marketing. For example, Mansyur, 39 years, of Omesuri has tree crops: candle nut, tamarind, cashew, copra, etc., which he sells to boat traders from South Sulawesi while his wife markets fruit crops such as mango, banana and pineapple at the local market. Hamid, 46, of Tanjung Bunga acknowledges that his family may not be able to support their two sons continuing their studies if both his wife and daughter do not work hard in selling activities.

Based on field observation and in-depth interviews of eight respondents it seems that the division of farm and farm-plus household economies is religiously selective. Muslim families are more likely to participate in trading activities in order to optimize their household benefits rather than depend on farming outputs. It is also apparent that women are usually more responsible in seeking cash through selling and

¹ The term 'farm-plus' is used to indicate households with members who are involved in a regular trading activities.

Plate 6.4. Eastern Flores: Example of Trading Activities



A mother and her daughters are hiring *bemo* in Tanjung Bunga to market their goods in the capital city of Larantuka, 21 August 1998



Traditional trading boats in the Belauring bay transport tree crops from Omesuri to Makasar and cement, rice, sugar, etc from Makasar to Omesuri, 25 September 1998

and buying. Men are usually active in primary production particularly in farming or fishing activity but they become involved in market activities if these go beyond the provincial area. Trading networks have long been established between Muslims in Omesuri and South Sulawesi as well as in Tanjung Bunga and Surabaya through Bima (NTB) boat traders. Muslim family members of East Solor are well known for supplying the traditional market in Kupang with salt they produce themselves as well as fruit crops they purchase from other districts.

Catholic families mainly rely on farm activities to fulfil their household needs. Some may participate in buying and selling but this is usually for the purpose of converting into cash what they produce themselves and purchasing for family consumption. Indeed, the possibility of making cash is influenced by the output yielded. If their consumption needs outweigh their annual output, there is greater pressure to leave the home village. However, it is impossible to argue here that labour emigration is due only to religion since the decision to move usually deals with family networks and Muslims and Catholics in the same village may be close relatives.

Another distinction is that the family becomes the unit of production in Muslim households and allocates its members to undertake different jobs in order to minimize risks. Meanwhile in the Catholic community, the clan seems to be the unit of production and organizes a strong mutual cooperation between families of the clan to support each other through different occupations. It is customary that some clan members pursue emigration while others stay and are responsible for taking care of the family left home (Mantra et al, 1999). Those who migrate usually reward those left behind in various ways (e.g. financing school children). They may also swap: as some return others go. Perhaps for this reason, the majority of farm respondents (table 6.10) stay for family duties.

It is also clear that decisions to stay in the village are a conditional consideration. The larger portion (45.0%) of those staying expect to go overseas, some 31.7 per cent would consider the possibility to work overseas at a later date and only 23.3 per cent persist to remain in the village. Through in-depth interviews, it is apparent that the decision to stay is an optional choice in which some stay but insist on commuting beyond the village in seeking better income. This means that they are more likely to pursue internal rather than international migration.

6.3.2. Who Makes the Migration Decision?

Asis (2000) comments that migration in developing countries is a family project which provides an alternative source of income and minimizes the risks that the family may encounter. This means that the decision making process is not made by an individual but by the household unit lending support to the new economic theory of migration (Massey, et al, 1993; 1998; Hugo, et al, 1996) which suggests that migration occurs as a result of the decision taken by the family rather than the individual. The focus here is to identify the most influential person in the family who makes decisions on labour migration. Lewis argues that “within the family unit some of its members are more directly involved in the decision making process than others, for example, young children do not participate in the decision although their interests may be taken into account” (1982: 127).

Table 6.11 provides information that identifies who make decisions for both return and recent migrants in moving for the first time to seek better incomes in Sabah. In total, the largest portion (37.5%) of respondents mention that parents make decisions for their children. Tacoli comments regarding the Filipinos that “young people being more subject to parental authority...especially if they are still single” (1999:671).

Parents, however, are more likely to recommend that their sons work overseas rather than their daughters. The decisions for female migrants are mainly (52.2%) made by their brother or husband rather than a parent. From in-depth interviews, it is apparent that those who make decisions for a sister or wife to work overseas are mainly migrants who are still working overseas. For example, Raharto, et al (1999) explain that a daughter of Tanjung Bunga was sent reluctantly by her mother to fulfil a brother's request from Sabah. He asked their mother to send his sister to join him in Sabah in order to finance their older brother who was undertaking a university program.

Table 6.11. The Decision Maker for both Recent and Return Migrants by Gender

Decision maker	Male migrant		Female migrant		Both sexes	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Migrant him/herself	33	27.3	3	13.0	36	25.0
Parents	46	38.0	8	34.8	54	37.5
Brother/spouse	19	15.7	12	52.2	31	21.5
Clan head	23	19.0	-	-	23	16.0
Total	121	100.0	23	100.0	144	100.0

Source: Field data, 1998.

Another significant decision to move overseas is taken by the migrant him/herself (25.0%). This portion is far below what Raharto et al (1999) found in Bantala, one of the twelve villages sampled in the present study which found that 65 per cent of 126 return migrants made the decision for themselves when moving for the first time to work overseas. Conversely Mantra et al (1999) also found in Eastern Flores that only one of 220 respondents (0.4%) made an individual decision to go overseas. According to this finding, the decision was mainly made by brothers (40.5%), parents (30.0%),

spouses (19.1%) and *calo*/other family (10.0%). This data was collected in three villages (Omesuri district) including Hingalamamengi, a village sampled in the present study.

The reason why these findings show a huge gap (0.4%, 25.0% and 65.0%) regarding self-decision making among respondents in the same region is affected by the sampling technique. The Raharto's study involves return migrants in the island Flores while Mantra's fieldwork interviews recent migrant families represented by the household heads and takes place in the island Lembata which is now a separate *kabupaten*. The present study collects data from both return and recent migrants and involves 12 villages in five different districts and/or four islands. Apart from the fact that a larger or smaller portion of the migrant workers have made decision for themselves, it suggests that a change could have occurred in the traditional society where social control and parental authority still remain strong. The decisions made by female migrant workers also show that they are no more just followers but independent migrants (Hugo, 1998b,d).

6.3.3. The Reason to Move to Sabah

Economic perspectives view migration decision making as a rational calculation of the net benefits that would be achieved from moving into an area of destination (Todaro, 1976; DaVanzo, 1981; Goodman, 1981; Tsuda, 1999). Indeed, the greater the economic perspectives in a region the greater the possibility to move there. Some commentators (Harbison, 1981; Haberkorn, 1981; Hugo, 1981; Tacoli, 1999; Asis, 2000; De Jong, 2000) suggest, however, that economic factors alone are not adequate to explain migration decision making, whether to move or stay and where they should go. Non economic variables also influence the decision made. The focus here is to

explain the extent to which Sabah has been considered to be the most attractive place of destination for migrant workers from Eastern Flores.

Previous studies discuss some of reasons for Malaysia being chosen as the best area of destination. Firdausy (1998a: 193) mentions the following reasons:

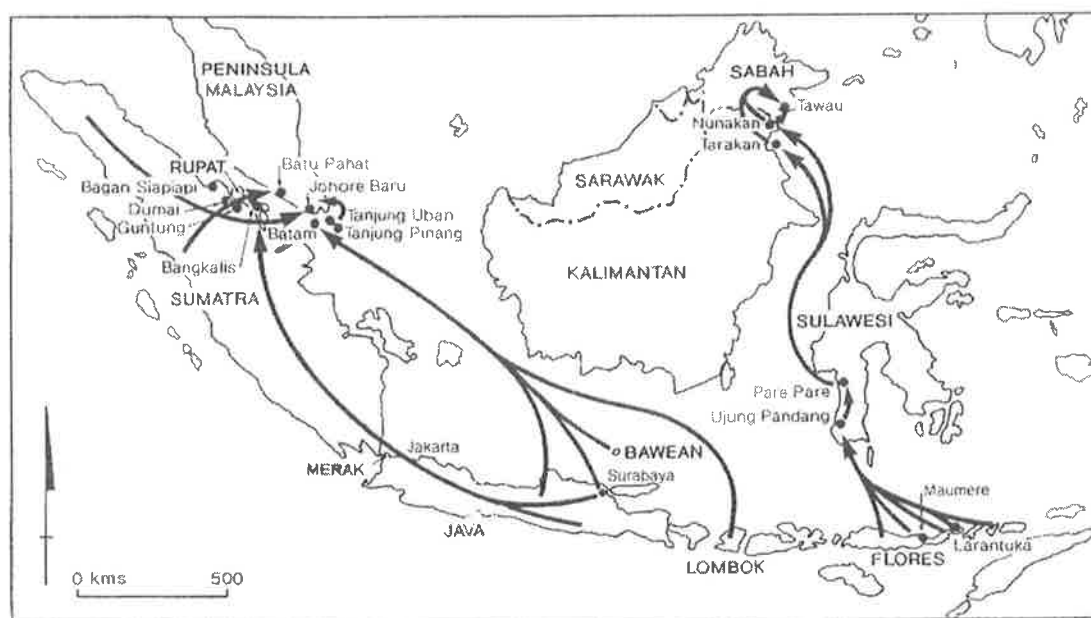
First, Malaysia is relatively closer to Indonesia and it almost has similar cultural background to Indonesian culture. Second, Malaysia has achieved high rates of growth over the past two decades and transformed herself from labour surplus to labour importing economy. Even in the present economic crisis this country can still manage their economic strategy for survival relative to Indonesia. Third, a large proportion of foreign direct investment flows has come into the labour-intensive export sector of this economy. As a result, Malaysia faced rapid urbanization in the late 1970s and early 1980s and lacked workers in the traditional sector. And fourth, Malaysia has much better wage payment relative to Indonesia for the same type of jobs.

Kurus (1998) explains that the recent regulations in Sabah allow the entry of unskilled workers to fulfil labour needs in the plantation sector that is ignored by local workers.

Hugo (1998b; 2000a) argues that moving to work in Sabah is neither difficult nor excessively expensive. Accordingly the flow of undocumented migrant workers in recent years has increased decisively in accordance with the growing importance of social networks that facilitate the movement.

The regular flows of labour migration from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah have characterized one of the two major routes identified in figure 6.2. It seems that the bulk of the movement flow from and to the regions has hardly changed over decades. The reasons given by recent and return migrants for their decision to move to work into no other area of destinations than Sabah is presented in table 6.12. Generally the majority of respondents (41.7%) have stated that Sabah has been chosen as the most attractive place to move in to join their family members and this reason has been given by both recent and return migrants. It has been indicated in Chapter Five that those involved in this emigration process generally have low

Figure.6.2. Two Major Routes of Undocumented Migrants from Indonesia to Malaysia



Source: Hugo, 1998b: 5

Table 6.12. The Reason to Work in No Other Area than Sabah

Reason	Return migrant		Recent migrant		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Easy to get job	9	12.5	21	29.2	30	20.8
To earn high income	33	45.8	9	12.5	42	29.2
To join family	30	41.7	30	41.7	60	41.7
Easy moving process	-	-	8	11.1	8	5.5
Other	-	-	4	5.6	4	2.8
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0	144	100.0

Source: Field data, 1998

education and poor skills but then some are able to earn very high incomes because they usually work in mutually beneficial interdependence (see section 5.2.5). The *Pembantu Camat* (sub-district head) of Ile Boleng who spent 40 days in visiting his relatives in Sabah informed the researcher that employers usually register only some of Eastern Flores workers with better wages but a lot of their relatives with lower wages were also employed in the same factory. The registered and non-registered migrant workers usually work together as '*atasan dan anak buah*' (superior and subordinate) and the quality of their mutual cooperation enables them to get promotions for higher job positions and better income.

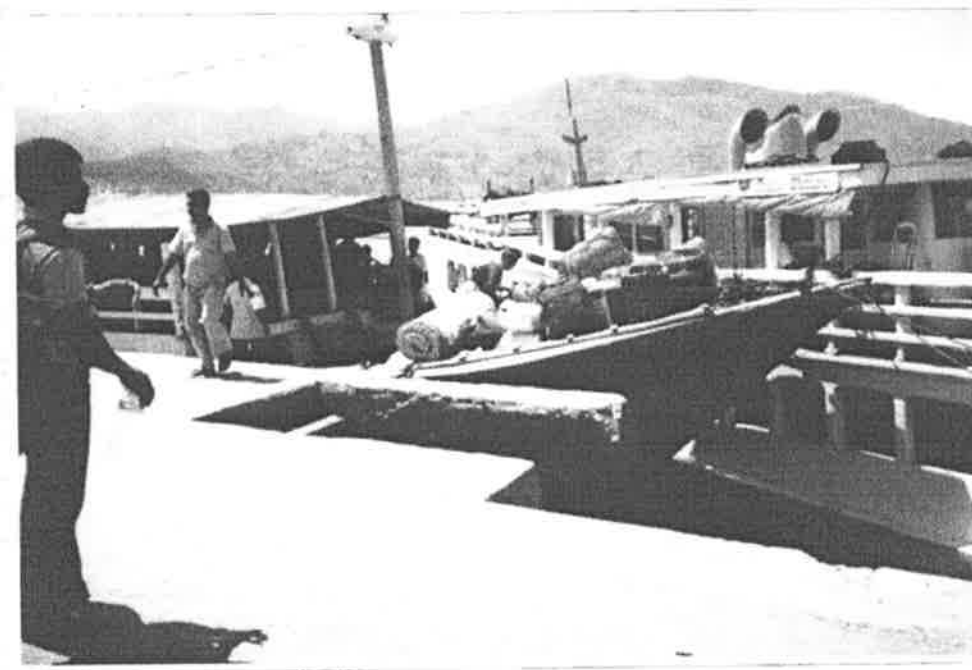
A large portion (45.8%) of return migrants noted that earning a high income is the main reason of working in Sabah. The same reason was given by a high percentage (41.6%) of 126 return migrants who were interviewed in the early 1990s in Ile Boleng (Goma et al, 1993: 405). It seems, however, that the reason given here is more likely to reflect migrants' working experience rather than in what most interests them in making the migration decision to work in Sabah for the first time. This assumption is based on some information gained through in-depth interviews. For example, Petrus, one of the highest income earners when working overseas argued that he had chosen to go to Sabah for the first time to join his uncle. He had never thought of how much money could be earned, but then his income improved very satisfyingly after he had been working for years, improving his skills and being trusted by his employer. The fact that it is perceived to be easy to get job in Sabah has been mentioned by a significant number of respondents (12.5% for return migrants and 29.2% for recent migrants). This also indicates their trust in their forerunners to help them get jobs easily in the area of destination.

It is apparent that while the reasons given to explain why the migrant workers of Eastern Flores have considered Sabah to be the best area of destination vary, all refer to the fact that they have some relatives who have settled there and they would help them get better jobs and higher incomes than in destinations. Parnwell comments that “most will move to a location where they have connections, usually in the form of people from their villages of origin” (1993: 94). Although this is not a new phenomenon in international migration studies, an important suggestion here is that by unifying the pioneers and the followers in Sabah migrant workers of Eastern Flores have chances to work in peer groups and help one another to get higher job positions and income rates. Indeed, the better the position and the higher the income earned, the higher the working reputation and the greater the access to provide job opportunities for their relatives. Gunatilleke (1998a) argues that the employer and/or supervisor who is satisfied with the performance of migrant workers feels confident to provide more employment opportunities to a large number of kinsmen associated with the trusted migrant workers.

The growing level of population movement between Eastern Flores and Sabah has also been facilitated by easy transportation. Previously migrants had to charter a traditional boat from Flores to Makasar and spend a few days before continuing to Nunukan which consumed a lot of money and time (Kapioru, 1995). In the mid 1990s, KM Awu, a ship with the capacity for 4000 passengers began to serve the route (see figure 6.2) of Kupang – Flores – Makasar – Nunukan (the border to Sabah) normally twice a month. An interviewed boatman informed the researcher that within the last five years he had often transported barite and other goods from the Belouring port, Omesuri (Plate 6.5) to Samarinda, East Kalimantan and on each journey about seven migrant workers traveled along with him. In average this service operates once in two

months but it depends on the market demand. It is apparent that the current access of transportation seems not only to be an effect but also a cause of population mobility between the regions.

Plate 6.5. Eastern Flores: A Traditional Boat Serving the Route of Omesuri (Lembata) and Samarinda (East Kalimantan)



6.4. Conclusion

The present chapter has focused on examining the determining factors that have escalated labour migration flows from Eastern Flores to Sabah, Malaysia. Initially it examined why some move out and others stay in the home village. Next, it explained the many reasons for Sabah to be the chosen area of destination for the bulk of labour migrants from East Flores. Both macro and micro data reveal that the poor household economies and lack of income sources have exerted significant pressure on the local

population to find better jobs and higher incomes beyond the home village. To fulfil their basic needs and improve the household economy, two main strategies have been implemented. Firstly, farm based families who are the largest portion of the community, followers of Catholicism and employing the clan as a unit of production are more likely to encourage their family members to work overseas. Migrant and non-migrant families of a clan are mutually beneficial counterparts who appreciate the contribution of overseas employment to improve their household economy. Secondly, farm-plus families or the smaller part of the community which is mainly Muslim seem to have a preference to stay rather than move to work overseas. They usually overcome the local economic pressure by commuting and marketing goods. Some have also maintained trading networks with traditional boat people from other provinces. However, this does not mean that labour migration from and to the region is religiously selective because the Muslims and Catholics in Eastern Flores are close relatives.

Sabah is considered to be the most attractive area of destination because of family relationships already established and settled. These established family networks escalate the flow of migrant workers into that area of destination. It is customary that once the new job seekers arrive recent migrants help them not only to get jobs but also train them in new skills and work with them in peer groups in order to support each other. This mechanism enables some to get better job positions and higher income rates and this in turn attracts many more relatives to come to work in Sabah.

Chapter Seven

NON-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF LABOUR

EMIGRATION ON THE REGION OF ORIGIN

7.1. Introduction

Consequences of labour migration for the area of origin have been identified at different levels of analysis. At a continental or on a more global level, discussions have been carried out, for example, for some of the European countries (Coelho, 1989; Coleman, 1996) and the Asia-Pacific region (Huguet, 1989; Panwell, 1991:108; Amjad, 1996). Other studies provide information of the migration impacts at a national level (Mahmood, 1992; Seok et al 1992; Taylor et al, 1996a), regional level (Hugo, 1996a), village/community level (Faemani, 1995; Taylor et al, 1996b), family/household level (Orelana, 1989) or multiple level (Adi, 1997). Studies of migration consequences also differ in emphasizing various aspects of impacts such as economic (Keely et al, 1989; Pasay, 1994; Faemai, 1995; Hugo, 1996a; Lianos, 1997), socio-psychological (Appleyard, 1989b; Martines, 1989), environmental (Hugo, 1996b) and demographic consequences (Coelho, 1989; Pandey, 1993). Although discussions are different in focus and/or level of analysis between one study and another, they generally have the same purpose, to establish how labour migration has had both positive or negative impacts in particular circumstances.

Labour migration out of Eastern Flores has involved substantial numbers and constant flows over recent decades but the vast bulk of the migration “is undocumented and hence cannot be verified with accurate data” (Hugo, 1998b: 9). It is also argued that “the veritable explosion of movement between countries has greatly outpaced the regional ability to effectively measure and monitor it, to develop a theoretical understanding of its causes and consequences and the ability to devise effective policies to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of the greatly enhanced mobility” (Hugo, 2002a: 13).

The focus of this chapter is to investigate the non-economic consequences of labour migration out of Eastern Flores. Initially it will examine the impact of labour emigration on the origin area’s demography. In the absence of official data to indicate how vast the outward movement from the region is, assessment of local population growth, sex ratio and age-sex composition are important to provide indirect evidence of the aspect. Furthermore, it looks at the impact of labour emigration on family life such as women’s roles and children’s work participation. Hugo explains that “international migration has both positive and negative influences on families in Indonesia. It is important to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between migration and family to maximize the benefits and at least ameliorate the negative effects” (2002a: 13). Finally it will evaluate the extent to which the local cultural system has influenced migrant workers and their families to make adjustments and to optimize their benefits from working in Sabah.

7.2. Demographic Aspects

7.2.1. Loss of Population

Loss of population is a direct impact of labour migration that is usually indicated by a decline in numbers of family members and/or citizens of the village or state from where migration occurs. Data are lacking to provide accurate information indicating the regular population movement out of and into Eastern Flores. A population survey conducted by *Kantor Statistik NTT* (Unpublished document) between 1 July and 31 December 1997 has provided the information presented in table 7.1. It identifies the numbers of people moving in and out of each district in Eastern Flores. Although the survey was not aimed specifically to identify labour migration to work overseas, the official staff from whom the data were obtained indicated that population movement in the region is much influenced by those who move to work in Sabah. In general the data reveal that the region experienced net migration losses of 341 persons in a six-month period. At the level of individual islands, Adonara has the largest number of population loss (-171) followed by Lembata (-106). However, if the levels of net migration are compared with the total population, the island of Solor experienced the greatest proportional population losses in which one of 345 persons moved out in six month period and two of 700 persons in a year. Adonara experienced one of 488 persons moving out in six months or two of a thousand persons in a year. At the district level, both East Solor and East Adonara underwent the highest rate of out migration over the six-month period in which one of 260 persons moved out of East Solor and one of 350 persons left East Adonara. The data presented may not represent the real picture the population movement in the region but it has clearly indicated net migration losses.

Table 7.1. Eastern Flores: Number of Population Movement per District
Between 1 July and 31 December 1997

District	Population	In-migration	Out migration	Net migration
Tanjung Bunga	14874	122	108	14
Larantuka	36568	140	149	-9
Wulan Gitang	27051	74	69	5
Est.Part of Flores	78493	336	326	10
West Solor	11919	70	92	-12
East Solor	13592	59	111	-52
Island Solor	25511	129	203	-74
West Adonara	22732	104	101	3
East Adonara	60717	529	703	-174
Island Adonara	83449	633	804	-171
Naga Wutung	11243	111	154	-43
Atadei	9066	98	120	-22
Ile Ape	12627	167	198	-31
Lebatukan	6922	19	11	8
Nubatukan	13657	29	24	5
Omesuri	13688	126	165	-39
Buyasuri	15479	71	55	16
Island Lembata	82682	621	727	-106
Eastern Flores	270225	1719	2060	-341

Note: (-) means negative net migration

Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*, Unpublished data

7.2.2. Age-Sex Structure

Weeks (1999: 278) explains that the age/sex structure represents the number of people of a given age and sex in the society and is built from the input of birth at age zero and deaths and migration at every age. It is commonly depicted as a population

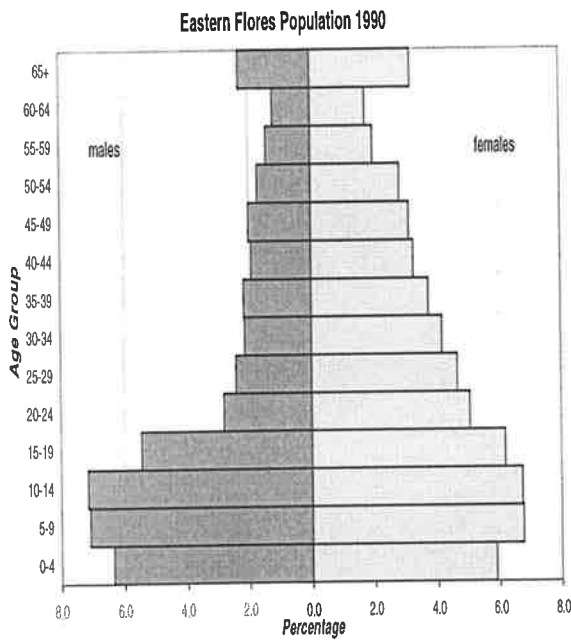
pyramid which shows that under normal conditions the number of people at each age group will be fewer than for the preceding one (Trewartha, 1969: 119). According to Fik (2000: 150-4), five types of population pyramid are identified as follows:

- The rapid-growth (RG) population pyramid is a cone-shaped pyramid. It possesses a wide and expanding base (over time)... The shape and features of the RG pyramid are an indication of a population that is rapidly growing as a result of high fertility rates... the base of the population pyramid widens through time, more and more people (and women) filter through childbearing years.
- The declining-growth (DG) population pyramid is ... an indented cone-shaped structure whose features include a narrow or narrowing base and a slightly bulging lower-middle section... this pyramid suggests that a region's population growth is showing signs of declining over time due to dramatic reductions in fertility.
- The slow-growth (SG) population pyramid is represented by a slim conic- or beehive-shaped pyramid. It possesses a fairly narrow and slow-expanding base ... generally associated with regions sustaining modest fertility booms.
- The zero-growth (ZG) population pyramid is ... a cylindrical or tube-shaped pyramid ... the base and the middle of the pyramid are of approximately the same width...
- The negative-growth (NG) population pyramid is a 'mummy-shaped' pyramid that boasts a narrow base and a bulging upper-middle area.

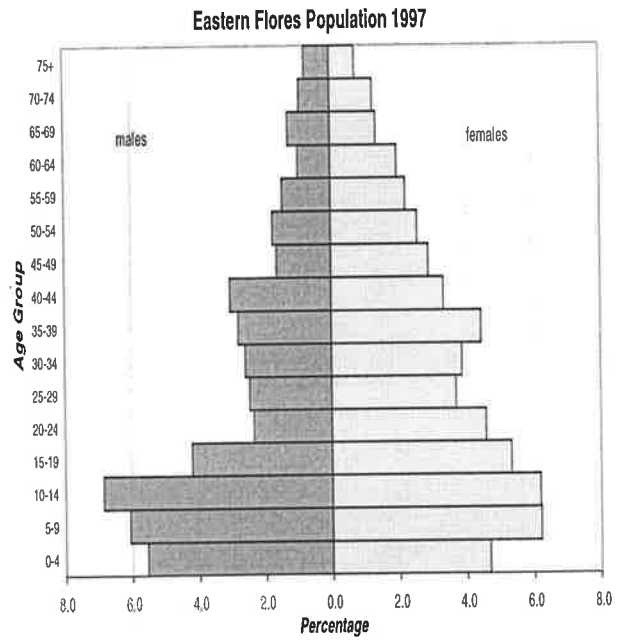
Each of these 'standard' population pyramids assumes that migration has no significant influence on age-sex structure or the shape of the population pyramid but in fact it can and does shape the local and regional age-sex structure. The age-sex structure in the study area where labour emigration is prominent is shown in figure 7.1 as well as for NTT 1997 and for Indonesia 1995.

The pyramids presented in figure 7.1 present clear evidence of substantial out migration from Eastern Flores than from NTT or Indonesia as a whole. Hugo comments that "a distinct hollowing out of in the young adult male ages group, reflecting the age-sex selectivity of the out migration to Sabah" (1998b: 47). Both the pyramids for Eastern Flores population show a similar indication that out migration of the region, which is male dominant, involves not only young adult workers but also older working ages. It has been argued that "one of the most universal of features of migration across the world is its age selectivity. Migration is almost always highly

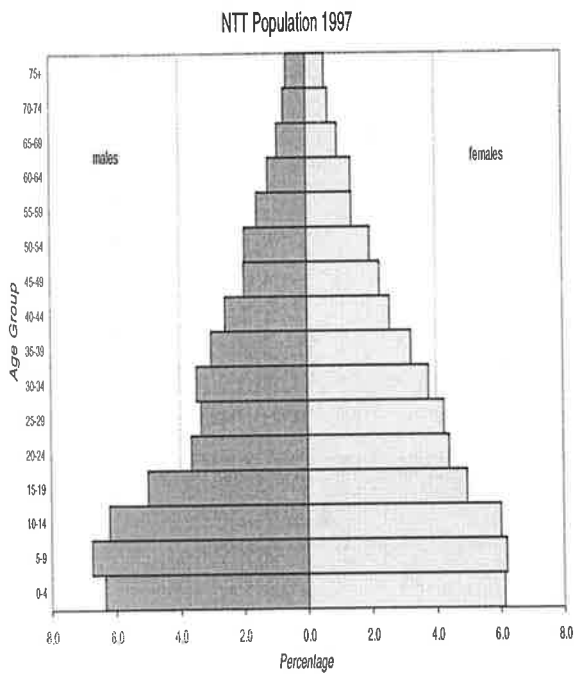
Figure 7.1. Eastern Flores: Population Pyramids



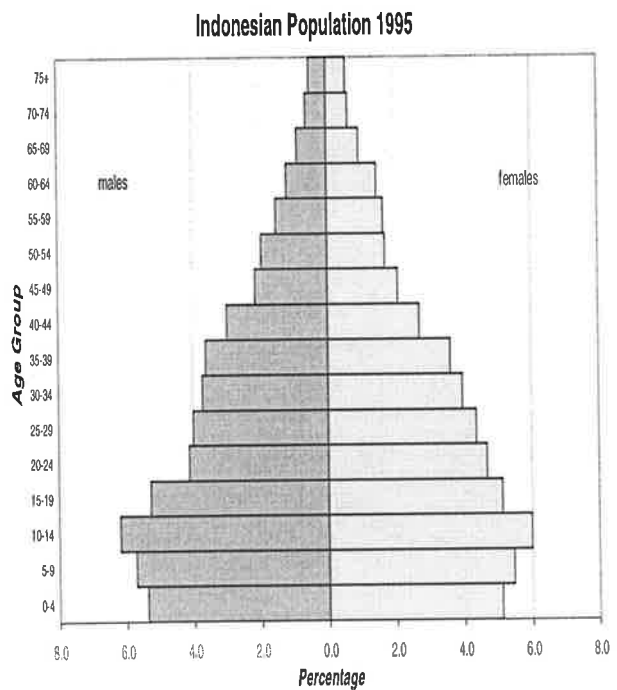
Source: BPS 1992b



Source: Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998a



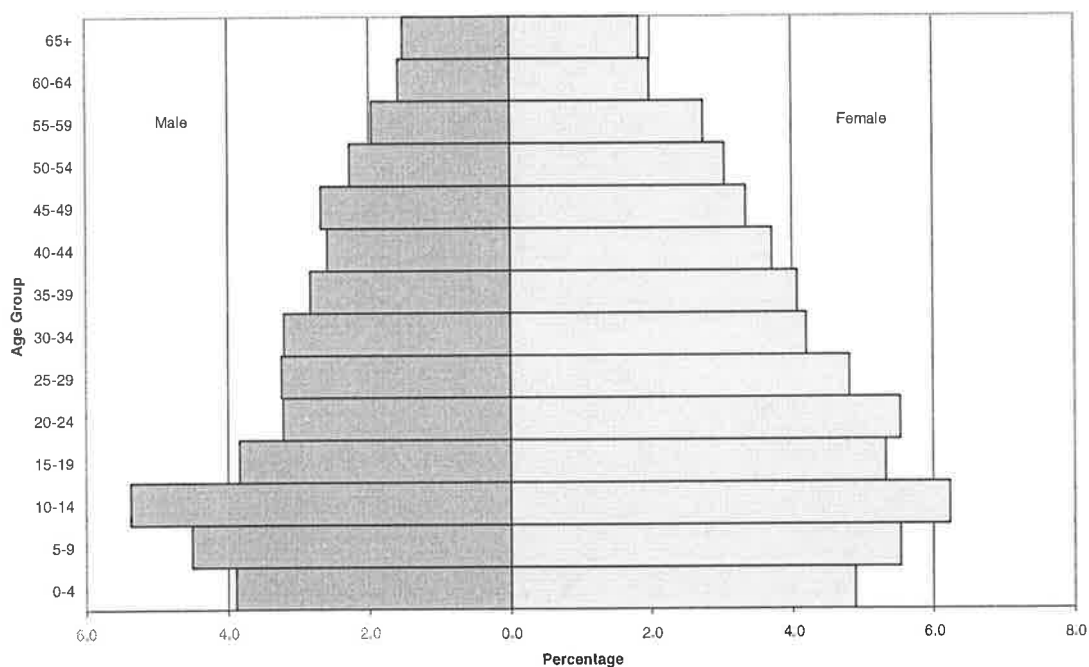
Source: Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998a



Source: BPS 1996

selective of young adults and this is especially the case in international labour migration ...the East Flores – Sabah movement is no exception” (ibid.48). It is also apparent from the 1997 pyramid that involvement of female migrant workers has been significant over the last decade. However, the bulk of them emigrate between the ages of 15 and 34 years and this follows the common (young adults) age pattern for undertaking international migration.

Figure 7.2. Eastern Flores: Population Pyramid of the Sampled Villages



Source: Field Data, 1998

Figure 7.2 displays the age-sex compositions of the total population of the sampled villages, it is based on the data collected from the village document in 1997. Similar to the age-sex structure for Eastern Flores as a whole (Figure 7.1), the pyramid of sampled population also shows a distinct shape indicating net migration losses among male working ages. The male proportions drop significantly from the ages 15 to 49

year of age and this follows the particular age pattern of labour emigration from Eastern Flores to Sabah (see Chapter Five). The females also show a hollowing out of ages in the 15 to 19 and 25 to 34 year old groups. They may follow brothers or husbands for working overseas. A low proportion of the bottom age group (0-4 years) also indicates low fertility resulting from a delay of the first marriage and a long-term separation between husband and wife due to working in Sabah.

Table 7.2 shows the age compositions of the sampled family members who are classified into three basic groups: young (0-14 years), adult (15-64 years) and aged (65 years and over). Both young and aged groups are usually considered to be economically unproductive and depend on the productive adult group. The proportion of the adult group of recent migrant families is lower than the other two groups of respondents as well as the population of Eastern Flores as a whole and this has indicated the effect of labour migration to Sabah.

Table 7.2. Age Composition of the Sampled Family Members

Indicator	Recent Migrant	Return Migrant	Non-Migrant	East Flores*
Dependency Ratio	79.22	88.95	69.52	71.95
P < 15 years	39.13	40.65	35.02	35.53
P 15-64 years	55.80	52.92	58.99	58.16
P > 64 years	5.07	6.43	5.99	6.31
Sample (N)	72	72	60	-

Source: Field data 1998

*) Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998b

Table 7.3. NTT: Sex Ratio per Regency, 1980-2000

No	Region	1980	1990	1995	1997
1	West Sumba	102.1	102.9	104.8	101.1
2	East Sumba	107.8	107.4	101.6	103.0
3	Kupang	112.0	110.9	110.0	113.7
4	South-Central Timor	101.0	99.6	99.6	100.4
5	North-Central Timor	100.4	98.8	97.4	94.6
6	Belu	102.9	102.2	98.4	97.8
7	Alor	95.1	94.7	94.5	96.1
8	Eastern Flores	79.8	77.7	83.2	80.4
9	Lembata*	-	-	-	-
10	Sikka	95.9	91.0	85.2	85.8
11	Ende	97.0	91.0	86.5	82.1
12	Ngada	98.3	96.0	89.4	88.6
	Manggarai	100.6	99.6	100.6	97.3
-	NTT	99.6	98.3	98.1	96,8*
-	Indonesia	98.8	99.5	99.1	100.6*-

Note: (*) Sex Ratios in 2000 census data

Source: - Kantor statistik NTT, 1998a

- BPS, 2002

7.2.3. Sex Ratio

Trewartha maintains that “sex ratios below 90 or over 110 are considered to be distinctly unbalanced” (1969: 114). Table 7.3 shows that over the last two decades, Eastern Flores has low sex ratios compared to other regencies in the province as well as compared to Indonesia as a whole. The 2000 population census data reveal that the sex ratios for both NTT and Indonesia as a whole are 98.6 and 100.6 (BPS, 2002) while data for the regency level are not yet available. The fact that the sex ratios for

Eastern Flores population over the last two decades were mostly below 90 relates to significant net migration losses of male migrant workers who move to work in Sabah (Hugo, 1998b: 20). The sex ratios for the other *kabupaten* in Flores (Sikka, Ende and Ngada) are also low indicating that labour emigration from these *kabupaten* is significant over the recent decades.

Table 7.4. Eastern Flores: Sex Ratio per District, 1993, 1996 and 1997

District	1993	1996	1997
Wulan Gitang	89.5	92.2	93.0
Tanjung Bunga	83.8	82.9	83.0
Larantuka	93.9	95.0	94.9
West Solor	70.3	71.9	70.6
East Solor	77.9	77.8	77.8
West Adonara	83.9	89.2	89.4
East Adonara	71.7	76.5	76.2
Naga Wutung	76.9	72.9	73.4
Atadei	68.5	68.2	71.2
Ile Ape	62.5	64.4	62.6
Lebatukan	79.6	83.1	83.4
Nubatukan	-	87.3	87.6
Omesuri	71.8	70.8	71.6
Buyasuri	73.4	69.8	70.1
Eastern Flores	78.2	80.4	80.4

Source: - Kantor Statistik Flotim, 1994; 1997
 - Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998a

Table 7.4 shows sex ratios of each *kecamatan* (district) in Eastern Flores in 1993, 1996 and 1997. District Larantuka, the capital city of East Flores retained a steady level of sex ratios of above 90 over the three-year period and this indicates that

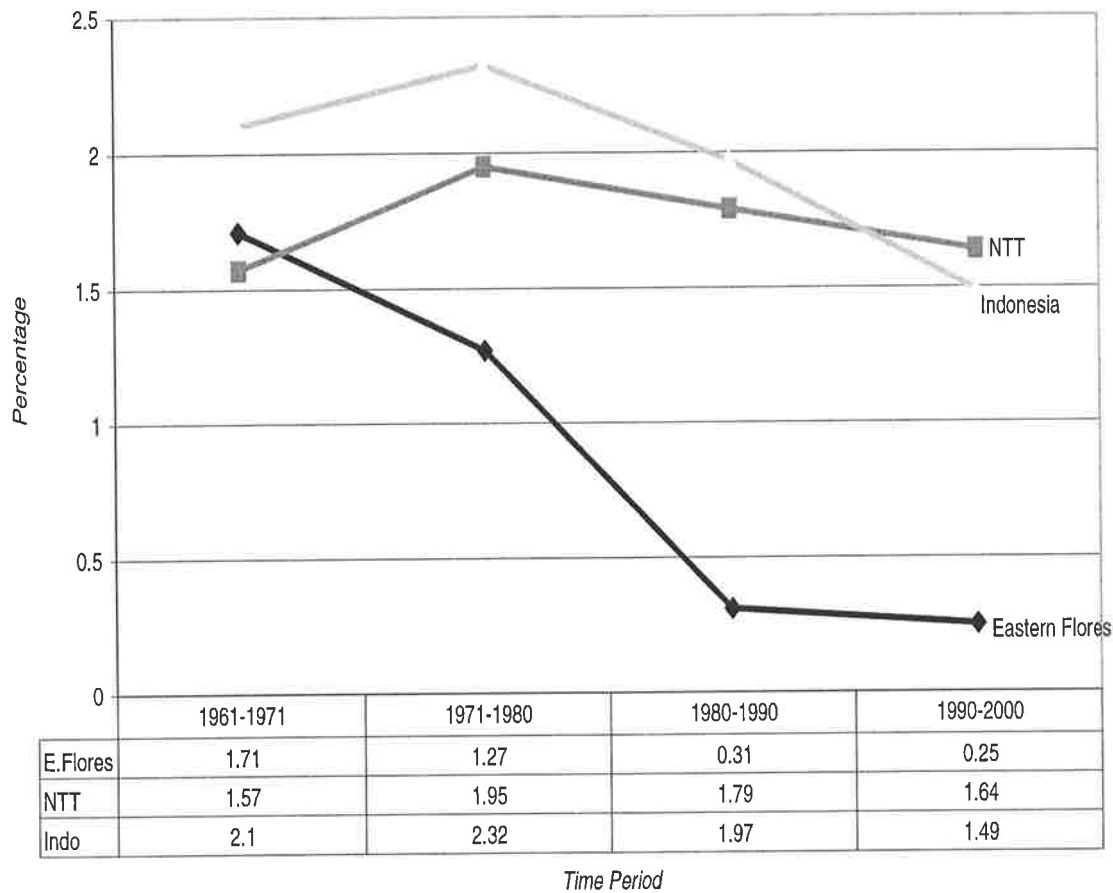
movement out of and into the district has low impact on sex composition. At the bottom end, Ile Ape achieved sex ratios lower than 65 indicating heavy out migration of the males of the district. It is unfortunate that the 2000 census data are not yet available for district level.

7.2.4. Annual Population Growth

The impact of labour emigration on annual population growth in Eastern Flores is prominent. Figure 7.3 shows that between 1961 and 1971 the region had a higher rate of population growth than the province as a whole (1.57%) but lower than that of Indonesia as a whole (2.1%). It then dropped significantly with an abrupt fall during the 1970s to reach its low point (0.25%) in 1990-97 which was far below the average for both the province (1.64%) and Indonesia as a whole (1.49%) in 1990-2000. This is "a rare occurrence in Indonesia and indicative of high levels of out migration" (Hugo, 1998b: 23).

Furthermore, table 7.5 gives details on population growth by district in Eastern Flores between 1971 and 1997. Over this period Larantuka, the capital, was the only district that had an annual population growth above one per cent while some districts experienced an absolute decline in population. In the most recent period (1996-7), for example, Ile Ape experienced the greatest decline (-5.35%) indicating a very substantial net migration loss and this complies with the information given in table 7.4 that the district also has the lowest sex ratio in the region. Locally the district is well known to be the driest and the poorest part of the island of Lembata but it is also known to have residents with the largest banking accounts than other districts of the island because of the large number of family members employed in Sabah.

Figure 7.3. Eastern Flores, NTT and Indonesia: Annual Population Growth



Note: The period of growth 1990-2000 for NTT and Indonesia, 1990-97 for E. Flores
 Source: - Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998a

- BPS, 1993, 2002b

A further consequence of low population growth resulting from significant net migration losses appears in a reduced pressure on land and employment opportunity in the home region (Hugo, 1985: 17; Parnwell, 1993: 103). It has been explained (see sections 3.3 and 6.2) that the land resources for farming in Eastern Flores are limited due to the active volcanic soils and steep hills although most of the local population (76%) rely on the agricultural sector. Consequently some move to work in Sabah. Anton, a 62 years Catholic leader explains that:

Table 7.5. Eastern Flores: Annual Population Growth per Districts, 1971-97

No	District	Annual Population Growth			
		1971-80	1980-90	1990-96	1996-97
1	Wulan Gitang	1.69	0.54	1.36	0.52
2	Tanjung Bungan	0.52	0.66	0.91	0.70
3	Larantuka ¹	1.64	1.70	1.19	1.49
4	West Solor	1.16	-1.27	0.27	-0.82
5	East Solor	0.44	0.17	0.58	0.92
6	West Adonara	1.78	1.28	-0.05	0.24
7	East Adonara	1.29	0.05	-0.05	-0.28
8	Naga Wutung ²	1.83	-0.57	-2.47	-0.17
9	Atadei	-1.96	-1.24	-1.86	0.85
10	Ile Ape	0.50	-0.32	-1.29	-5.35
11	Lebatukan ²	4.06	0.94	1.58	0.82
12	Nubatukan	-	-	-	0.63
13	Omesuri	1.31	0.40	-0.01	1.03
14	Buyasuri	1.12	-0.05	-0.33	1.32
-	East Flores	1.27	0.31	0.21	0.48

Note: 1). The capital city of East Flores

2). Both the districts formed Nubatukan, the 2nd city in Eastern Flores

Source: - Kantor Statistik NTT, 1997b; 1998c

When I was very young the island of Solor was covered by heavy green forest but now it has become a barren land because of farming exploitation. Each family used to slash and burn every year for their annual food production while there is also a need of firewood for the salt industry and household consumption that increases from year to year. It is fortunate that from the 1970s until now the promotion of job opportunities in Sabah through family networks has drawn a large number of migrant workers from most families on the island. Emigrants who mainly work in Sandakan, Tawao and Keke (East Malaysia) regularly support their family left at home and significantly reduce the pressure on land resources.

Respondents from the other districts, particularly East Adonara and Ile Ape, also argue that the available farming land is to be cultivated by aged males, females and

young children while young adult males should go out to find a better income in Sabah.

7.2.5. Fertility

International labour migration may have an impact in lowering fertility rates for several reasons. Lucas (1999b: 124) summarizes as follows:

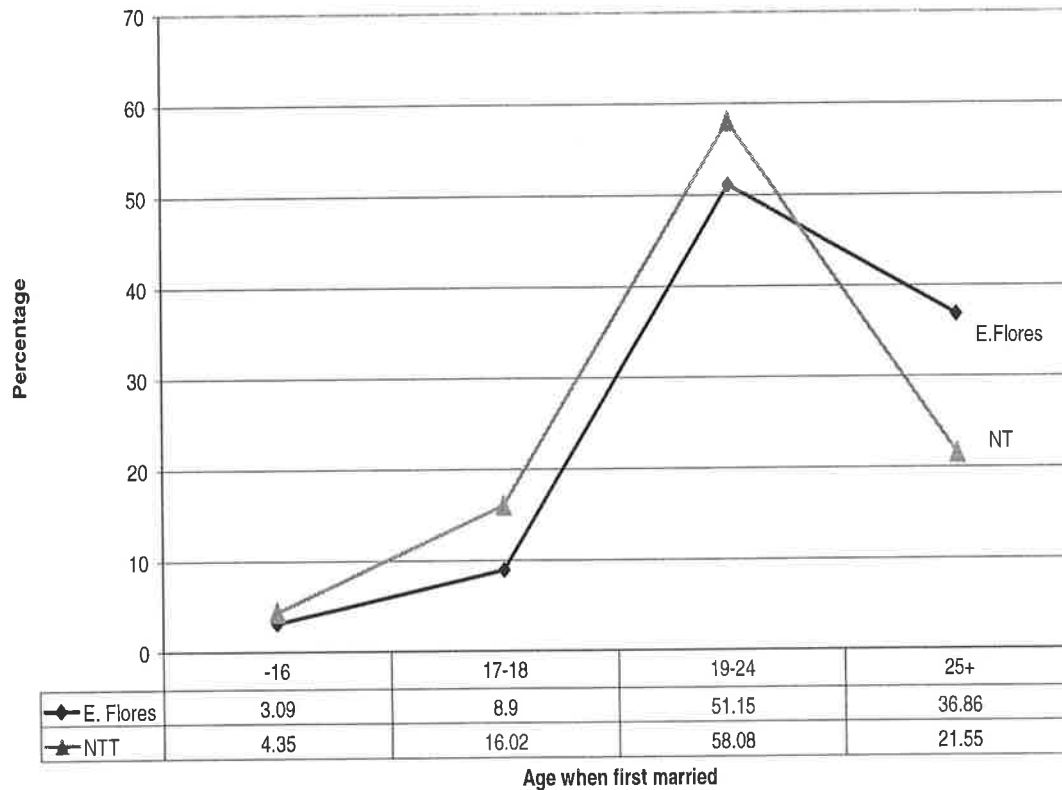
It is also possible to consider how migration influences the proximate determinants of fertility. One aspect of the disruption model is that migration may involve separation of spouses (Goldstein and Goldstein 1983:6). Findlay (1982), in her summary of conditions under which migrant women (often rural-urban migrants) have smaller families, included delayed marriage and greater use of contraception. Bacal (1989:84), using data from the 1983 Philippines National Demographic Survey, found that the interval between pregnancies increased after a move.

Other studies (e.g., Arcinas, 1991; Adi, 1996; Muchtar, 1997) explain that labour migration also results in a permanent separation of husband and wife since long-term separation caused by working overseas tends to limit the desire to have more children. It has already been explained in Chapter Three that in 1997 the TFR in Eastern Flores (4,309) was lower than in NTT as a whole (5,540) and this would seem to be an effect of the vast out migration of the reproductive age population (especially males) of the region.

Two main factors are identified to have an impact on the low fertility in Eastern Flores: long-term separations of husband from wives and a delay of getting married in the first place due to working overseas. Hugo argues that “the major impact of international labour migration in Indonesia is that it usually involves the separation of husbands and wives for an extended period” (2002: 23). The information given by return migrants reveals that there are only 18.1 per cent return home after working less than five years, 44.4 per cent between five and nine years and 37.5 per cent work

for ten years and over. The total time spent working overseas may, however, include short visits home for a few weeks. For instance, Ana of East Solor who was first married at 26 years and stays with her three year old son while her husband has been working in Sabah over the last two years. Mery (44 years) and her two children stay behind while her husband has gone to work for the third time in four years. She has visited her husband twice in Sabah but for no longer than a month. Yosefina (47) with a son and a daughter didn't see her husband for longer than two weeks in each short visit over the last five years. These women may have had more children if they did not have such long-term separations.

Figure 7.4. Eastern Flores and NTT: Percentage of Females Aged 10 Years and Over at Age of First Marriage, 1997



Source: Kantor Statistik NTT, 1998e

It is also apparent that by considering the opportunity to work in Sabah, some respondents have decided to limit the number of children they have. For example, Ida, a 34 year-old housewife who lives with her daughter and son in her parents' house explains that life would be very difficult if they had more children. Her husband is working for the second time in Sabah for the future of their family. Lamber who is waiting for the birth of their third and last child explains that this would be the last child even if they did not have a son. Her husband had to go back to work in Sabah.

Delaying the first marriage seems to be the most determinant factor influencing low fertility in Eastern Flores. Figure 7.4 shows that in general women of Eastern Flores are older than in NTT as a whole when they first get married. A significant number of women (37%) in the region marry at 25 years or older and this obviously shortens their reproductive period. In-depth interviews, show that a mother in Ile Ape indicated that both her daughters, Emi (26) and July (24), working in Sabah are still single. Yoseph of Omesuri whose father died when he was 10 years old just recently married at 35 years of age. He spent 19 years working in Sabah until both his young brothers finished their study programs. One of the most influencing factors for delaying the first marriage in Eastern Flores is the fact that marriage is very expensive. It has been explained in Chapter Three (section 3.6.3) that a prospective husband has to pay an amount of Rp.24 million (US\$2,670) for a medium level bride price, the price is higher for upper class families. It is extremely hard to pay the bride price and the costs for the marriage celebration without moving to work in Sabah for the lengthy periods which consequently results in delaying the first marriage.

7.2.6. Population Registration Data

Heavy out migration of labourers from Eastern Flores to Sabah seem to impact on the management of the local population registration data system. The heavy workload imposed by the constant coming and going results in inaccuracies and delays in polarization of the annual publications of *Kecamatan*, *Kabupaten* and *Provinsi Dalam Angka* (district, regency and province in figures). Moreover, the data provided at the village level are often rejected by the statistical staff since the it shows too much population losses. A senior staff of the local statistical office indicated that the latter had occurred in the 1980s. Until late 1998, for example, East Adonara¹ had not published figures for the years 1996 and 1997 due to such problems.

Inaccuracy may occur through the following two mechanisms. At the village level, data are not well documented and the village head tends to report only a part of the numbers of people moving out of or into the village. This is due to at least two reasons:

- The village head generally has very poor knowledge about how to maintain accurate data as well as of the importance of reporting such data.
- Documenting and reporting population data are non-rewarded duties and being head of a village brings no remuneration. A village head usually pays most concern to his primary job as farmer, local trader, etc.

At the *kecamatan* (district) level, population data sometimes may be misprinted or over adjusted by *Mantri Statistik* (statistical staff at district level) to improve the quality of the data before being published. For example, the researcher found coincidentally that the numbers of population documented in two of the sampled

¹ Esat Adonara was one of the most populous districts in NTT province and in late 1999 it was divided into four districts (that is: East Adonara, Ile Boleng, Klubagolit and Witiham). It is also well known to be a crucial source of labour emigration in the province.

villages are different² from what had been recorded in *kecamatan* as figures for the same year. The population numbers given by the *Mantri Statistik* are higher than those recorded by the head of the village. According to an official, vast out movement of temporary migrant workers often confused the village heads and they often report unrealistic numbers which may result in significant population losses for the year. He adds that the head of the village may record the numbers of those moving out but then neglects to register those coming back home.

7.3. Family Life

7.3.1. Living Arrangements

Labour migration out of Eastern Flores often has effects on the living arrangements of the spouse and children left home who may move to live in the household of their close relatives. *Pos Kupang* (23/10/97) reports, for example, that most of the wives and children of about 200 migrant workers in Sabah have left their own houses and live with their parents. Moving and living together with close relatives assures the migrant worker that the family left behind is secure.

It is shown in table 7.6 that the households of return and recent migrants accommodate a significant number of extended family members more than non-migrant households. On average each of the migrant households accommodates at least one extended family member but it is significantly less in the households of non-migrants. In a village survey (Hugo, 1998b: 51) household members of return migrants consist of 26.5% extended family members including children who had

² Total population of Amakaka (Ile Ape) 1997 were 867 (village document) and 902 (statistical figures); and of Ratulodong (Tanjung Bunga) 1997 were 1583 (village document) and 1648 (statistical record). The numbers recorded in the villages are lower than in the statistical records.

married. In-depth interviews indicated the following changes in living arrangements due to migration:

- The wife and children of a migrant moved to live with in their natal parents' household. For example, Ida and her two children in Ile Boleng, and Ana and her son in East Solor.
- In the crowded household of return migrant, *Pak Domi* and his wife, they accommodate their married daughter, a daughter in-law and five grandchildren.
- A primary school teacher who allows his wife to work with her brother in Sabah lives as a single person while their two children stay with their grandmother about 2,000 meters away.
- A widow lives alone in a separated house since her youngest son followed his brother to work in Sabah but for her daily living support, she is accounted to be a household member of her closest bother in-law.

It seems that changes in living arrangements are an important strategy not only to provide support for migrant families but also to ease some potential problems such as rumors relating to infidelity, child delinquency, etc.

Table 7.6. Eastern Flores: Average Household Members per Family

Household member	Return Migrant	Recent Migrant	Non-Migrant
Nuclear family members ¹	3.2	2.8	4.5
Extended family members ²	1.6	1.4	0.8
Average household members	4.8	4.1	5.3

Note: 1= Father, mother and children

2= Grandparent, grandchildren, children in law, niece, etc.

Source: Field data, 1998

7.3.2. Family Harmony

Family harmony is often affected by labour emigration since it involves a long-term separation and the phenomenon has been observed elsewhere. Hugo reports that “in East Java where more than 50 per cent of the total male adult population are away working in Malaysia, women reported that they were living as ‘widows’, had to take on extra work, were experiencing difficulty maintaining security in the village, were finding it hard to control and discipline children” (1992b: 193). Mahmood (1991) undertook a study of Bangladeshi migrant families and comments that a few wives were involved in infidelity and illicit relationships with their close relatives and neighbors. Others suffered from physical and psychological problems such as sleeplessness and chronic headaches, and some children had developed unruly behavior such as smoking, drinking and involved in conflict situations with their mother. In Pakistani society, Khan (1991) notes that the children of some respondents have often shown bad habits, particularly smoking and gambling and the others felt loneliness and insecurity due to the absence of their father. Pongsapich (1991) explains that about 40 per cent of Thai migrant families report that their children experienced problems like aggression, uncooperative behavior, ill-health and withdrawal. She adds that there was only about 5 per cent cases of deteriorated relationships between wife and husband while the large majority (70%) had improved their relationships during the migration period. Asis (2000) explains that the wives left home in the rural Philippines feel little fear about break up and infidelity did not seem as widespread as generally believed. The children of male migrants seem not to have as many problems as of those of female migrants.

Labour emigration out of the surveyed villages seem to have no significant negative impacts on children’s daily life and there are no clear examples of children

developing anti social or bad behaviour due to the absence of their father (see Graham, 1997). Some 90.5 per cent of respondents of migrant families in Eastern Flores consider that “the absence of migrants has not affected bringing up the children” (Hugo, 1998b: 108). Kapioru (1995: 63) informs that the children of migrant households become more independent in doing their daily activities. Delinquency among the children of migrant workers seems not to be a significant problem because of the following two reasons:

- Children are usually controlled not only by their mother but also by other close family/clan members.
- Children are usually involved in doing a lot of household duties and productive jobs to help their mother and hence they do not have sufficient time to develop bad behavior. An informant in Tanjung Bunga explained that the children of non-migrant families seem not to be as disciplined as of those in the migrant households. He adds that return migrants are usually more enthusiastic in instructing their young children to prepare them to work overseas.

The consequences of labour emigration from Eastern Flores for marital harmony have become a significant local issue but it is difficult to tie down. Hugo notes that the “Catholic Church locally has come out strongly against the migration because of the social disruption it causes. Labour migration is seen to disrupt Christian family life in Flores” (1998b: 108). Kapioru (1995), Graham (1997) and Raharto et al (1999) who conducted fieldwork in the region point out the same thing. Another study revealed that “during fieldwork in East Flores, one of the most frequently voiced comments about the impact of migration to Sabah (East Malaysia) was the break-up of marriage. Indeed, in some cases men and women

absentees had taken another spouse at the destination” (Hugo, 2002a: 25). The present study found two break up cases:

- Rolus who spent over 33 years in Sabah until his two sons graduated from university has lost his wife who moved in with another man at an unknown destination.
- Fina, the mother of two recent migrants in Sabah was separated from her husband. He married to a new Malaysian wife and they have two children. Fina became a family member of her brother in-law’s household because her *belis* had been paid.

The secondary data (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998e) show that the percentage of the family break up is higher in Eastern Flores (2.19%) than in NTT (2.02%) as a whole.

Although marital unfaithfulness has altered the attention of some local leaders, five persons (parents, clan heads and a chapel leader) involved in in-depth interviews indicated that husbands in the destination area are more likely to have an illicit relationship than wives in the home region. Two parents argue that taking their daughters back into their home while their husbands work overseas is a moral obligation to preserve their loyalty to their marriages. Clan heads explain that tight control from clan members and heavy punishments, even the death sentence³ from the husband frightens a wife to have an illicit relationship. The local clan’s headmen assert that control over those left behind because any bad behavior like illicit affairs or stealing would reflect badly on the clan as a whole. A chapel leader says that husbands in Sabah may have sexual affairs but many wives seemed loyal to their marriages. The few wives who misbehaved did not always belong to the families of migrant workers.

A long-term separation of husband from wife due to working overseas has been found in some areas to produce significant marital unfaithfulness. In Thailand for example, a cynical statement is common that “*pai sia na, ma sia mia*” meaning “lose your land when going abroad, lose your wife on return” (Roongshivin, et al, 1986: 92). This suggests that in these areas there is little normative control from the local society. For the people of Eastern Flores, allowing a husband or wife to work in Sabah is the best way that a family are able to improve their household economy and attempts to preserve the family harmony can be maintained through the involvement of relatives. In the home region a wife often moves and lives with either her parents or in-laws while in the destination area senior migrants often control the behavior of the new comers including fidelity to their marital relationship. However, infidelity still occurs and those who are found to engage in illicit relationships often excommunicate themselves from their society.

7.3.3. The Roles of Women

The roles of women have become more complex in Eastern Flores as a result of the absence of their male relatives who work overseas. Job divisions by gender are common in the traditional societies like Eastern Flores. Women are mostly responsible for specific jobs such as preparing food, collecting water and firewood, crafting, weaving and taking care of dependant family members. Muslim women in Eastern Flores seem to be specialized too in marketing goods as well as in the salt industry. Meanwhile men usually do particular jobs such as farming, fishing, carpentry and making decisions for the family. Changes in the usual jobs and/or doing unusual jobs occur due to a range of factors. Increase in educational levels, obtaining

³ The wife who is found while making love with another man is always killed by her husband or her husband's relatives

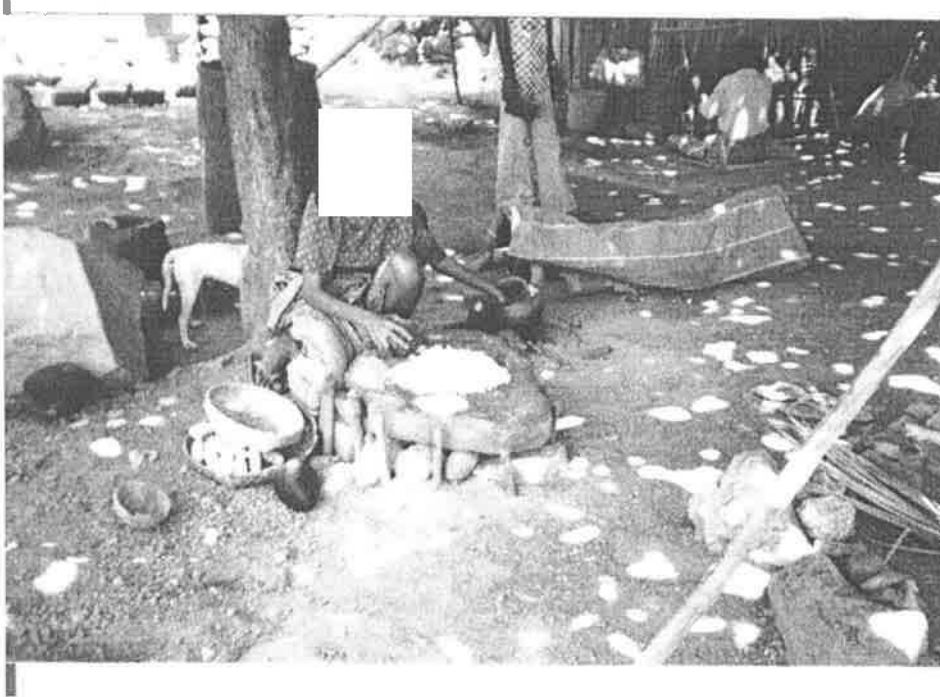
new skills or work experience, and living away from the husband are some of the determining factors that can cause changes in women's roles. In the particular case of Eastern Flores, a long-term absence of a husband who is away working in Sabah often results in raising the level of work participation of women.

Traditional women's jobs in Eastern Flores include preparing food (plate 7.1) home crafts (plate 7.2), preparing land (plate 7.3) and processing salt (plate 7.4). A few studies undertaken in the region have identical changes in women's roles due to labour emigration. Hugo argues that "it is clear that migration has widened the roles of women left at home in the village. Their role in family decision making has increased, in household budgeting, in making decisions about the schooling of children, in agriculture and animal husbandry and in community involvement has undoubtedly increased" (1998b: 106). Other studies pursued in the region (Kapioru, 1995; Graham, 1997; Mantra, et al, 1999; Raharto et al, 1999) also identify higher participation of women in work. Graham (1997:5-6) comments:

A great deal of rural women's time is actually spent on associated activities: gathering firewood, fetching water, picking vegetables, husking rice and feeding pigs. As well as exchanging mostly tubers for the salt processed by women living on the coast, upland village women also barter and sell garden produce at the weekly coastal market. Some women stoke the fire all day beneath their husband's lontar-juice still and then wholesale or retail the resulting palm wine. Often widows or other impecunious women act as retailers on behalf of these producers. They can sell the palm wine surreptitiously at the local market, a practice outlawed within the regency in mid 1980s, or deliver legally door to door 'on subscription' to regular customer in the urban environs around Larantuka.

The jobs the women usually do are not only to fulfil their household needs but also to participate in local community services such as in the village programs, church activities, family parties, etc.

Plate 7.1. Eastern Flores: Example of Food Preparation, 1998



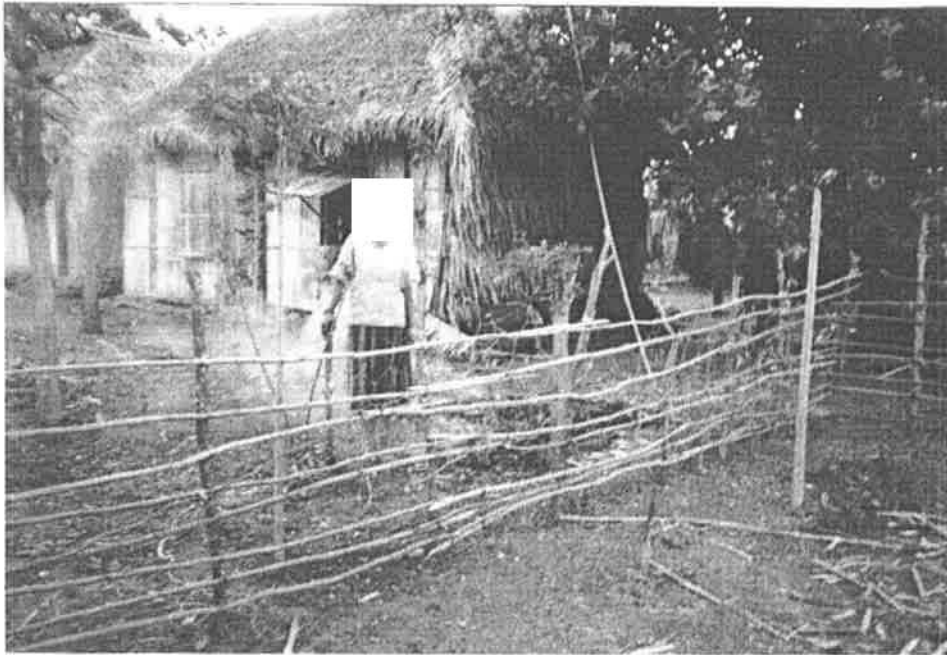
Titih jagung (tapping maize)

Plate 7.2. Eastern Flores: Example of Crafting Jobs, 1998



Crafting household equipment from palm leaves

Plate 7.3. Eastern Flores: Example of Land Preparation, 1998



Building fence and burning residues

Plate 7.4a. Eastern Flores: Traditional Salt Industry, 1998



Location for collecting salt materials

Plate 7.4b. Eastern Flores: Traditional Salt Industry, 1998



Traditional salt processing center

Table 7.7. Eastern Flores: Main Jobs Women Did Over The Last Year

Type of Job	Return Migrant	Recent Migrant	Non-migrant
Household duties	29.2	12.5	23.3
Small-scale industry	36.1	30.6	35.0
Trading activities	15.3	6.9	21.7
Farming activities	19.4	50.0	20.0
Total sample	72	72	60

Source: Field data, 1998

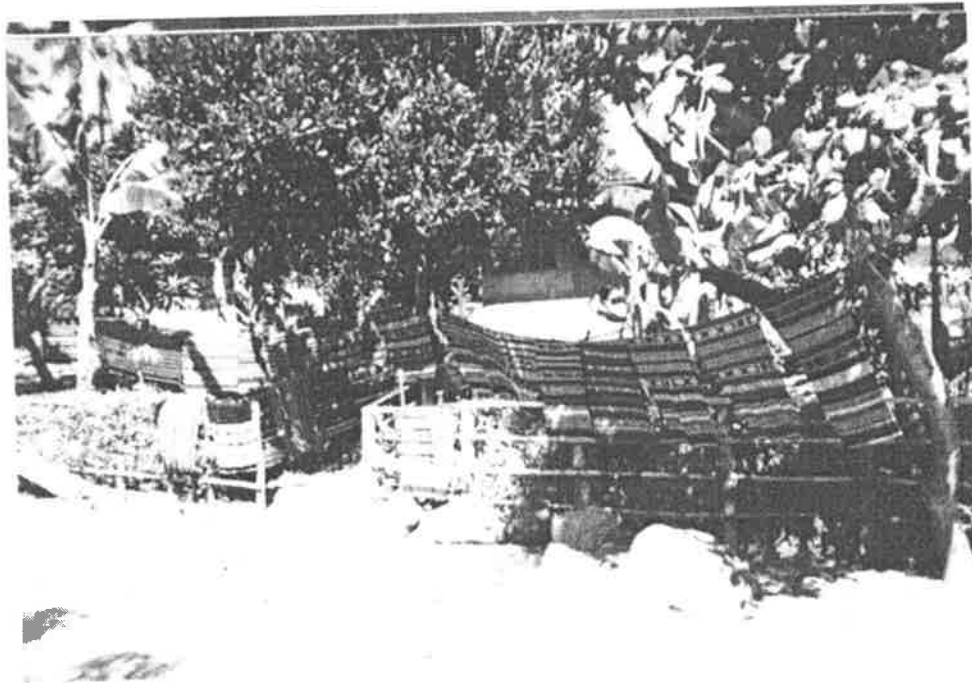
Table 7.7 shows that the main jobs women did over the last year varies between the three groups of respondents. Women of non-migrant families are more involved in trading activities. From field observation, these women often buy and sell goods from one market place to another. It is very important to note here that a half of the women

in the households of recent migrants work in farming activities and this indicates that in the absence of males, they take over such jobs to support their daily consumption needs. Hugo notes that “there does not appear to have been a reduction in food production in the villages due to the absence of the men. Women have taken on more agricultural tasks...” (1998b: 105). A significant job that women in the survey do to earn money is to spend time on picking tree crop fruits such as candlenut and tamarind, store them in their house and then sell them to a saleswoman who collects products from the different villages. The women in the return migrant families are involved in small-scale industry as are women in the other two categories. Weaving seems to be the principal small-scale industry for women in the region. Graham comments that “local textile production was, and still is, culturally prestigious women’s work” (1997: 6). That job also provides cash income for women. For example, a housewife (plate 7.5) in a recent migrant family earns about Rp.250,000 (US\$27.8) per month from weaving. The other types of small-scale industry that women often become engaged in are the production of salt, palm wine and brick (*batu bata*).

Plate 7.5. Eastern Flores: Traditional Weaving Production, 1998



Ibu Maria weaves every day and markets her products



The products are displayed for sale

Over all it is apparent from in-depth interviews and field observation that women are involved in many types of jobs and spend more time on their work participation but the extent to which they have a right to make decisions is still limited. Women are expected to make decisions on how to fulfil their daily needs, spending the allocated budget for the household consumption, presenting simple contributions to other family members, making job description. They may partly determine which child should go to work overseas but cannot make the following decisions:

- Which child should continue study and where she/he should go
- Who can marry their child and how a marriage is going to be celebrated
- When and how to redevelop or build a new house.

The following are four local reasons why women are not allowed to make decisions themselves for particular items even though they may head their own household. Firstly, some of the decisions would cost a lot of money such as continuing study or building a new house and a woman herself may not be able to meet the financial costs. Secondly, mutual cooperation or the so called '*gotong royong*' between the clan members has been a very popular custom in the society. The term '*gotong*' means that cooperate to carry together something heavy or light, and '*royong*' means to be joyful together. Men are usually dominant in making decisions for doing something together. Thirdly, in general a wife in the family structure of the society seems to be in a submissive position (Graham, 1997:8). She is usually submissive to her husband. If the husband dies or leaves, the wife would be submissive either to her natal father or brother in case her bridewealth (*belis*) has not yet been (half/full) paid, or to her father/brother in-law if her *belis* has been (half/full) paid. Finally, in the structure of Eastern Flores society, the clan head is the most influential person. He is the 'father' of all families of the clan. The clan members are usually proud of him and

trust him, consult him about their problems, ask his sponsorship and approval. He often controls the decision made not only by women but also men in his clan.

7.3.4. Participation of Young Children in Work

Tirtosudarmo, et al state that “poorer households tend to be characterized by a high proportion of child workers helping their family or parents or fulfilling their own needs” (1999:17). They further explain that the percentage of children working in NTT province increased between 1980 and 1990 from 11.1 to 15.5 per cent and work participation of children in rural areas was between two and four times higher than in urban areas. They add that in Indonesia as a whole, child work declined from 10.9% to 7.5% in the same period. In Eastern Flores, Kapioru (1995: 65) argues that return migrants often send their sons to work in Sabah and this seems to have an impact on the number of school dropouts. The present study has identified three migrant workers of the region who commenced their first migration to Sabah at 14 years old.

Heavy out migration of labour workers from Eastern Flores to work overseas also results in a high level of participation of young children in work in the home village. Table 7.8 reveals that the percentage of children participating in daily household activities over the last year is higher in recent migrant families (66.4%) than those in the households of return migrants (59.7%) and non-migrants (55.0%). To illustrate the nature of children working in Eastern Flores, Plate 7.6 depicts a compulsory job to be done before going to school. During school hours the children sometimes have to do some non-subject jobs (plate7.7). After school hours, weekend and holidays the children often spend more time in doing household activities (plate7.8). It is unfortunate that the quantitative data collected is inadequate to explain at what age

level children start working and how many hours they usually spent assisting their parents.

Table 7.8. Eastern Flores: Child Work Participation

Indicator	Recent Migrant	Return Migrant	Non-migrant
Total household members	296	342	317
Household working participants ¹	257	286	267
Number of young children ²	116	139	111
Percentage of child workers ³	66.4	59.7	55.0
Sample	72	72	60

Note: 1. Family members participating in the last year household daily activities

2. Young children are family members under 15 years old

3. This assumes all adult family members are household working participants

Source: Field data, 1998.

The intensity of work participation of children also seems significant. It seems that the children of migrant households are as active as their parents. To compare with a situation working children in West Timor, for example, a study (Eki, et al, 1990) measures the total time spent by parents (father and mother) and children involved in daily household activities and then compares the total time spent between children and parents. The study found that “on average, the contribution of children exceeds the amount of labour of husband and wife by 8.2 hours per day” (ibid. 67). This is because a parent is assumed to get assistance from 2.2 children. The study also reveals that the children are involved as early as 4 and 6 years old in some activities such as looking after their younger brother or sister, tending cows, feeding pigs and so on. The heavier jobs are usually undertaken as they grown up.

Plate 7.6. Eastern Flores: A Compulsory Job before Going to School, 1998



Fetching water after breakfast and dressing school uniforms

Plate 7.7. Eastern Flores: Doing Physical Job in the School Hours, 1998



School students are moving bricks (about 2km walk) to redevelop their class-room

Plate 7.8. Eastern Flores: Example of Children's Job after School Hours, 1998



a. Rita (11) is carrying candlenuts from field to their house



b. Some boys are fetching water to supply brick production

What has been observed in West Timor is similar to the even more excessive work participation of young children in Eastern Flores due to the absence of adult males in their households. Here are two cases of the children of recent migrants involved in work:

Yanti, a nine year old girl (plate 7.6) has to collect water from the only well, situated about 1300 meters from home, every morning before going to school. After school she often collects water for a neighbor who is an extended family member and she receives some money or a present. She also helps her mother in the garden and in other jobs. Rita (11 years) works hard every day before and after school. She knows exactly what has to be done without orders from her mother. Her mother leaves home at 6.00am to market some goods, then goes to visit her sick mother in a distant district and returns home after 7.00pm. Rita collects water, cooks and prepares food for the day for herself and her two young brothers (3 and 8 years) as well as her mother's dinner. She entrusts the youngest brother to her aunt while they go to school. After lessons, she picks her brother up, has their lunch and three of them go to harvest (picking from the ground) some candle nuts about 2 km away from home. She was pictured (figure 7.8a) together with her youngest brother when was taking home about 30kg candlenuts.

Although work participation of young children is high and seems to be a general characteristic among traditional societies, it is apparent from the present field observation that the children of migrant households are more likely to spend more time working and doing heavier jobs than those in non migrant households.

It is obvious that high participation of young children at work in Eastern Flores is an effect of the absence of their father. They start working at early ages and this has two contrary implications. On the one hand, it may oppose the regulations⁴ that protect children under 14 years from being forced to work (Tirtosudarmo et al, 1999) and it may also cause children to drop out from school (Guest et al, 1999). On the other hand, it seems to transfer knowledge, skills and better attitudes to the children. For this reason, most parents force their children to work as a good lesson for their

⁴ Indonesian Manpower regulation No. Per-01/MEN/1987, and International Labour Organization (ILO) Conference NO. 130/1979.

future. It has been explained that Eastern Flores migrant workers in Sabah are well known as being diligent workers (Hugo, 1998b: 87) and this is because they are used to working hard from their early ages.

In sum, the large out migration of workers from Eastern Flores has resulted in having both positive and negative impacts on their children left behind. On the positive side, children learn from the experience of working from an early age how to work to help themselves. They seem to have limited time to develop bad habits as reported elsewhere (UN, 1986; Khan, 1991; Pongsapich, 1991). Work participation of young children often involves low productivity relating to their physical ability but by having plenty of time to assist in some household duties, their parents have greater opportunities to engage in the more productive jobs. On the negative side, it is apparent that work participation of children may result in premature withdrawal from Primary school and/or hinders them from continuing to Junior High School. In analyzing child labour in NTT, Guest et al argue that “over one-half had failed to complete SD (primary school), a further 32 per cent had completed SD but did not continue on to SMP (junior high school), only 11 per cent had dropped out of SMP” (1999: 20). It is also stated that “work either within or outside the household had a negative influence on the success of children’s study...it is considered not to impair the healthy development of children or to detract from education and play” (Tirtosudarmo et al, 1999: 19). It is apparent that children prioritize work rather than continuing study and this would seem to preserve the low quality of human resources in the region. However, the extent to which children dropout from school due to work participation needs special analysis.

7.4. Social Norms and Cultural Values

Hugo comments that “the effect of cultural forces needs also to be considered. Each community in Indonesia has its own body of customary law (*adat*) which governs the behavior of community members” (1992a: 187-8). The contributions of social norms and cultural values to the success of labour migration of Eastern Flores to Sabah should be taken into account. It is also explained that “culture is usually relegated to a residual category and relatively neglected in the explication of migration flows. Although labour migration is seldom undertaken primarily for cultural purposes, cultural attitudes and perceptions of the migration process can have a significant impact on the decision to migrate” (Tsuda, 1999: 14).

The most valuable norms and cultural values in Eastern Flores that enable migrant workers to get better achievements from working in Sabah are strong ties and mutual beneficial cooperation between relatives. It has been explained in Chapter Five that the bulk of labour migration from Eastern Flores to Sabah proceeds through kinship networks and facilitates success in the host country from support given by relatives. In every struggle of life, the members of Eastern Flores community have shown their strong ties and mutual cooperative habits practiced from their earliest days to the most recent generations including those who work in Sabah. There has been a popular local saying that “*Ihin pulo deka netekto*” meaning “one handle of ten plowshares cutting over the soil”. Indeed, one handle is a symbol of togetherness and compactness in actions to cultivate the land owned and the ten plowshares symbolize the clan members who act as one handle. The people believe that through acting together, they produce better outcomes. Hence, strong ties and mutual cooperation between the clan members have been implemented and practiced throughout the development of the

society. Local history impresses upon the members that in times of land disputes the degree of their ties and cooperation between relatives determines the level of success in defending the land owned. Furthermore, each clan tends to show off its power through competitiveness in funding extravagant parties,⁵ sponsoring the education of children, building luxury houses, having large deposits in the clan treasury and so on. It is also pointed out that “the outcome of a case is typically determined by the resources not of the landowning household alone but by those of his entire clan” (Daeng, 1988: 262).

Traditional culture has shown its special dynamism and enables its people to support their survival in the industrialization era. Firstly, it enables poor families who live in poor economic regions to get out of their vicious circle of poverty by moving to work overseas. It is argued that “poverty begets poverty” (de Janvry et al, 2000: 179) or in other word, “once poor, always poor” (Ahlburg, 1996: 231). This is because poor people almost always live in poor environmental areas where with a lack of resources to support their daily basic needs (Elliot, 1996; Winkelman, 1998). Spaan (1999) concludes that the poor families in East Java have less opportunity to ease their poverty by moving to work overseas as they are not able to pay the movement costs. He adds that if they have a such chance, “their migration entails relatively more risk as they often incurred debts with usurers” (ibid. 331). The persistence of poverty suggests that poor people are almost always less able to overcome their poor conditions unless they are given “appropriate poverty alleviation programs” (Ahlburg, 1996: 232) that enable them to become more productive workers. Eastern Flores is one of the poorest areas in Indonesia, however, the local traditional culture

⁵ In late 1930s for example, Daeng (1988) notes that numbers of animals they slaughtered on a move of a clan members from their old village to the new one comprised 300 water buffalo and untold numbers of pigs.

particularly strong ties and mutual cooperative habits have provided opportunities and support for poor families to work overseas. Migrant workers are assisted not only by providing moving costs (sections 5.3) but also in helping them to get better jobs and higher incomes in Sabah (section 5.2).

Secondly, the traditional culture enables migrant workers to lessen the potential risks and optimize their profits by moving through maintained family networks. From the migrant perspective, these channels provide services that minimize the debts incurred, maximize the profitable income and guide them to security and certainty. From the official perspective, however, the kinship networks provide illegal services in facilitating family members to work overseas and this has always been blamed as being against the public development policies or the national interests although in fact such claims benefit only a single person, group or industry. Hence, it is impossible for the officials to admit or perceive the services given by the family networks although in fact they are able to minimize the risks and maximize the profits. Indeed, it has developed conflicts between legal and illegal migration due to the perceived interests of migrant workers and officials as well. Archavanitkul, et al (1999) argue that illegal migration is a product of the regulations set by officials. Since the bulk of labour emigration from Eastern Flores to Sabah has persisted over decades, it seems that the norms and values facilitating the movement flows are more profitable. The traditional culture that enables migrants to move and work successfully overseas are more respected and reliable for supplying basic needs of the source community but also to sustain the local economic development. Implementing a new policy development is necessary but it has to multiply the benefits that have been achieved through the traditional norms and values.

Thirdly, strong ties and mutual beneficial cooperation between migrant workers in the area of destination have enabled poorly educated and low level skilled workers to undertake skilled jobs and earn very high incomes (sections 5.2.4-5). Theoretically, those having poor qualifications are commonly considered to be low productivity workers. It is more often the case that the poor economy in Eastern Flores and NTT as a whole is associated not only with lack of natural resources but also poor human resources which is mainly considered only from the levels of formal education and skills attained. Yet in fact migrant workers of Eastern Flores are able to adjust perfectly and have shown their high productivity rates which are made possible through their traditional cooperative mechanisms. Hence, it is not impossible for the people living in the poorest regions to augment the regional economy if they are well governed.

Local government should consider and implement the most appropriate policy development in the home region, that is one that is able to reduce the dependency of the household economy on overseas employment and hence also reduces migration. Tsuda argues that “the local cultural perceptions of the economic benefits and rewards of migration and its acceptability as a strategy for economic survival are crucial variables that encourage individuals to migrate” (1999: 14). The decision to move to work overseas is an essential and has been a ubiquitous phenomenon. However, the out movement from Eastern Flores which involves substantial numbers and allows most workers to go and return frequently over their productive ages is likely to reflect feelings of depression at being unable to survive within the local economy. Migrant workers while understanding the stresses of long-term separations from the family left at home as well as facing the many difficulties during the migration period realise that this is the only option available to sustain their household economy. If the capital

accumulated (money, skills and ideas) from working overseas is able to consistently and continually produce adequate income for migrant families, labour emigration will persist but its volume might decline and this is an important part of the regional development strategy.

To consider an appropriate policy development that is able to boost the local economy and reduce the migration tendency, Ormeling (1956) who titled his book "The Timor Problem" has examined the Dutch welfare policy implemented in NTT in 1910. Initially it was to consider what kind of project was essential and most appropriate to be implemented to augment the local economy. Cattle, then, was chosen for the reason that animal husbandry seemed to be a general characteristic among the Timorese. Both the native pigs and buffalo were so important for *adat* sacrifice and also the local meat supply but they had lower prospects in export commercialization. 1912 to 1916 was the period to decide what strains of cattle (Australian, Indian, Java, Madura or Bali cattle) would grow well in the geographical environment of Timor. The Bali cows were chosen because they conspicuously expressed a spectacular increase. Later the Dutch also considered the way to operate this new policy. As it was expected to get support and involved high participation of the grassroots, the Dutch first introduced the program through the local traditional leaders. The cows were distributed first to the *radjas* (the top societal leaders) then to *Fetors* (mid-level) and *Tamukung* (the low level) and finally to the household level. It was surprising that from early 1940s, the cattle had been exported to Java and then to Hong Kong. In 1970, NTT was declared to be the greatest source for cattle throughout the country. Unfortunately populations of the export commodity have decreased very significantly over the last two decades because it is not sustained by the current development policies. In order to reduce the number of migrant workers, especially

those who move and work illegally in Sabah, such a planning mechanism could be adopted in setting appropriate welfare programs in Eastern Flores. In analyzing the impact of migration on the local development, Hermele suggests that “migration will stimulate development if the emigration country is ready to be developed... The environment necessary for development must be first created in order for migration to be able to stimulate development” (1997: 140).

7.5. Conclusion

Three main dimensions have been examined in the present chapter. Demography is the first and the most prominent dimension reflecting the non-economic consequences of labour emigration in the home area. Net population losses are very significant and provide indirect evidence indicating the substantial numbers of labour emigration from Eastern Flores. Vast and constant out movement of workers has caused a very low rate of population growth that was far below the average growth for NTT and Indonesia as a whole over the last three decades. It also results in a low sex ratio and forms a distinct hollowing out of young males in the local population pyramid. Labour emigration that allows a long-term separation of husbands from wives as well as delays of the first marriage is likely to create a preference of low fertility in the home region. The population movement sometimes has caused inaccuracy and a delay in annual population registration systems.

Family life is the second aspect examined. Labour emigration often has effects on living arrangements such as a housewife returning to live with her parents and children staying in their grandparents' house. Marital harmony has become a significant local issue but it is difficult to tie down. Social controls over infidelity and

illicit relationships are maintained not only in the home region but also among those in the destination. However, the spouses in the area of destination are more likely to be unfaithful than the wives left behind. The impact of labour migration on work participation suggests that both women and children undertake heavy jobs and spend more time on work participation due to the absence of the adult males. However, local custom allows this as a good effort to survive in poor regions.

Social norms and cultural values of the society of Eastern Flores is the last examined dimension. Strong ties and mutual beneficial cooperation between relatives are the most important aspects that “shape people’s actions and their production” (Mcdowell, 1994: 148). The traditional culture has shown its special dynamism and enables its people to support their survival in the industrial era. The principle: *‘Thin pulo deka netekto’* suggesting strong compactness and togetherness in actions enables the family left home to cope with local constraints, facilitates potential migrants to move easily and accesses them to get better jobs and higher incomes in the area of destination.

Chapter Eight

Economic Consequences of Labour Migration

8.1. Introduction

Analysis of economic consequences of international labour migration in the area of origin is a key element in migration studies because this type of population movement is usually driven by intentions to seek better jobs and higher rates of income in destinations. Analysis usually focuses on the impacts on origin areas from two aspects: the economic losses and benefits. The former includes such elements as the out-movement of productive workers result in declining productivity while the later involves improving the local economy by easing the unemployment rate and raising wage levels in the home area. To what extent such losses or benefits occur depends on the characteristics of out movement as well as on local socio-cultural and environmental circumstances. In the Eastern Flores case, it has been explained in Chapter Seven that in the absence of migrant workers, women and children have no difficulty in carrying out the necessary agricultural activities in the home village. On the other hand, remittances are an important factor influencing household economies in the area of origin (Faeamani, 1995; Ahlburg, 1995; Hugo, 1996a; Osaki, 1999). It is the impact of remittances sent back to the village which is the main concern of this chapter.

The chapter begins by assessing the form, volume and mode of sending money home. It then examines the main use made of remittances among migrant families and

its effects on regional and national development. An attempt will also be made to analyse whether labour migration effects human capital formation that may be able to sustain the future economy of Eastern Flores and eventually allow the economy of the home region to reduce its dependency on overseas employment and become self sustaining.

8.2. Remittances Sent Home

Hugo argues that “the key to any assessment of the economic impact of migration is the flows of wealth generated by that movement” (1998b: 85). It is impossible, however, to estimate a precise scale of remittances because of its complexity; it can be in the forms of cash, goods as well as in social items (Connell, et al, 1995:10; Taylor et al,1996a:187). Levitt explains that “social remittances are the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving – to sending country communities” (1998: 926). Although such items seem not to contribute direct benefits, it could result in better management of the household economy. Yet, remittances in form of goods are of substantial. Migrant workers often bring back valuable goods to symbolize their successes in working overseas (Seoket al 1991:127; Hugo, 1998b: 97; Warm Singh, 1998: 181) but the value of such goods often is not included in the measurement of remittances. The bulk of remittances measured are usually in the form of money but even in this area the complexity often results in underestimation. A large amount is often unrecorded (Brown, 1995:35). Hugo notes that “the measurement of remittances in Indonesia generally is problematical and this difficulty is exacerbated in the NTT context by the illegality of the movement, the isolation of the home area and the long history of remitting money to the area through

non-formal, traditional channels” (1998b: 85). A significant amount that flows into the home region is often sent by migrant workers directly from Sabah to Java, Sulawesi or Bali in order to finance some family members who are continuing study there. Hence, the focus here is to assess in detail how migrant workers usually send their remittances from overseas, the forms they take, volume of the remittances, and how they are sent.

8.2.1. Forms and Volume of Remittances

Sending money is the most common form of remittances but the flow of goods is also significant in the Eastern Flores region. Plate 8.1 shows an example of the valuable goods brought back into the home region. All important house materials such as cement, glass, wood, zinc, nails, iron rods for reinforced concrete, etc., were brought back when migrants returned home using a chartered boat from Sabah. The appearance of the houses built by returnees reflect new ideas of modern house construction acquired while away as well as the migrants building luxury houses to symbolize their success in working overseas. They are not the only modern houses built in the poor and remote villages of Eastern Flores using the materials brought home on returning from Sabah. Field observation indicates that similar modern houses are built in every village throughout the region using materials brought in from Sabah copying the example of returnees. Kapioru comments that “on their return, East Flores migrant workers often charter big boats from Kalimantan and/or Pare-pare to bring back many goods from (East) Malaysia” (1995: 61). Moreover, the flow of other goods from migrant workers into the region such as electronic equipment, clothes, jewellery, is also important although it is not included in official

Plate 8.1. Example of houses built using materials brought home by chartered boats when returning from Sabah. East Adonara, 9 September 1998



The owner is illiterate who spent over 38 years in Sabah.



The owner is a well known job recommender

records and their value is difficult to estimate. In Tonga and Western Samoa, such “unofficial remittances sent in the form of goods” (Walker et al, 95: 101) are useful in sustaining daily household economic activities.

Table 8.1. Eastern Flores: The amount of remittances from overseas between 1996-1998 (Rp‘000,000)

Sending Channel	1996	1997	1998 ¹
Post Office	135.9	775.2	77.0
BRI (Indonesian People Bank)	2,194.3	3,313.1	932.0
BNI (Indonesian National Bank)	346.6	146.5	N/A ²
Total	2,676.8	4,234.8	1,009.0

Note: 1. The amount of remittances between 1st January and 30th April 1998

2. Data are not available. At the time this study was pursued, BNI is one of the suspected Indonesian corruptive banks and its staffs refuse to provide data.

Source: Unpublished document in *Kandepnaker* (labour office) of Larantuka, Eastern Flores, August 1998.

Although a large part of the flow of remittances into East Flores is underestimated, including money, a senior staff member of the local manpower office has made some estimates of remittances as presented in table 8.1. The amount remitted in 1997 was more than four times higher than the local government budget (PAD - *Pendapatan Asli Daerah*) of Eastern Flores in 1996/97 which was only Rp.1,036.8 million. Moreover, these remittances were equivalent to 22.3% of total PAD in the province of NTT as a whole in the same year (*Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998a). The estimated amount remitted in 1997 was 58.2 per cent higher than total remittances in the preceding year. The amount remitted in 1996 was 36.7 times higher than total exports

from Eastern Flores (US\$1,338,414.8 Vs US\$36,45.0) or 5.5% of total exports from NTT as a whole in the same year. Clearly the data presented here have shown that the contribution of remittances is very significant in the economy of the area of origin. A senior staff member of the local manpower office indicates that more than 90% of the remittances come from East Malaysia from where the bulk of emigrants of East Flores work.

8.2.2. Mode of Sending Remittances

The information gathered from questionnaire interviews regarding how remittances are sent has been summarized in table 8.2 for return migrants and table 8.3 for recent migrants. The data show that within the last two years of working in Sabah, one-third of return migrants and a quarter of recent migrants (i.e. those moving before the crisis) sent no remittances back home. In many cases, however, those who did not send any remittances know that their families could survive on their assets and work at home and they intended to bring a large amount of cash on their return to the home village. For example, Vincen, a return migrant with 24 years working experience in Sabah explained that usually within the first week of arriving back in the village, neighbors continually ask about how the returnee intends to utilize the money brought home, whether as a deposit, building a new house, etc. Hence, a returnee would be most embarrassed if they returned with a small amount of money. Indeed, he said it was better to stay overseas rather than coming back home if you did not bring back a large amount of money.

Table 8.2. Eastern Flores: The remittances sent by return migrants during the last two years working in Sabah

Indicator	No	%
<i>The amount remitted</i>		
No remittance	24	33.3
Less than Rp.1.0 million	26	36.1
Rp.1.0 – 1.9 million	19	26.4
Rp.2.0 – 2.9 million	3	4.2
Rp.3.0 million and over	0	0.0
<i>Remitting frequency</i>		
No remittances	24	33.3
1 – 2 times	30	41.7
3 – 5 times	12	16.7
6 times and over	6	8.3
<i>Sending channel</i>		
Bank	13	18.1
Post office	19	26.4
Relatives/friends	16	22.2
Took back alone	24	33.3
<i>Remitting pattern*</i>		
Incidental	39	54.2
Regular	15	20.8
Both	18	25.0
<i>To recipient beyond East Flores*</i>		
Never	35	48.6
Yes, rare	14	19.4
Yes, often	23	32.0

Note: *) The remittances sent within the last five years

Source: Field data, 1998

Table 8.3. Eastern Flores: The remittances sent by recent migrants during the last two years working in Sabah (between July 1996 and June 1998)

Indicator	Before Crisis		In Crisis Period	
	No	%	No	%
<i>The amount remitted</i>				
No remittance	18	25.0	0	0.0
Less than Rp.1.0 million	32	44.4	0	0.0
Rp.1.0 – 1.9 million	22	30.6	0	0.0
Rp.2.0 – 2.9 million	0	0.0	3	4.2
Rp.3.0 million and over	0	0.0	69	95.8
<i>Remitting frequency</i>				
No remittances	18	25.0	0	0.0
1 – 2 times	29	40.3	58	80.6
3 times and over	25	34.7	14	19.4
<i>Sending channel</i>				
Bank	12	16.7	51	70.8
Post office	21	29.2	8	11.1
Relatives/friends	29	40.3	9	12.5
Took back alone	10	13.8	4	5.6
<i>Remitting pattern*¹⁾</i>				
	No		%	
Incidental	32		44.4	
Regular	21		29.2	
Both	19		26.4	
<i>To recipient beyond East Flores*)</i>				
Never	34		47.2	
Yes, rare	11		15.3	
Yes, often	27		37.5	

Note: *¹⁾ The remittances sent within the last five years

Source: Field data, 1998

Return migrants who sent remittances over the period mainly remitted amounts lower than one million Rupiah (36.1%) while no one sent more than Rp.3 million. It seems that the amounts remitted back home were influenced by the economic crisis in Indonesia. A tendency to send small amounts among recent migrants (table 8.3) was obvious before the economic crisis but amounts increased in the crisis period. There are two reasons why migrant workers tended to send small amounts before the crisis. Firstly, they usually wished to “bring back with them a great deal more money than they sent” (Hugo, 1998b: 93). Secondly, it is argued that remittance levels are usually sensitive to the relative exchange and interest rates (Connell, 1995: 183) in which the higher the rates the greater the intention to invest remittances. Migrant workers of Eastern Flores usually invest their money in Sabah where there were higher interest rate levels than in Indonesian banks. This was certainly the case before the crisis. According to three return migrants, they could deposit their money in Malaysian banks if they had legal entry documents while those who had no official documents could deposit their money in a trusted “*keday*” or shop. However, in the first year of the crisis, recent migrants remitted a large amount of money – 96 per cent sent Rp.3 million and over in a year – in order to take advantage from the higher exchange rate as well as the very high interest rates in Indonesian banks. As Lianos (1997: 78-9) explains interest and exchange rates are two of the main some factors that migrant workers usually consider in making decisions to send their remittances back home.

When the economic crisis began in Indonesia in mid 1997, capitalists shifted their money overseas and this caused problems in the nation’s financial situation (Ananta, et al, 1998: 316; Manning, 2000: 117). It has been estimated that the capital flight out of the country reached US\$40 billion several months after the crisis started and Singapore alone acquired over US\$100 billion from Indonesia in 1998 (*Kompas*,

15/11/2001). Consequently the government raised interest rates 65% in 1998 (Cameron, 1999:11) in order to preserve the stock of capital in the country. Although migrant workers took this opportunity to optimize their benefits by investing their money at home, they also contributed significant amounts (section 8.4) to regional financial sources at the time the nation's economy fell in a harsh crisis and the flight out of capital from Indonesia was prevalent. The fact that recent migrants used banks more often (70.8%) in sending money back home during the crisis was of special benefit to Indonesian banks (table 8.3). Meanwhile migrant families also could benefit from sending money through the central bank in Jakarta to get higher exchange rates than in the local banks (East Flores) and their money would be secure from robberies than if they took large amounts by hand when returning home. Hence, migrant workers considered it wiser to change the mode of sending money from 'by hand' to using banks or post office.

8.3. The Use of Remittances

The issue of whether remittances are mostly spent in consumption or investment is usually explained by indicating the main use made of the money received from overseas. The United Nations explains that "at the microlevel, remittances can augment household income and savings, facilitate purchases of consumer durables and investment in productive assets, and alter the local income distribution" (1998: 155). It has been shown in section 6.4 that all the reasons given by migrant workers to leave their villages of origin are economic motives that force them to work overseas to fulfil basic needs of their families. This means that providing household necessities appears to be the principal motive driving labour emigration. However, the main use

made of remittances could shift from consumptive necessities to investments because of two reasons. Firstly, it depends on the amounts of money sent home: the larger the amounts sent home the greater the possibilities to increase investments. Secondly, changes upon the nature of consumptive necessities: the greater the demands of the necessities, the smaller the opportunity to spend for investments. This analysis assumes that the expenses made for household consumptions and payments of debts and *adat* costs are considered as consumptive necessities while expenses for physical assets, education and bank accounts are included as investments.

Table 8.4 shows the main use made of the money sent home within the last five years. Individually household consumption dominates the main use of remittances as has been found previously in the region (Goma et al, 1993: 407; Hugo, 1998b: 99). However, the high expenditure of remittances on household consumption has often been portrayed as negative but it is argued here that it can be a major positive force in households and community. The United Nations explains that “when remittances are mostly used for consumption, they generate additional demand which can stimulate investment indirectly if that demand is met by expanding production facilities” (1998: 156). Hermele (1997: 139) adds that although a great portion of remittances is spent for consumption, it has secondary impacts in stimulating the local production of raw materials and services. It is common that having increase of incomes including remittances is almost followed by changes of family lifestyle that often demands high expenses on consumption needs and this appears not only in the traditional communities but also in modern societies.

Table 8.4. Return and recent migrants: the main use made of the money sent home within the last five years

Indicator	Return Migrant	Recent Migrant	Total	
			N	%
Household consumption	20	22	42	29.2
Debts and <i>adat</i> (customary law) costs	7	12	19	13.2
<i>Consumptive necessities</i>	27	34	61	42.4
Physical assets	15	11	26	18.0
Educational fees	16	18	34	23.6
Bank (saving accounts)	14	9	23	16.0
<i>Investments</i>	45	38	83	57.6
Total	72	72	144	100.0

Source: Field data 1998

Repaying debts using the money sent home has often been associated with the costs of movement from origin to destination area. Previous studies in Eastern Flores (Goma et al, 1993; Hugo, 1998b; Mantra et al, 1999) explain that a significant amount of the money remitted back home is spent for repaying debts. If the debts paid only represent the costs of moving from Flores to Sabah, this claim seems not consistent with a statement that such movement is not “excessively expensive” (Hugo, 1998b: 5; 2000: 101). This study found that the debts to be repaid are more crucial than just for the moving costs. The *adat* (customary) costs seem to be a constant burden on the household economy of and rise from social systems and cultural practices in the community of Eastern Flores. Payment of the wife *belis* (bridewealth) is very expensive and compulsory (section 3.6.3). Celebrations of many events relating to social life such as death, marriage, confirmation, etc., as well as to religious and other ceremonies often cost a lot of money. When a family meets an event with light or

heavy costs, including sponsoring school student or moving costs, all related families (blood and in-law, intra-inter clans) would spontaneously contribute their donations. This makes the event's costs fulfilled easily but the family incurs debts and has to repay (re-donate) the same amount received to each family at the time they hold events. Indeed, the more frequent the events met and/or the larger the amount spent on an event, the larger the amount received as donations and the larger the amount of debts incurred.

The data presented in table 8.4 show that payment of debts and *adat* costs is the smallest item in the main use made of money sent home but historically it has been the major economic pressure that results in labour emigration to seek a better income overseas. It is because clan members often show off their wealth in sponsoring a lot of events which usually entail debts for the families involved. This cultural practice establishes what may be claimed to be 'lifetime debts' for the families involved in mutual beneficial support between relatives although the debts incur no interest, fines or sanctions for any late payments.

In total, both items assumed to be consumptive necessities (household consumption and debts) account for a smaller portion of remittances (42.4%) while investments (assets, education and banking deposit) account for a larger share (57.6%) of the remittances sent home. This has an implication that the contribution of remittances exceeds the original needs initiating labour migration to work overseas, and its surpluses have resulted in significant investments. Through the following three types of investment, it seems that attempts have been made by the poor people living in the poor region of Eastern Flores to step out from their poverty-cycle because they do not want to remain poor.

Investment in education is of importance in the society. In table 8.4 it is the second largest item consuming the money sent home and this reflects the findings of previous studies (Hugo, 1998b). From in-depth interviews, it seems that the bulk of the money used for educational purposes is to finance children continuing study, usually beyond the home region. For example, a housewife explained that the remittances sent by her husband (and second son) from Sabah are to support their two children undertaking tertiary education in the capital city of the province while the income she earned from weaving and other activities is sufficient to support their youngest child at a local high school. In addition, some primary school pupils help their relatives or neighbours such as fetching water or firewood, etc., and they are given money or presents in the forms of school stationery and student uniforms.

Allocation of a significant portion of the money earned overseas for children continuing study to a higher educational level has two implications. Firstly, the flow of remittances does not always go into the home region but also to other places from where students of Eastern Flores are continuing study such as in Kupang, Java, Bali and Makasar (South Sulawesi). Tables 8.2-3 have shown that more than 50 per cent of migrant workers sent remittances to recipients beyond Eastern Flores and table 8.5 gives an example of the money received by recipients beyond the home region. If the average amount received by the four students in 1998 is assumed to be the same as the amount received by 100 students in the same city, the total amount sent will be about Rp.191.3 million in that year. The real amount remitted to all students from Eastern Flores would be exceedingly higher than the amount assumed here because a lot of students from the region continue study in Java, Bali and Sulawesi where have higher living costs. Hugo (1998b: 113) mentions that it has been estimated by bank officials in Eastern Flores that around \$1.00 of every \$1.3 remitted from Malaysia is sent out

of the home region to meet the educational costs of children and other needs. It is interesting that migrant workers who are originally classified to be low qualified workers are making a significant contribution of remittances that benefit other regions in the country. Unfortunately their money is unlikely to benefit development of the home region for two reasons. On the one hand it reduces the amount of money that could add to capital formation in the area of origin. Secondly, the children with better education who benefit from the remittances usually refuse to come back home because they expect to find skilled jobs in urban areas in Java (Hugo, 1998b). This is a kind of brain drain from the region but it is in many ways a “second generation brain drain”(ibid.106).

Table 8.5. The money received from Malaysia by students of East Flores at a Health Academy in Kupang, 1996-98

Indicator	1996	1997	1998
Number of students	3	4	4
Number of drafts	10	15	17
Total value (Rp'000)	2,250	4,500	7,650
Average/student/year (Rp'000)	750	1,125	1,913

Source: Field data, February 1999

The other implication of allocating a significant amount of money on education indicates an intention of migrant workers to qualify their children to achieve better life and work circumstances than their parents. Hugo (1996a: 26; 1998b: 106) explains that migrant workers from Eastern Flores go to work in East Malaysia for a few years to earn enough to send their children and siblings to continue study in Java. This also means that although some earned a very satisfactory income in Sabah, they

often do not want their children to follow in their footsteps. Nimus, one of the most successful return migrant explained that the work conditions in Sabah are too hard and often cause accidental death while working away from the family is 'like living in the prison'. He did not wish this for his children.

Table 8.4 shows that the third most important use of remittances was in maintaining physical assets. Seventeen of 26 respondents who spent much money on this item improved their houses and others purchased cars. Spending a large amount of remittances on building new houses or renovations in the region may be considered to be non-productive since the houses built for occupation are not for rent purposes. From a micro perspective, however, having a permanent house – made with brick walls and corrugated metal roof (*beratap seng*) – is cheaper than having a house made from timber materials. In the Pacific States migrant families have used remittances in building permanent houses and “it saves considerable time and effort for those who would otherwise have to weave coconut leaves (*pola*) for thatching and walls every years” (Faeamani, 1995: 146). So having modern house in the remote villages of Eastern Flores is a type of saving. At a macro level, a large number of permanent houses in a region gives an air of prosperity. Gmelch et al who analysed the impacts of return migration on the poor rural of Canada point out that “the presence of many new or renovated houses gives an air of prosperity to areas where there is a lot of emigrant financed housing, and the new construction and renovation increases local employment” (1986: 193). This means that high expenditure for housing has multiple effects on local economic development.

In general, housing conditions in Eastern Flores are far better than in NTT as a whole although the latter has a higher rate of income per capita than the former and this is clear evidence of the contribution of remittances to improving housing in

Flores. It has been indicated in chapter three that in 1997, 43.7 per cent of houses in Eastern Flores are built with stone/brick walls compared to only 21.2 per cent in NTT as a whole. Indeed, Hugo comments that “these indicators are all the more striking because the NTT figures include substantial urban areas like Kupang, but East Flores has only very limited urban development” (1996a: 25).

Table 8.6. Eastern Flores: Number of minibuses in the districts sampled*

District	Year	Number of minibuses
Tanjung Bunga	1996	9
Ile Boleng	1996	13
Ile Ape	1996	11
East Solor	1997	2
Omesuri	1997	10
Total	-	45

Note: * Presenting number of minibuses in Eastern Flores as a whole would involve that belong to the Chinese in the town Larantuka, Lewoleba and Waiwerang
Source: *Kantor Statistik Flotim*, 1996b; 1997b,c

Assets in form of cars that are used as minibuses in local public transportation are a significant remittance investment in Eastern Flores. Table 8.6 shows that in 1996-97 forty-five minibuses were owned by rural families living in the five districts sampled. They mostly have been purchased from remittances. Twelve and a half per cent of return migrants indicated that they have used the larger portion of the money earned overseas to purchase minibus or *bemo* (Plate 8.2), serving as public transportation in the village of origin. This type of investment is considered to be economically beneficial not only for the vehicle owner but also for the local community.

Plate 8.2. Examples of cars purchased using income earned in Sabah.
They are operated for public transportation, 1998



The owner who is driving and his brother have two minibuses



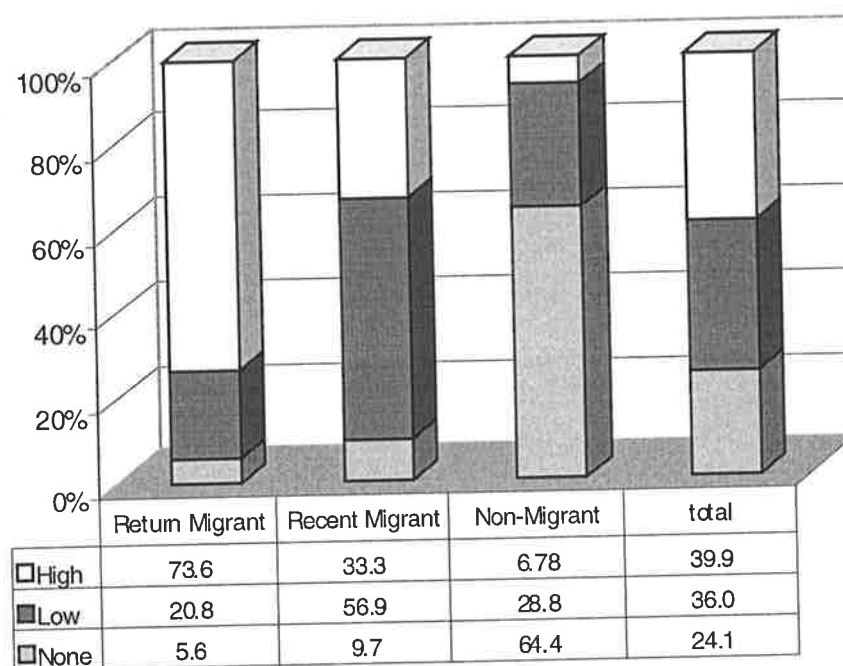
The owner/driver is fixing his car.
He spent less than 10 years in Sabah and got this car

A large amount of other assets are also purchased from remittances such as tools, electrical generators, rainwater tanks and other equipment. These assets are useful for further production and increasing household incomes. For example, the musical instruments purchased by a return migrant in East Adonara are used to earn income by presenting performances in Waiwerang township (Adonara), as well as in the capital city of Larantuka (East Flores), Lewoleba (Lembata) and Maumere (Sikka). A migrant family of Bantala uses *mesin parut kelapa*, the equipment purchased from remittances to extract coconut oil, to earn additional income. All migrant families built tanks to save rainwater for their daily consumption. Five respondents informed that each has purchased a piece of land in (or close to) the city of Larantuka or Lewoleba for the future of their children.

The last main type of investment is depositing money in the local banks and this has been an important option for migrant families over the last few years. It has been indicated in chapter three that in 1997 some 63.1 per cent of the total population in Eastern Flores have deposited money in banks with an average savings of Rp.495,779 while in NTT as a whole it is only 23.1 per cent with less average savings (Rp.226,856). Table 8.4 shows that 16 per cent of the 144 respondents banked a large portion of the money sent home within the last five years but the rest also deposit a small portion of the remittances. An informant in East Solor gives an example of his brother who spent more than 35 years working in Sabah and deposited money in bank of over Rp.200 million. Figure 8.1 presents data regarding the financial investments made by the three groups of respondent and it shows that migrant families have made more significant deposits in local banks than non-migrants. This investment pattern has two implications. On the one hand, it indicates that working overseas is more profitable as migrant families are able to invest more money in banks than those

working in the home village. On the other hand, this tendency corresponds to the fact that non-migrant families who are involved mainly in selling activities use their cash to run their daily businesses rather than depositing their money in banks.

Figure 8.1. Eastern Flores: Financial investment made until July 1998 by the family of return, recent and non migrants (Percentage).



Note: None = No money are invested in banks
 Low = Investing less than Rp.10 million
 High = Investing Rp.10 million or over

Source: Field data, 1998

In summary, the discussions above have shown that the supplying of basic daily needs is a necessary and important use made of money earned in East Malaysia there are also investments made in education, physical assets and cash savings. This reflects the overwhelming financial success of working overseas and demonstrates the improvement of the household economy in the home village which results.

8.4. Trickle Down Effects of Remittances

8.4.1. General Significance of Remittances in the Home Region

Taylor et al comment that “if remittances yield a net income gain within households where saving rates are positive, the export of labour will provide a way for poor countries to augment savings. Migrant remittances thus perform the same function as foreign investment and international development assistance” (1996a: 186). It has been indicated in a previous section that the contribution of remittances from Sabah to the poorest region of Eastern Flores is overwhelming and a large part of it is invested rather than consumed. This substantial contribution can augment economic development of regions of origin which are the poorest and most island areas from the center of government and decision making in Jakarta (Hugo, 1996a:16; 1998b:29; ADB, 1999: 89). However, two main obstacles hinder the effectiveness of remittances in boosting economic development in the home region (Taylor et al 1996b: 402). The first obstacle relates to the absence of policies designed to channel migrants’ savings into productive investment, and the second is a lack of well-functioning factor markets to stimulate the use of remittances to boost local development. These obstacles are both prominent in Eastern Flores and hinder the effectiveness of the substantial remittances sent home in augmenting local development.

8.4.2. Capital Accumulation

According to Todaro, “capital accumulation results when some proportion of present income is saved and invested in order to augment future output and income” (1997: 105). Capital that makes possible expansion of a region’s output level include investment in houses, land, other physical equipment (machinery, tools, etc) and

socio-economic infrastructure (electricity, water, communication etc) as well as human capital. As Spencer et al (1993:21) write:

It's important to note that capital, to the economist, means *physical* capital (goods used in production) and not *financial* capital (money). In the business world, *but not in economics*, people generally use the term 'capital' to mean money – the funds used to purchase capital goods and to finance the operation of a business. For the economy as a whole, however, money is not a productive resource. If it were, nations could become rich simply by printing money. *Money's chief function is to facilitate the exchange of goods and services*. Money therefore serves as a lubricant rather than as a factor of production within the economic system.

The term 'capital' used here refers to both physical and financial capital accumulated by the use of money earned in East Malaysia and has potential to facilitate further production in the home village. It is difficult, however, to estimate the amount of capital accumulated as following examples indicate.

Among the physical capital assets which are purchased with remittances, minibuses seem to be the most significant. These usually are involved in public transportation linking villages to the main city of each of the islands. They increase the income not only of the owners but also a wide range of traders (from car sellers to spare part producers, mechanics and petrol sellers), local government from payment of taxes and help farmers in commercialising their farming outputs. Unfortunately the effectiveness of operating such minibuses seems to be limited by the local natural and socio-economic conditions. For example, two minibuses available in Solor (the smallest island with a population of 25,511 in 1997) operate regularly just for two days per week to serve the passengers attending weekly markets in the island. As these markets are usually held only a half of the days, the minibuses operate in accordance with the market hours. The minibus owners usually wait for occasional special orders such as to transport water or other goods. Daily activities of the society in the island sustain less effective use of the minibuses because in going to school, farmland, etc., people usually walk along narrow pathways. In the other three islands

with a greater population and more townsfolk (eg. Waiwerang in Adonara, Larantuka in Eastern end of Flores and Lewoleba in Lembata), the demand for transportation of people and goods is greater but high competition between a greater number of minibuses operating in the islands seem also to limit their effective use and the income earned.

Fishing boats have potential to boost the regional economy. Fox explains that “to exploit the potential that does exist in eastern Indonesia requires capital investment in large, relatively well-mechanized boats with the capacity to store a catch until it can be delivered to an appropriate market” (1996:163). Two respondents have invested remittances in such assets but they argue that their products are limited by the amount of local consumers. Families living along the coast are mainly fishermen who catch fish for their household consumption needs and hence there is limited opportunity for boat fishermen to market their products. If an industrialized/canned-fishing factory were established in this region, this capital investment would raise not only the output and income levels but also the employment opportunities. Other assets purchased from remittances to sustain the household economy in the home village are prominent but this needs special analysis to indicate their effective uses in augmenting local economic development.

The accumulation of financial capital in the region is significant as is presented in table 8.7. The investments made in one of the only two banks (BRI and BNI) operating in the region have shown outstanding growth particularly from 1997 to 1998 and this is indicative of two things. Firstly, it is apparent that there has been a big increase in savings locally and this is mainly due to remittances. It has been shown earlier that the onset of the monetary crisis in mid 1997 led to capitalists shifting their money overseas. However, table 8.7 indicates that migrant workers sent

a large amount of money back home during the crisis. Figure 8.2 also shows that a large portion of the money invested in BRI is accounted by the daily accounts for rural residents or *Simpedes* (*simpanan masyarakat pedesaan*). Hugo comments that “if it was not for remittances, the *kabupaten* of East Flores would be extremely poor, it is remittances which are enabling the *kabupaten* to record any significant growth in its economy at all” (1998b: 112).

Table 8.7. Eastern Flores: Annual growth of savings in BRI¹, 1996-98

Savings	1996	1997	1998
Deposito ²	102.3	65.6	361.5
Simpedes ³	15.0	9.0	63.2
Others ⁴	20.1	15.0	93.9
Total	18.1	12.6	93.9

Note: 1. BRI is one of the only two banks in Eastern Flores

2. Term deposits for interest purposes

3. Daily accounts for rural residents

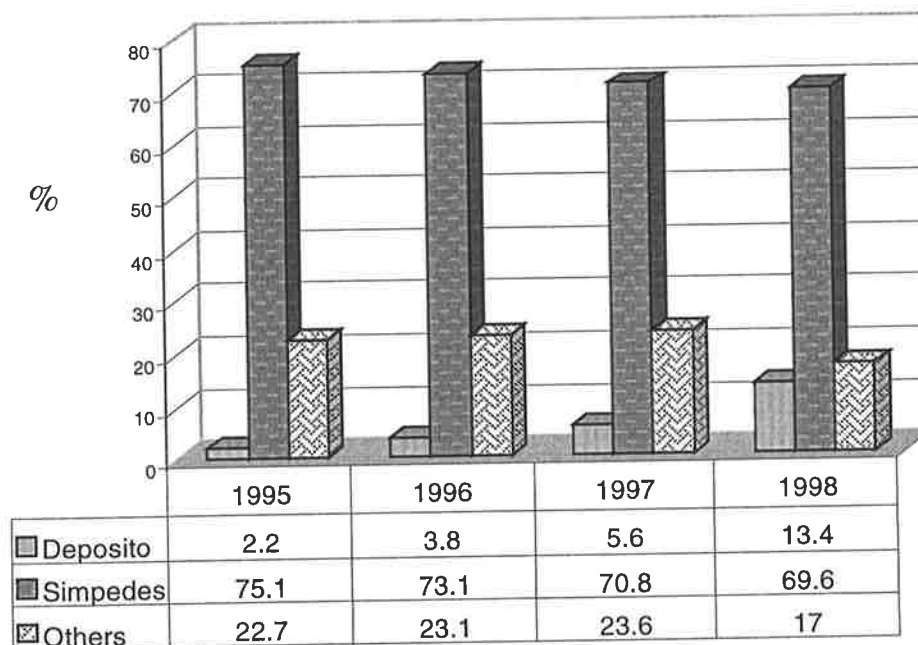
4. The other three types of BRI savings include *Simaskot*, daily accounts for urban residents

Source: Kanwil BRI (Regional office of Indonesian people bank) of NTT, 1999

Secondly, the saving amounts made in 1998 indicate that the flow of remittances from Sabah to Eastern Flores increased and grew by 93.9 per cent from the previous year. This has an implication that workers from Eastern Flores who worked in Sabah might be not much involved in job replacement due to the effect of economic crisis in Malaysia and hence, they were able to increase their remittances during that year. Indeed, it has been highlighted that a significant number of dismissed workers and

high repatriation of illegal migrants occurred due to the economic crisis in ASEAN nations (Hui, 1998:198; Pillai, 1998: 265) and especially in Sabah Malaysia (Kurus, 1998:290-1).

Figure 8.2. Eastern Flores: Composition of savings in BRI, 1995-98



Note: *Deposito* = term deposits for interest purposes

Simpedes = daily accounts for rural residents

Others = the other three types of BRI savings include *Simaskot*, daily accounts for urban residents

Source: Kanwil BRI (Regional office of Indonesian people bank) of NTT, 1999

The fact that migrant families have shown a high propensity for investing a large amount of money in banks has at least three major implications. Firstly, investing much money indicates that a high income was earned and was above the amounts spent for other necessary needs. This is made possible by those who are considered to be low productivity workers due to their characteristics of having low education and poor skills on the one hand, and their illegal movement that potentially involves

exploitation on the other. Yet in fact, however, through their hard work and strong mutual cooperative working mechanisms, they are able to be upwardly mobile in their work and earn a high income. Hence, they are not only able to fulfil their household necessities and to invest in physical capital but also to accumulate financial capital. This suggests that lowly educated and poorly skilled labour workers in eastern Indonesian region often perform at a high productivity level and if they are given more productive opportunities through the implementation of well-planned development policies in their home villages they can perform at this level at home. Indeed, sustained income sources and alternative jobs in the home region are required to supply household needs although the real income earned is not as high as in Sabah.

Secondly, investing a large amount of their money in banks is partly indicative of the lack of potential for productive investment in the home region. As a result there is likely to be insufficient income gained for the household economy so that the dependency on overseas employment opportunities will persist. It is apparent that they invest their money into banks with two expectations namely that they can receive interest and also that they are able to keep their money in a secure place and is accessible at any time. Investing money in banks usually produces a small profit for creditors and it can not be expected to be a major source of income for the family. In normal conditions, for example, a family of a migrant worker who deposits Rp.100 million with 7% interest would receive a monthly income lower than Rp.600, 000 which can not cover the cost of household necessities and, hence, the intentions to work overseas would consequently remain to be a significant push factor since many households have invested lower amounts in banks.

Thirdly, investing in banks a large amount of money earned overseas has been viewed as a kind of sucking of wealth out of the periphery and toward the center.

Germidis et al (1991: 71) point out that saving propensities in rural areas may be higher than are usually assumed. They further explain that there is a “financial urban bias is ...the banking system, if not regulated to act differently, easily becomes an instrument for siphoning off the savings from the poorer regions to the richer and more progressive ones... In other words, local depositors exceed local credit in rural areas” (ibid.150). The financial capital accumulated in Eastern Flores that is mainly contributed by rural residents (figure 8.2) is more likely to benefit the urban sector than the local area. Those who usually become borrowers of the money accumulated in banks are businessmen in the urban areas rather than people living in small remote villages (Ghate et al, 1994:55). Recently some Indonesian Parliamentarians who visited Kupang voiced the view that *Kamar Dagang dan Industri Daerah* (trade and industrial divisions) and banks in NTT are poor in regulating high savings in the region to become cheap loans or to improve the infrastructures that boost economic growth in the poorest province (*Kompas*, 14/8/02b). They also found that in fact, a large part of the savings in NTT’s banks is shifted out to support development programs in other provinces and this has been a factor in local impoverishment.

Germidis et al (1991:71), Thirlwall (1994:274) and Todaro (1997: 608-9) indicate that high savings in a region where the demand for money loans is also high increases local productivity. This is very unlikely to be in the case in Eastern Flores. Mansur, a local trader in Omesuri who has business connections with traders from Sulawesi explains, for example, that it is more profitable to use his own money to run his business rather than borrowing from banks with very high interest rates. Ghate et al (1994: 55) explain that borrowing money from banks or moneylenders in Indonesia is more prevalent in urban areas and is associated with particular ethnic groups (Chinese

and Bataks). The Javenese are accustomed to the “*arisan*¹ rather than *pinjam* (loan)” (ibid.55) while the villagers of Eastern Flores support one another through mutual beneficial help rather than borrowing from banks. Since the capital put into the bank by the villagers of Eastern Flores fails to create new job opportunities in local rural areas, the money is shifted to urban areas and hence the centre-periphery theory applies (Stahl, 1995). Indeed, the rural areas as the periphery are frequently impoverished. Firstly, it has lost a lot of potential labour who move and work overseas leaving low potential workers in the village. Secondly, the remittances invested into banks in the hometown are shifted out to urban areas and thirdly, the children attaining higher educational levels who benefited from remittances but refuse to come back home and become agent of changes in the remote villages. Stahl writes: “thus human as well as other resources are transferred from the periphery to the centre” (1995: 220). Consequently Eastern Flores will remain poor and this tends to increase household economic dependency on Sabahs’ employment and the intention to move to work overseas over the upcoming decades.

8.4.3. Cash Circulation

The effect of remittances on cash circulation among traditional communities particularly in the remote villages of Eastern Flores (where barter system is still in operation) is significant. It has already been explained in section 6.2.2 that goods exchange is still practiced in few weekly markets but previously barter was dominant in the local weekly markets. The propensity to exchange goods with someone else’s goods indicates that the cash owned by those who are involved in the market is limited (Plate 8.3) and this has been described as a “cashless society” (Byrns et al,

¹ A regular social gathering whose members contribute to and take turns at winning an aggregate sum of money (Echols et al, 1994: 29).

1992:238). Currently migrant families in the remote villages usually purchase goods in cash (Plate 8.4). They transfer the money earned overseas in cash purchasing farming products from remote villagers as well as industrial products from local traders who regularly sell various goods in the traditional markets. Taylor et al argue that “higher incomes for remittance-receiving households increase the demand for both agricultural and urban goods and services” (1996a: 200). Indeed, cash circulates through transactions between consumers, producers, and traders in the remote villages of Eastern Flores.

The remittances sent by migrant workers from Eastern Flores also effects in cash circulation at regional and national levels. The money earned overseas is usually in foreign currency, requires transfer transactions when it is taken home and effects cash circulation between financial institutions and personal. Indeed, the more frequent and/or the larger the amounts of the money sent home, the greater the opportunity of cash to circulate within the country of origin. The money sent home by East Flores migrant workers contributes to cash circulation beyond the community of origin not only from exchange transactions but also from the expenses in purchasing goods and/or education fees in other provinces of the country of origin. Meanwhile a large amount of the money invested in banks is available for a wide range of loan services and seems to benefit more likely formal sectors in urban areas than small-scale economic activities pursued in the home region.

late 8.3. Eastern Flores: An example of barter system observed
in a weekly market in a remote village



A housewife exchanged peanuts with rice and salt
in Monday market of Tanjung Bunga, August 1998

Plate 8.4. Eastern Flores: An example of cash bargains



A return migrant is bargaining fish in cash
on Monday market in Tanjung Bunga, August 1998

8.4.4. Local Employment

Remittances are often considered to bring positive impacts on local employment and this has been proven in some empirical studies. For example, Faeamani (1995) found in Tonga and Western Samoa that remittances do support the formation of local working groups such as a women's club that runs projects to enable them to generate income by producing mats, growing plants, etc. The men's club focuses on improving fishing nets and outboard motors to increase household income and this has been creating jobs for some of their relatives. In Indonesia, Adi (1997:300) found in Java's community that remittances enable migrant families to employ household helpers (*pembantu rumah tangga*) as well as field assistants in agricultural jobs such as breeding cattle and managing wet rice field (*sawah*).

In some cases, remittances may have negative impacts on local employment. Arcinas (1991:127) informs that some of those returning from overseas with a significant amount of money tend to prepare their land using (small) mechanical tools rather than using laborers. Gmelch et al (1986: 193) found in the rural area of Canada that the jobs created using remittances are usually of a temporary nature. It depends upon a regular flow of remittances into the home region. They also comment that in housing development, for example, many returnees are willing to become local laborers and whenever they need extra labour for their own projects they obtain it through reciprocal cooperation with kinsmen and neighbors. Accordingly remittances may not be sufficient to provide job opportunities in any significant way in the area of origin.

The extent to which remittances that are sent into Eastern Flores impacts on employment or provides income sources may be influenced by the conditions of the local socio-economy. Among such conditions, a strong extended family system is one

of the most powerful determinants. It often enables each family to fulfil their working activities without employing laborers who are seeking income. The local residents usually work cooperatively between the clan members to help one another in heavy or light jobs but special helps are usually given to women and children who left behind. Migrant families usually ask for help to get water or for firewood collection and they provide present from the money earned overseas. It is apparent from field observation that building new houses in the villages sampled is always made in cooperation between relatives and they employ no hired carpenters or bricklayers. Among various reasons, they have commitment to build house by turns once one has been ready and they wish to use their resources more efficiently. An informant also argued that the locals usually wish not to hire paid jobs within the home villages. Hence, remittances are more likely to facilitate community self help in the region, a social system that activates high participation rate between the clan members. However, as long as their participation yields no income for each participant, it seems that dependence on remittances as a facilitator of a wide range of economic activities in the home village would remain high and thus emigration persists.

In addition, the isolation and remoteness of the region are a critical condition to sustain any job created (by the use of remittances) to become an important source of income in the region. Some return migrants who expect to optimize their income in the home village invest their money in public transportation vehicles, drive and service the cars they owned themselves applying the skills acquired overseas. Although they have made a significant contribution to the local economy by facilitating transportation, those involved in in-depth interviews complain about their current income. It has been explained earlier that in the island of Solor, for example, villagers usually use transportation services in a rare occasion. Two drivers who are

also the car owners produce regular transportation services about 10 to 15 hours per week. They earn from driving and from other additional jobs such as farming and small selling activities about four times lower than what they earned in Sabah. Since they earn low incomes in the home village it is difficult for them to employ other job seekers. Investments in fishing tools, *mesin parut kelapa* (coconut oil scraper) and other facilities are significant and this should become important income sources for migrant families (and their relatives) but the outputs are limited by the local structural forces such as market demands in conjunction with geographical isolation. It is also argued that “the rich volcanic soil of East Flores would make it a good place to grow vegetables for export, but poor infrastructure makes that option unviable. Without such opportunities at home, migrants have every reason to stay abroad” (Silverman, 1998: 51).

Accordingly the effect of remittances, new ideas and working experience on employment extension in Eastern Flores is evident but it is hard to suggest here that the jobs created would be able to reduce the dependence of the household economy on overseas employment. The tendency to invest a significant amount of money in banks indicates a confusion of migrant families of how to make their money more productive and so their income can come close to the amount earned in Sabah. Spencer et al (1993: 21) explains that the chief function of money is to exchange goods and services rather than to yield income. Byrns, et al (1992:187) argue that many investors know that they invest to generate healthy rates of return. They add that savings rise as the interest rates rise but when the interest rates drops investors tend to invest in buying goods. If the investment made by migrant families from remittances could create adequate productive jobs in the home village, it would provide not only a healthy return for the investor but also employment opportunities

for close relatives. Some 73.6 per cent of return migrants reported that after returning home they had no jobs other than farming but the arable land to be cropped is severely limited due to the local physical characteristics (see sections 3.3 and 6.2). Moreover, the local government has no policies to promote rural industry by encouraging entrepreneurs and commercial firms to initiate industrial development activities. Consequently return migrants tend to repeat their emigration several times to Sabah and some work there until aged in their early 60s.

8.4.5. Local Infrastructure

Development of infrastructure is an important prerequisite and even determinant of progress in regional economic development. Ilahi, et al (2000: 46) assert that improvements in infrastructure increase the efficiency of production and also contribute to improvements of living standards. Fik notes that “while it is widely accepted that investment in infrastructure yields enormous returns to a regional economy, there is also evidence to suggest that the type of infrastructure put into place may determine the extent to which the benefit of growth will aid in poverty alleviation” (2000: 281). He also argues that the governments in developing countries often have financial difficulties in improving infrastructures to a reasonable level. The availability of infrastructure in Eastern Flores and NTT as a whole is very poor due to its great distance and isolation from the central political and economic authorities in Jakarta where all important budget and development policy decisions being made (Hugo, 1996a: 16; Tirtosudarmo, 1996:208; ADB, 1999:89). It is also exaggerated by the local geographical condition that is made up of separated small islands with high sloping volcanoes and hills.

It is fortunate that the locals have taken the initiative to improve their household economy by moving out and working in East Malaysia for years from where they make a significant contribution of remittances that also effect substantial improvements in infrastructure. The following are examples of some improved infrastructure in the region which has been funded by remittances.

Firstly, the local transportation has been improved by the presence of many cars owned by migrant families. Table 8.6 has indicated that 45 minibuses are possessed by villagers living in the five *kecamatan* sampled and they predominantly belong to migrant families. Return migrants who invest their money in car for public transportation purposes provide services that accelerate communication links between villages and local towns. Some of the cars (*bemos* or minibuses) operate only within the local towns of Larantuka (Eastern Flores), Waiwerang (island Adonara) and Lewoleba (island Lembata) while others serve the routes between remote villages and the local town. Solor, the smallest island of the region, also has two *bemos* but their effective use is still limited by the local socio-economic structure. In Ile Ape, which is well known locally to be the driest district of the region, a community leader estimated that the number of cars rose from 2 to about 15 units within the last two years, all the cars being the property of migrant families. The presence of such *bemos* provides some benefits:

- Locals get easy access for their transportation needs
- Farmers have greater opportunity to monetise their farming products
- Remote villagers are motivated to build or improve the road into their village
- Local traders are able to visit traditional markets in remote villages
- Local production becomes more vigorous.

Secondly, water resources in East Flores have also been improved although it is still far from optimum. It has been shown in chapter three that water sources are extremely scarce due to the local physical condition and are economic burden for most residents in the region. To overcome this critical problem migrant families and their close relatives build water tanks to collect rainwater in the rainy season. Sixteen migrant families who were involved in in-depth interviews have their own private rain water tank(s) compared to only 3 of 7 non-migrant families having the same thing. A village leader in Tanjung Bunga informed that the contribution of remittances on water supply is evident not only in building of either public or private tanks, but also in supplying pipes to run water from springs to fill public tanks. Indeed, Ilahi et al conclude: “our results show that a poor infrastructure – as indicated by the state of water supply available to the household – induces women to reduce their market-oriented work and thus their contribution to household income” (2000:67).

Later, improvements are also evident in electrical power supply and public properties. Migrant families who live far from reach of public electrical power provided by the local government have their own generator. They usually share the electrical power owned privately with their neighbors who are also their close relatives (Kapioru, 1995: 64). Key informants in five villages informed that donations are often requested from migrant workers to improve local pathways, village offices and churches. A prominent improvement is seen clearly in the steep pathways within settlement areas in the high mountains that are now made of cement.

8.5. Human Capital Formation

8.5.1. Undertaking Formal Education

Formal education contributes to economic growth and determines productivity level. Labour with a higher level of education is considered more productive than with less education (Thant, 1999: 206). Jacobsen explains that “the earning path, or *age-earnings profile* for the typical high-school-educated worker is fairly flat. By contrast, the profile for the typical college-educated worker is rising with age, and crosses the profile for the high school worker shortly after graduation” (1997: 261). However, attempts to attain a higher level of education are usually prevented by difficulties to pay the education fees among poor families.

Education has become an investment priority among Eastern Flores people. It has been shown in the last section (table 8.4) that about a quarter of migrant families spent a large portion of their remittances on education. This means that emigration also contributes to a future economic growth of the area of origin. Although most of those educated from overseas remittances refuse to come back and work in that region, they often donate contributions to their original village in the forms of remittances, financing the school children of relatives, etc. The focus here is to examine whether or not migrant families invest more on education than non-migrant households.

Respondents were asked to indicate what item has consumed the largest portion of household expenses over the last two years and the share of those who spent more on educational fees is shown in table 8.8. Interestingly recent migrant households have a higher percentage than the other two groups of respondents and this is indicative of high contribution of labour emigration to human capital formation. Although return migrant families seem to spend on education at about the same level as non-migrants

did, returnees mainly consist of those whose children have already completed their study programs as well as of those have not yet been married or have children under school ages. It is also apparent from in-depth interviews that migrant families are able to support children undertaking university programs in another province where are available more educational facilities and study programs but this is rarely the case for non-migrant families in Eastern Flores.

Table 8.8. Eastern Flores: Respondents reporting investment in education over the last two years

Respondent Category	Number	Percentage
Recent Migrant Families (n=72)	28	38.9
Return Migrant Families (n=72)	17	23.6
Non-Migrant Families (n=60)	14	23.3

Source: Field data, 1998

An important implication of the fact that migrant families allocate relatively more expenses on education suggests that attempts have been made to create new productive circumstances. This has an implication that migrant families may expect no longer their household economy, or more precisely their children's household economy, to depend on their current occupations as by moving and working illegally overseas. If children have better educational qualifications and are more productive in the country of origin, the tendency to move to work illegally overseas would decline.

8.5.2. Developing New Skills

Work skills are an important factor determining productivity level and their development has been highlighted. Beng, et al (1999) indicate that some East Asian countries are able to sustain a high performance and long-term economic growth by maintaining work skills through on-the-job training. Skill development is usually acquired through formal education (vocational schools) as well as short-term courses offered by government training agencies and/or by private training institutes. The Indonesian government is concerned about skill development but lack of resources seems to limit the availability of vocational schools and training centres throughout the country. Even where it is available, it doesn't provide cheap services. Consequently most Indonesian labour, especially those in Eastern Flores have low education and low skill levels. A special attention has been given to qualify potential migrants with necessary skills and this has already been regulated and stipulated as an essential prerequisite for those who would be permitted to work overseas (*Depnaker*, 1997). However, as the main bulk of international labour migration, particularly from Eastern Flores to Sabah goes through illegal channels, skill improvement prior to emigration remains neglected.

The impact of labour migration on skill development was found to be significant in the present study. The data presented in table 8.9 show that there was only 2.8 per cent of return migrants who had basic skills prior to emigration but this percentage rose to 95.8 per cent on their return. The skills and new knowledge acquired while working overseas relate to some specific jobs such as plant management, machinery work, food processing and wood crafting. They improve their skills through "learning by doing" from their peers and superiors. There is a custom of transferring skills from

earlier migrant workers to new arrivals among Eastern Flores migrant workers in Sabah to preserve their employment opportunities.

The impact of labour migration on skill development may be seen not only from the quantity and quality of the skills acquired overseas but also from its effectiveness in augmenting the productivity level in the home region. Gmelch et al (1986: 189-90) give an example from their field study in rural Newfoundland, Canada that most migrants who left home in their late teens and early twenties were unskilled and poorly educated. During their stay overseas, they learn from their work experience many industrial skills such as mechanic, electrician, welder, heavy equipment operator and office worker (typist and computer operator). When returning home, they make significant innovations particularly in renovating and constructing new houses and this has brought an air of prosperity and contributes to an economic development and modernization in the underdeveloped homeland.

Table 8.9 details how the skills acquired overseas benefit household economy of return migrants in the village of origin. Although 40 out of 72 return migrants indicated that the skills acquired overseas are useful, there was only a small portion (8.3%) implementing the skills as the main source for the current household income. They are minibus drivers, repairers and owners. The rest find it difficult to apply their skills in the home village due to limitations in market demand, arable land and raw materials. For example, demand for mechanic services is severely rare in the remote villages. Wood supply for crafting and its market demand are quite limited in the region. Consequently many skillful persons are not able to commercialize their skills, even some have reported that their skills are useless to make money in the home village.

Table 8.9. Skill development and effectiveness on household economy of return migrants in Eastern Flores.

Indicator	Number	Percentage
Having skill prior to emigration		
Yes	2	2.8
No	70	97.3
Having skill when working overseas		
Yes	69	95.8
No	3	4.2
Skill effectiveness on household income		
Main source for household income	6	8.3
Additional source for household income	34	47.2
Useless source for household income	32	44.5

Source: Field data, 1998

8.6. Household Economy

Taylor et al comment that “the first-round effects of international migration on economic development are, therefore, concentrated in the household itself” (1996b: 398). The achieved levels of economic gains from working overseas: money, goods and skills that are primarily to benefit the migrant households influence economic behavior of migrant families as well as the local community. It can stimulate more emigration or restrains people from moving. Findings of the present study reveal that substantial amounts of remittances are sent to the home villages in Eastern Flores and significant improvement in housing and other assets is prominent. This would have a

further consequence that the theory of neoclassical economics or economic dependency will apply. The neoclassical economics applies if the flow of capital (money, goods and skills) from Sabah to Eastern Flores in accordance with an opposite flow of labour is followed by a decline in migration tendency because the capital accumulated has increased wage levels in the home village. Economic dependency applies if substantial capital accumulated from Sabah in Eastern Flores fails to increase wage levels and encourages more emigration from the local community.

Table 8.10 shows respondent perspectives on the prospects of the household economy in Eastern Flores and the probability of labour migration out of the region over the next decade. The data presented show the high dependency of the household economy on overseas employment. In total, 82.2 per cent of all respondents nominate overseas employment to become potential source for their household incomes over the next decade. Recent migrant families have the highest percentage (97.2%) followed by return migrant families (88.9%). Non-migrant families who have the same opinion reached 55 per cent. Those who intend to send no family member to work overseas over the next decade comprise only 6.4 per cent of total respondents. It is also interesting that the majority of respondents (72%) indicate that potential migrants should keep moving to the proposed area of destination although strict immigration rules are being implemented to control immigration flows. This has an implication that respondents have entrusted the networks to go through to the proposed area of destination.

Four options are given to indicate the most potential area where respondents propose to earn incomes over the next decade. Firstly, the majority of respondents (73.9%) have chosen Malaysia as the most potential area and this indicates the high

dependency of the household economy in Eastern Flores on employment opportunity in Malaysia, particularly Sabah. According to the personal judgments of 264 respondents, 94.3 per cent indicated that the average level of household economy of migrant families is better than of non-migrants. Hence, this will encourage more emigration to East Malaysia.

Table 8.10. Eastern Flores: Perspectives of respondent on economic prospects and probability for labour emigration over the next decade

Indicator	Rt	Rc	Nn	Md	Tt
The most potential area for household income					
Over the next decade:					
- Home village (East Flores)	5	2	25	10	42
- Indonesia other than East Flores	3	0	2	0	5
- Sabah (Malaysia)	60	67	20	48	195
- Overseas other than Malaysia	4	3	13	2	22
Intending to send potential migrant overseas:					
- Yes	47	63	19	44	173
- No	3	2	12	0	17
- Will decided later	22	7	29	16	74
If immigration rules are so strict in the proposed destination, potential Migrant should:					
- Stay and work in the home village	7	3	22	9	41
- Find another area of destination	13	4	11	5	33
- Keep moving illegally into the region	52	65	27	46	190
Sample	72	72	60	60	264

Note: Rt = Return Migrant; Rc = Recent Migrant; Nn = Non-migrant;
Md = Middlemen and Tt = Total samples.

Source: Field data, 1998

Secondly, a small proportion of respondents (15.9%) nominate their home region to be the most potential area for household economic improvement over the next decade rather than pursuing internal or international migration. They are mainly non-migrant families who have adequate income sources to support their household needs. In addition, 28.1% of respondents prefer to delay the decision whether or not to send abroad potential migrant workers although they acknowledge that overseas employment opportunities offer economic benefits. These proportions have indicated a strong motivation to work overseas rather than working in the home village. In the mean time, many Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia are facing persecution. Reports indicate that some were *dicambuk* or lashed (*Kompas*, 12/8/02; 13/8/02a; 15/8/02b). Some 17,000 were imprisoned and 16 died in Nunukan (*Kompas*, 21/8/02), another 22 die in Malaysia (*Kompas*, 15/8/02a). About 600,000 illegal migrants have left Malaysia before the end of the four month amnesty (*Kompas*, 15/8/02b). Strong pressure has also been given to the Indonesian government to handle this problem as soon as possible (*Kompas*, 13/8/02b; 14/8/02c).

In order to reduce the problems created by labour migration, Gould (1994:4) has suggested to move work to the workers rather than to move workers to the work. Fischer, et al (1997: 102) conclude that increasing development in the home region would reduce the tendency of potential migrants to seek job in another area of destination. In other analyses (eg. Archavanitkul et al 1999:21; Spaan, 1999:342) it is also suggested that one of the best ways to mitigate recent uncontrolled flow of illegal migrant workers is to promote development aid and investment that generate employment opportunities in the home region. Hence, new approaches on rural

development (strategies, regulations and policies) are required not only in Eastern Flores but also in Indonesia as a whole.

Thirdly, the smallest portion of respondents (1.9%) has considered moving to other places within the country to improve their economy over the next decade. They are five return migrants whose skills are useless in the remote villages. Through in-depth interviews, two of them have indicated the reasons why and where they should pursue internal (rather than international) migration. It is to move to a more crowded and closer city within the home province (eg. Ende, Maumere and Kupang) where they have access to apply their skills, earn sufficient income, live together with their families and spend low costs on living and commuting to their home village. Both also indicated that they might go back to work in Sabah where they will earn higher incomes. A further implication of this option suggests that if the Indonesian educational system provided applicable skills that would enable people to fulfil their basic needs from the local economic potential, migration to work overseas may not be as great. This also suggests that lack of employment opportunities and poor incomes are a major problem not only for Eastern Flores but also Indonesia as a whole. Indeed, the percentage of respondents who expect to improve their household incomes over the next decade by moving to work in another areas within Indonesia is very small (1.9%) compared to those who prefer to stay and work in the home region (15.9%). It is apparent that a long-term unresolved economic crisis, political problems and social unrest in Indonesia will lessen the possibility to improve household economy from moving and working within the home country. In contrast it will raise more intention to move to work overseas.

The last group of respondents made of 22 persons (8.3%) proposes employment opportunities in a foreign country other than Malaysia. The nominated countries are

Singapore, Brunei, Middle East, Hong Kong, and Japan. This option has indicated that the established migration networks to facilitate labour emigration from Eastern Flores may have been expanded or is proposed to the mentioned countries. As local economic pressures increase while a significant improvement among migrant families in the home village is prominent, the locals are more motivated to work overseas. When pursuing the fieldwork, the researcher was asked by a head district in Lembata to find him a trusted family in Australia whom is honest to employ one or two of his people and him self would help them to learn English as soon as possible. This has shown an attempt to expand the local migration networks to a developed country.

8.7. Conclusion

The present chapter has examined the contribution of remittances sent by migrant workers from Eastern Flores who work in Sabah. It has been assessed the forms, volume and mode of sending remittances, the main use made and trickle down effects of the remittances to augment the local economy to reduce the house economic dependency on overseas employment. As result, remittances are very substantial, sent mainly in cash but also in the form of goods and the skills acquired overseas. It is interesting that the amount remitted in 1997 was over four times higher than total regional government receipts in Eastern Flores in 1996/97 and increased by 58.2 per cent from total remittances in the previous year. Yet, substantial amounts might flow out of the local official records, that are cash sent in hand, direct contributions to family members who continue study in Java, Bali, Sulawesi, etc., as well as abundant goods taken home when returning with chartered boats.

The main made use of remittances in Eastern Flores is for investments (57.6%) including education fees, assets and bank accounts, and for household necessities (42.4%) involving consumption, debts and the *adat* (customary law) costs. Interesting too that in the mist of harsh monetary crisis and heavy shifted out capital from Indonesia, savings in BRI, one of the two banks in Eastern Flores rose by 93.9 per cent in 1998 and more than two-third of that savings belongs to daily accounts of rural residents. This indicates a significant contribution of remittances to migrant families living in remote and poor villages in Eastern Flores.

In spite of such high economic contributions, the dependency of the household economy in Eastern Flores on overseas employment seems to remain very high. Nearly three-quarters (73.9%) of respondents including non-migrants nominate Malaysia to be the most potential area for their household income over the next decade. Innovation in local production is still very weak. At least it is because the skills acquired overseas mainly are useless, the educated people who benefited from remittances refuse to return home and becoming agent of changes and high banking accounts contributed by remittances are more useful for the urban sector.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

The United Nations (1998: 166) states that International Labour Migration is a vital element in the development process. Many Asian countries including Indonesia have “established special government-sponsored programs to encourage the emigration of labour as part of broader strategies to acquire foreign exchange, reduce unemployment, and develop skills” (Massey, 1999: 311). Hugo (1996a, 1998b, 2002a) explains that labour migration from Indonesia involves a large number of illegal migrants, particularly from Eastern Flores. The present study has involved a detailed investigation into international labour migration from Eastern Flores to work temporarily in East Malaysia. It has been based mainly upon data collected from fieldwork undertaken in Eastern Flores in the second half of 1998. The main objectives of the study were to establish the pattern of movement, clarify the causes of the movement and analyse its economic and non-economic consequences for the area of origin. This chapter begins by summarizing some major findings of the study in relation to its objectives. It then attempts to draw theoretical conclusions from the case study, considers some applicable policy implications and finally provides recommendations for further research.

9.2. Some Major Findings

Globally international labour migration has become a ubiquitous phenomenon with the number of annual gross emigration of workers being estimated between 1985 and 1989 to be 2,210,794 persons (UN, 1998:148). As one of the world's major labour surplus nations, Indonesia has promoted overseas employment opportunities such as those in the Middle East, Malaysia and Singapore, and deployed 435,219 workers in 2000 to those destinations (Hugo, 2002b: 160), but the number of those moving illegally was probably ten times those who are processed through the official channels (Hugo, 1998b:1). There has been substantial out-movement of temporary migrant workers from East Nusa Tenggara province for over two decades (Hugo, 1996a, 1998b) and Eastern Flores has been the particular area of the province that has sent many workers overseas partly due to it being one of the poorest parts of the province. The bulk of the movement from that area is undocumented, it has followed strongly developed networks linking Eastern Flores and East Malaysia. The original pioneers of whom first established in the area of destination during the colonial period.

The first objective of this study was to describe the emigration patterns and focus on two questions: who are migrant workers moving from Eastern Flores to work in Sabah and why have they continued moving to work in the same destination for several decades? On the first issue it has been found that:

- Migrant workers are male dominant but females have increased significantly in numbers in recent years.

- They commence emigration mainly in the late teenage ages and return after working up to fifteen years some repeat emigration a few times to the same area of destination from their teenage until their 60s.
- The number of married migrants is nearly as large as the numbers of single migrants. Most of those married are husbands but a few wives have also broken with traditional custom by joining their brothers to work overseas while their husbands and children stay at home.
- Migrant families tend to send more than one family member to work overseas. On average, the sampled recent migrant households have sent 1.6 family members and in returned migrant households there are 1.1 family member on average who were still working in East Malaysia.
- Most migrants have low education and poor skills on their departures and have improved their working skills through “learning by doing” from the jobs undertaken during their stay in the area of destination. The skill development occurs largely through cooperation between newcomers and earlier migrants.
- More than a quarter of migrants were not economically active before migration, unemployed and school attendants while the rest worked in agriculture or were involved in household duties. Two-thirds undertook agricultural jobs in the destination while the remainder worked in the industrial and service sectors.
- The average income earned overseas is twenty-one times higher than the average monthly income earned in the home region. Indeed, return migrants reported earning M\$800 or US\$484 per month while the annual income per capita earned in the home region in 1997 was only US\$274.

The fact that labour migrants from Eastern Flores have continued to go to work in Sabah over several decades is due largely to the operation of kinship networks. Recruitment and movement processes usually are organized along family (blood and marriage) lines, with family members not only being highly trusted but also providing easier, cheaper, securer and generally more satisfying services than other migration channels. Those who take on the role as recruiters are generally returned migrants who disseminate information through their families and provide recommendations for potential migrants to gain easy access crossing the Malaysian border as well as to get jobs in the area of destination. While migrant workers come to crossing the national border, some relatives and friends who are settled permanently around, and/or work in, the immigration office in the border area often provide help in gaining secure passage into Sabah. Indeed, while most return migrants indicate that they use a passport when crossing the national border the information gathered from in-depth interviews indicates that they generally use only border passes or visitor passports which grant a monthly visit, but do not allow work, in Sabah. Thereafter they overstay and work illegally for several years in Sabah. In the area of destination senior migrants play crucial roles. They accommodate newcomers, find them jobs, work together with them, train them in skills and supervise them. Several migrant workers maintain a good relationship with, and earn trust from, their employer, and regularly provide information on job opportunities to relatives in the home region. This network mechanism is successful not only in providing entry access to Sabah but also in obtaining job opportunities.

The second objective here related to the causes of labour migration out of eastern Flores and as expected it was found that economic problems are the most crucial factor forcing the outmovement of migrant workers who seek to sustain their

households' economy in the home region from taking advantage of overseas employment opportunities. Strong encouragement is given to young villagers to support their household economy by working beyond the home region. This is encapsulated in the traditional proverb '*pana seba hebako-kenarit, balik taan gelekat lewo, pana seba lewo agoon pake*' which means "go and search for basic needs and subsidiary needs and then return to improve your village". The problems that usually face household economies in the region of origin relate to insufficient arable land, lack of alternative income sources and employment opportunities, as well as regular natural occurrences such as low rainfall, long droughts and strong winds. Facing such intensive economic difficulties, farmers implement two main strategies. The first are the 'farm-plus' families which make up a minority of the local community. They prefer to stay in Eastern Flores and attempt to cope with the local constraints by undertaking small-scale industries and trade activities to compensate for crop failures. Their family members, especially women, are allocated to do different jobs such as producing salt, weaving, marketing goods, etc., and this generally involves moving some travel from one market place to another to sell goods to maximize their household income and minimize risks. The second are 'farm-based' families who comprise the large majority of the local population and often employ the clan as the unit of production and encourage some family members to work overseas. Those who work overseas represent not only their own family but also other clan members. Those who stay in Eastern Flores are responsible not only to manage the household/clan business and look after dependent family members left behind by those going overseas, but also to get ready to be a substitute for recent migrants (clan members) who intend to return to the home village. In addition, the reason given why East Malaysia is considered to be the most attractive area of destination is because some

relatives have already settled there. The presence of such pioneers attracts many of their relatives to come to the region because they are able to help their followers to get jobs and earn higher incomes than otherwise would be possible.

The third objective of this study was to investigate of consequences of labour migration from Eastern Flores. Regarding non-economic consequences, demographic effects are most significant. Population loss as a result of the loss of young productive age people has resulted in a very low rate of annual population growth over the last three decades far below the average of both the province and country as a whole. It also has resulted in a significant imbalance in the sex ratio and there is a distinct hollowing out of the local population pyramid. The migration that allows a long-term separation of husband from wife has resulted in a delay of the first marriage of women which has further impact in decreasing fertility rates.

Labour emigration from Eastern Flores also effects family life. Changes of living arrangement occurs in the family left home such as some housewives returning to live with their parents, some children staying with their grandparent(s), etc., are common in the region. Long-term separation of husbands from wives has resulted in strongly voiced comments from the local Catholic leaders who worry about marital break-up among migrant families. Another significant effect on family life suggests that both women and children left home are encouraged to do extra jobs than usual due to the absence of the family head. The children of migrant households are more likely to spend more time working and doing heavier jobs than those in non-migrant households. However, this is locally seen as a good lesson for the children for their future. Effects of labour migration on social norms and cultural values among Eastern Flores society reveal that strong ties and mutually beneficial cooperative habits are maintained between those left behind and those who migrate in order to maximize

their benefits. The traditional principle of '*ihin pulo deka netekto*' suggesting strong compactness and togetherness in actions enables the family left home to cope with local constraints, facilitates potential migrants to move easily and enables them to get better jobs and higher income rates in the area of destination.

Finally, the economic consequences of the particular labour migration were investigated. The contribution of remittances in the form of cash is very high. For example, the amount sent home by migrant workers from Sabah to Eastern Flores in 1997 was over four times higher than the total regional government receipts known as PAD (*pendapatan asli daerah*) in that year. In 1998, the remittances sent home increased by 58.2% from the amount sent in the previous year. However, a substantial amount flows outside of official records such as the cash in hand and school fees sent directly from overseas to family members studying in another region. It is interesting that the main use made of remittances is for investment (education fees, assets and banking accounts) rather than for daily consumption and debts. In 1997, the larger portion (63.12%) of population in Eastern Flores have deposited money in banks with high average savings value (Rp.495,779 per depositor) compared to those in NTT as a whole which involves only a small proportion (23.1%) of depositors and savings value (Rp.226,865 per depositor). Savings in a local bank rose by 93 per cent in 1998 and more than two-thirds belong to the accounts of rural residents and this is obviously contributed to in a major way by the remittances sent from overseas. Other substantial contributions made from working overseas to support household economies in the home village are in the form of goods. Migrant workers often charter a traditional boat to take home various kinds of valuable goods, comprise mainly housing materials and equipment. However, this also operates outside the official controls in recording the value of remittances sent from overseas. On average the

housing conditions in Eastern Flores are more prosperous than in the province as a whole although the average income per capita in the province is far higher than in Eastern Flores.

Because of these substantial economic contributions, the dependency of household economies on overseas employment opportunities remains high. The large majority (82.2%) of respondents including non-migrant families intend overseas employment to be their main source of household income over the next decade. This suggests an implication that the capital that has already accumulated from working overseas (money, skills and ideas) is attracting more people to go to work overseas rather than stay in the home region. It is because the capital accumulated makes no significant innovations in creating more productive jobs and alternative income sources to sustain the household economy in the home village. Indeed, the skills acquired overseas are mainly inapplicable to the local economic and natural conditions while a large amount of the remittances are invested in banks because most migrant families do not know how to make their money more productive.

9.3. Theoretical Implications

The findings of the present study seem to support at least three of the major migration theories. Firstly, the pattern of labour migration of Eastern Flores to work in East Malaysia establishes the significance of kinship network theory. Massey et al (1998: 186) write:

In Asia, previous generations of movers not only supply valuable information and encouragement; they often pay for, arrange, and ease the passage. When migrant arrives at the point of destination, the receiving end of the network offers valuable assistance in the adjustment process, especially in gaining access to housing and

employment. Networks greatly reduce the risks associated with migration and many movers in Asia operate in an environment of near-total certainty.

It is apparent that the existing networks between potential migrants of Eastern Flores and pioneers who were first established in East Malaysia in colonial times have strongly shaped the substantial movement of workers that comes and goes constantly between the regions over several decades. The networks have such power that although Indonesian labour migrants as a whole have diversified their destinations to the Middle East, Singapore, Hong Kong, etc., the workers from the study area continue to go to Sabah.

The networks in which migrant workers of Eastern Flores are involved are based on mutual beneficial cooperation rooted in their traditional customs that emphasizes working together and helping one another. Relatives assisting migrants do so not to seek income but to help their relatives. Those in the destination provide assistance for their followers not only to accommodate them and find them jobs but they also work with them and provide them with the correct work ethic and useful skills. Hence, migrant workers from Eastern Flores are able to satisfy their employers with their high working performance, earn trusts from the employer and get better jobs and higher incomes in Sabah. From this position they are usually trusted to take new migrant workers into the company they are working for (Hugo, 1995b).

A further implication of the network mechanism is that migrant workers who are considered to be low productivity labourers due to their lack of educational qualifications are, in fact, able to earn high incomes and contribute significant remittances to their home village. The networks developed by migrant workers from Eastern Flores in Sabah are family based networks with strong ties and mutual beneficial cooperation between relatives. It sustains prolonged job opportunities to

continue on for unlimited time in the area of destination although individual migrants work only on a temporary basis. This is operationalized through “a patron-client, mutual dependence relationship... between an employer and a family or group of families from a particular origin. This relationship not only guarantees potential migrants employment but also assures the employer of a regular and trusted supply of labour” (Hugo, 1995b: 289). A further implication for development in the area of origin is that these poorly educated people and their culture may have great potential to produce high productivity if the local government and development planners are implementing productive development policies that enable families to meet their basic needs from the local resources.

A second theoretical implication of this study is that the causes of the labour migration from Eastern Flores to East Malaysia agree with the new household economics theory. As Massey et al (1998: 176) explain:

Throughout Asia, the family remains the basic unit of production responsible for allocating labour resources over a range of tasks to achieve satisfactory income support. Since individual family members have different capacities, characteristics and skills, households organize a division of labour to make the best possible use of their human capital resources.

In Eastern Flores, most families recognize the clan as the unit of production. To make the best possible use of their human capital resources clans allocate family members so that some go to work in Sabah and others stay at home. Those staying are usually responsible for taking care of the migrants' family left home. Those who move and work overseas represent not only their own families but also non-migrant families of the clan and support them in several ways such as financing school students or helping one who comes to work overseas. The clan members often permanently occupy some jobs in Sabah by swapping between migrant workers with one returning home while another goes to occupy the job. This pattern has gone on for generations.

In the area of destination, migrant workers who come through the same network form '*ikatan keluarga perantau*' (migrant association), become a pseudo-family in the host country and help one another to achieve satisfactory incomes. They apply a strategy in which they work together which benefits new arrivals enabling them to develop skills and assists senior migrants in getting job promotion. Other senior migrants who have acquired skill, money and a working visa are often prompted to seek higher status and higher paying jobs in Sabah. In addition, those doing some special jobs such as drivers or watchman often help illegal migrants to overcome Malaysian official controls and to minimize the risks of working illegally in Sabah. What is most important to be highlighted here is that the strong ties and mutual beneficial cooperative habits originating from the traditional customs of Eastern Flores have been retained and modified in Sabah to support its people to become productive.

Thirdly, findings regarding the consequences of labour emigration in the present study support center-periphery theory. Stahl (1995: 20) comments that:

The center countries serve as a vacuum, sucking wealth out of the periphery to such an extent that the periphery is impoverished. This process further augments the gap between the center and periphery and stimulates emigration from the later to the former. Thus human as well as other resources are transferred from the periphery to the center.

It is apparent that the home villages of Eastern Flores are peripheral in the Indonesian context and are one impoverished in several ways. Firstly, migrant workers who leave the home villages are impoverished in that they accept low payment in Sabah rather than earning nothing in the home village. Sabah is a "center" where employers employ migrant workers in order to get better profits rather than employ locals at higher wage level (Kurus, 1999; Hugo, 2000). *Ranesi* (8/3/02) adds that employers in Sabah prefer to employ undocumented migrant workers so that they pay no tax while the wages

given to such workers is usually below the local wage standards. Conflict Theory suggests that employers “induce conflict by pressuring for lower wage costs and higher product prices (hence squeezing workers at both ends), in order to maximize their profits” (Hoggart et al, 1987: 33). In such a condition, migrant workers from Eastern Flores are not able to fuel conflict by resisting such pressures and demanding higher payment for their labour because they mainly have illegal status.

A second element of impoverishment occurs within the home country. Indonesian urban areas also operate as “center” which sucks out the wealth accumulated from working in Sabah while the villages of Eastern Flores on the periphery remain poor. Although receiving low payment from working in Sabah, migrant workers have contributed a substantial amount of remittances to the home region which are mainly used for investment rather than for consumption. Theoretically such high investment should be able to augment local economic development and reduce household dependency on overseas employment. In fact the investments made of remittances are more likely to support the Indonesian urban sectors than creating more productive jobs and improving income levels in the home village. The Indonesian urban areas suck out the wealth accumulated from working in Sabah in several ways. They absorb substantial amount of the expenditure made for purchasing luxury items and for educational fees. It also retains the educated people who benefit from remittances who do not tend to return home and become agent of changes in Eastern Flores. Indonesian urban areas also absorb a substantial amount of remittances in the form of savings in banks since migrant families are unable to invest their money productively at home in the village. As a matter of policy it is important for the center to support economic development in the villages of Eastern Flores so that the dependency of household economy on overseas employment would decrease. If not, the slower the economic

improvement in the home village, the higher the dependency on overseas employment and the greater the possibility for impoverishment to continue.

Another form of impoverishment of migrant workers from the periphery of Eastern Flores appears in the Indonesian migration regulations. Official migrants from the periphery have to meet a number of regulated conditions and go through Java for skill improvement which this consumes a lot of money and time. Consequently they move and work illegally in Sabah and if they are arrested they have to pay a substantial amount of money or depart for home (*Kompas*, 3/4/0002).

9.4. Policy Implications

Labour migration in any country, origin or destination, is an area of migration policy concern. Fischer et al comment that “remittances may support the process of economic development in the labour-sending countries but they also depend on the level of economic development and the quality of the countries’ economic policy” (1997:126). Stahl (1995: 215) points out that some failures have been the result of misguided policies implemented in the developing countries where development strategies have failed to provide sufficient employment and income growth and this has become a significant pressure for the growing importance of international labour emigration.

The major concern of Indonesian migration policies is to regulate deployment of labour workers overseas and this has brought side effects on the growing numbers of illegal migrants. Hugo (1998b: 115-6) explains that many policies have been developed to regulate or control the flow of labour migration of Indonesia to work in both Peninsula and Sabah Malaysia. However, it seems that the flow of illegal migrant

workers still persists, even increased and threatened the economy of the host country. Consequently, this has recently caused strong some reactions by the Malaysian government to drive them out of the country. It is reported that 400 dwelling units of Indonesian illegal migrant workers in Peninsula Malaysia, were being bulldozed in a day (*Kompas*, 21/3/2002), 700 units of Indonesian and Filipinos were demolished in Sabah Malaysia (*Ranesi*, 8/3/02). Meanwhile hunting of such workers working in towns and plantation areas, arresting, detaining and deporting them back home has accelerated (*Kompas*, 2,3/4/2002; *Gatra*, 2/4/2002). This has caused 41 deaths among Indonesian migrant workers within the last three months due to their health problems and depression and has compelled the Megawati's cabinet to set new regulations that protect the Indonesian migrant workers (*Kompas*, 12/4/02).

To develop a more comprehensive migration policy, it is has been suggested that "the best migration policy is development policy" (Hermele, 1997: 141). Policy development in the home region needs not only to regulate the migration flows through the official channels but also to decrease the intentions to go to work overseas illegally. Indeed, policy issues concerning the development of welfare programs in the home region are required to control the tendency to move and work illegally overseas.

Economically the region of Eastern Flores is very poor, and this has been exacerbated by the prolonged complex crisis throughout the country since 1997. The crisis has encouraged more to move to work overseas. The government of NTT has attempted to promote the economic potential of the province (BKPMNTT, 1995; *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998d) and invited investments for fish manufacture, food processing (chocolate, mango, banana, etc), tree crop industry (coconut, cashew and candle nut) and mining production (gypsum, granite, barite, etc). However, a recent survey (*Kompas*, 27/3/2002) among 14 countries reveals that Indonesia is the most

undesirable economy for investments due to its bureaucratic intricacy and frequent social unrest.

To enable employment creation and increase the income in Eastern Flores and NTT as a whole, there is a need to change the development strategy from awaiting investments for large-scale industrial oriented and urban biased projects to high participatory programs for rural residents which are more rural community development oriented (Curtis, 2000). At least the following three potentials could support rural development programs and boost the local economy. Firstly, the substantial money remitted from overseas to Eastern Flores could be mobilized to be a significant investment to augment local economic development (Hugo, 1996a). Secondly, NGOs (non-governmental organizations) should be involved. They are known to be successful initiators, planners and facilitators because their works generate participation, initiative, innovation and are locally based; operate at the grassroots level, close to the poorest of the poor (Lane et al, 2000; Pretty et al, 2000). A foremost need is to regulate more involvement of NGOs in assisting rural development programs rather than excluding them as an opponent group by the government. Rural residents need special skills and assistance on how to process their food surpluses becoming both local food supplier and export commodities with better market prices. Migrant families need help in how to make their money earned overseas become more productive in the home village. It is realized that the people are very poor in educational qualification, but findings of the present study reveal that they are often quick in acquiring new skills and become more productive. They might become productive in the home village if there is invented productive jobs. Thirdly, the region is quite isolated from central businesses but transportation has improved and could support the marketing of local products. Minibuses (contributed by

remittances) serve links between remote villages of each island of the region. For generations, traditional boats support transportation between islands of the region and facilitate trading activities connecting to Sulawesi and Java. Commercial ships often operate in the region to transport people and goods. These marine transportation links will automatically improve following improvement of the local marketing products. Accordingly if the region remains very poor and escalates the numbers of illegal migrant workers, poor governance and lack of planning are the most serious obstacle for development in the region.

Another important policy concern is that the existing labour emigration rules in Indonesia need improvement since the flow of illegal migration continues to increase and results in subsequent maltreatment such as exploitation and repatriation. It seems that the existing migration rules in Indonesia regulate a complicated movement process and involve high costs. Potential migrant workers of Eastern Flores and of other parts of the Eastern Indonesian region have to go through many channels and spend a lot of time and money in Java to meet the movement conditions such as skill improvement but then the job promised is sometimes not supplied. Migrant workers have to save money in, pay insurance to and send money back home through the regulated bank for migrant workers or '*bank peserta program TKP*' (Depnaker, 1997: 55). The poorly educated have no or very limited chances to work overseas through legal procedures although in fact those moving and working illegally are able to contribute a substantial amount of remittances. It seems that the regulations set, in fact, are likely to provide more beneficial for those who organize the migration process rather than for the migrants themselves. Accordingly, Hugo (1998d: 95) suggests that the process of legal emigration from Indonesia needs to be made simple, cheap and transparent. The need to transform Indonesian migration procedures in

order to protect migrant workers in the areas of origin and destination is emphasized by the fact that the flow of illegal migrant workers tends to increase for the following three reasons. They are the prolonged economic crisis in the home region, the strong demands for unskilled workers in a number of host countries and the growing importance of migration networks to facilitate the movement of undocumented migrant workers between both areas of origin and destination.

9.5. Recommendations for Further Research

Findings of the present study provide some information but longitudinal research in Eastern Flores is required to follow up on some given issues. Field data collections were done a year after the onset of the monetary crisis and the Indonesian *rupiah* reached a very low level. As the crisis become more complex and has been prolonged, it has influenced the regular basis of labour migration from Eastern Flores as well as the remittances sent home. It has been explained in Chapter Eight that the remittances sent home in 1997 and 1998 were exceedingly high compared to the amount produced in the home region and this has increased the number intends to go to work overseas. However, the amount remitted has been magnified by the large depreciation of the Indonesian *rupiah* rather than as an indication of the annual productivity rate of those working abroad. Hence, the amount to be remitted in the later years will decrease if the value of the *rupiah* returned to the pre crisis levels. If it remains high, further findings will support the present analysis that migrant workers from Eastern Flores have achieved a high productivity in Sabah. In addition, as now the crisis is still on and tied controls over illegal migrant workers in Malaysia is intense, it is important to know how effectively the maintained kinship networks facilitating labour migration of

Eastern Flores still continue to provide easier, cheaper, secure and satisfactory services.

Further studies in Eastern Flores are required to provide detailed analysis for some special issues. Firstly, international women migration from Eastern Flores is a significant issue. Local customs forbid women living and working away from their family and/or household but there are a significant number who are now moving to work overseas and a few wives have initiated independent movement while their husband and children stay in Flores. To what extent female migration has brought impacts on their families needs to be explained. Secondly, there is a need to collect data from recent migrants in the area of destination and make observations on the migration pathways and the migrants' workplace and temporary residence in Sabah. Information is required from several data sources such as employers in Sabah, families originating from Eastern Flores who settle permanently and provide services for migrant workers and immigration staffs who are employed in the border area. These data sources will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Thirdly, it has been indicated that most of migrant workers from Eastern Flores to Sabah have commenced emigration in their teenage years indicating that they are more likely to engage in work rather than to continue studies and this has potential impacts weakening the second generation. Comparative studies between migrant and non-migrant families as well as between communities with high and low migrations are required to explain the issue. Fourthly, a longitudinal research is required to follow up the impact of labour migration from Eastern Flores on regional development in the home region. After getting information from a series of studies, the patterns, causes and consequences of the migration would be made clearer.

Regarding methodology an important factor needs to be taken value of in further field works undertaken in the region. It has been observed that migrant families, sometimes, tend to please an interviewer, particularly a stranger, by whatever responses they feel the interviewer wants rather than informing the real fact. Some have explained that they often do this because they fear that the subsequent policy implication resulted from the interviews would have the effect of limiting the possibilities to work overseas through their own ways. For such a reason, carefully introducing the main purpose of the study and involving local trained personnel would remove suspicion.

9.6. Conclusion

International labour migration is a global phenomenon with distinct patterns, causes and consequences across time and space. In recent decades, labour emigration from Indonesia has grown dramatically and Eastern Flores has become well known in supplying unskilled workers to Sabah Mayasia. These labour migrants mainly move illegally through kinship networks. The present study has found that poor conditions are the most influential factor pushing a large number of labour migrants of Eastern Flores and it has involved low educated and poor skilled workers.

where they should go to get better jobs and earn higher income, migrant workers are likely to follow pioneers who have established themselves in Sabah rather than go to other wealthier destinations where they have no relatives. This labour emigration has been perpetuated over several decades by strong ties and mutual beneficial cooperation between relatives and friends, rooted in traditional customs in Eastern Flores. Kinship networks have made the movement process easier, cheaper and

securer rather than moving through institutional channels. In the area of destination, it enables migrant workers not only to get better jobs and earn higher incomes but also to preserve, even create more, job opportunities in Sabah for prospective migrant workers from their home villages.

The consequences of labour emigration from Eastern Flores to Sabah are substantial. The large flows have caused a low rate of population growth far below the average growth levels in NTT and Indonesia as a whole. It also has caused lower sex ratios and forms a distinct hollowing out of young males in the local population pyramids. Economic impacts are also prominent. The amount remitted back home in 1997 was over four times higher than total regional government receipts in the same year. A large portion of the remittances is used for investments (assets, education and banking accounts) rather than for daily consumption and debts. Savings in a local bank that belongs to rural residents rose by 93 per cent in 1998. The high economic achievement from overseas employment is more likely to motivate more people to work in Sabah over the next decades.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Indonesia: Percentage of Population below the Poverty Line by Provinces in 1993
and 1996 and Its Growth.

No	Province	1993	1996	Growth
1	2	3	4	5
1	DISTA Aceh	13.46	10.79	-2.68
2	Sumatera Utara	12.31	10.92	-1.40
3	Sumatera Barat	13.47	8.76	-4.71
4	Riau	11.20	7.94	-3.26
5	Jambi	13.38	9.06	-4.32
6	Sumatera Selatan	14.89	10.17	-4.72
7	Bengkulu	13.11	9.17	-3.94
8	Lampung	11.70	10.15	-1.55
9	DKI Jakarta	5.66	2.18	-3.48
10	Jawa Barat	12.20	9.88	-2.32
11	Jawa Tengah	15.78	13.91	-1.87
12	DI Yogyakarta	11.77	10.42	-1.35
13	Jawa Timur	13.25	11.85	-1.40
14	Bali	9.46	4.29	-5.17
15	Nusa Tenggara Barat	19.52	17.61	-1.91
16	Nusa Tenggara Timur	21.84	20.57	-1.27
17	Timor Timur	36.24	31.15	-5.09
18	Kahmantan Barat	25.05	21.98	-3.07
19	Kalimantan Tengah	20.85	11.24	-9.61
20	Kalimantan Selatan	18.61	14.33	-4.28
21	Kalimantan Timur	13.75	9.24	-4.51
22	Sulawesi Utara	11.79	10.60	-1.19
23	Sulawesi Tengah	10.48	8.18	-2.30
24	Sulawesi Selatan	8.97	8.02	-0.95
25	Sulawesi Tenggara	10.84	8.48	-2.36
26	Maluku	23.93	19.47	-4.46
27	Irian Jaya	24.16	21.17	-2.99
	Indonesia			

Source: *Kantor Statistik NTT*, 1998 (Unpublished Document).

APPENDIX B.1.

Indonesia: Departure Card

Flight Number Name of Ship		BY - 732847 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 KEL PER 1 2	
Place of issue	Nationality	DIP DIN IM LP RIB 3 4 5 6 7	
Occupation / profession	Country of Residence	<input type="checkbox"/>	
EP/MEP, 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) <u>For Visitor</u> at the Airport / Seaport at the time of your departure.			
(b) <u>For Intending Residents</u> at the immigration office at the place of your destination.			
(c) <u>For Returning Residents</u> at the Airport / Seaport at the time of your arrival (Disembarkation Card).			
FOR OFFICE USE			
<input type="checkbox"/>			

Source: Original Card from Immigration Department, 2002.

APPENDIX B.2.

Indonesia: Arrival Card

Flight Number Name of Ship		BY - 732847 D	
Full name (write surname first, use block letters)		Sex 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Male 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Female	
Place and country of birth	Date of birth	FOR OFFICE USE	
Nationality	Occupation / profession	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	
Passport / Travel document Number	Date of expiration	<input type="checkbox"/> KEL <input type="checkbox"/> PER 1 2	
Place of issue		<input type="checkbox"/> DIP <input type="checkbox"/> DIN <input type="checkbox"/> JM <input type="checkbox"/> LP <input type="checkbox"/> RIB 3 4 5 6 7	
Place and country of residence		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	
Last place / port of Embarkation		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	
Please answer A or B (please mark (v) only one box):			
A To be completed by visitors or intending residents Purpose of visit 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Business 5 <input type="checkbox"/> Transit 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Official mission 6 <input type="checkbox"/> Education 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Convention 7 <input type="checkbox"/> Others 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Holiday / Visiting friends Relatives / Pleasure		B To be completed by returning residents (included Indonesian Nationals) 1. I have been absent from Indonesia for <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Years months days 2. Country in which I spent most time while abroad	
Accommodation 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Hotel 6 <input type="checkbox"/> Residence of friends & relatives 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Motel 7 <input type="checkbox"/> Apartment 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Rest house 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Rented house 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Guest house 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Camp 5 <input type="checkbox"/> Youth hostel 10 <input type="checkbox"/> Others		First trip to Indonesia? 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	Travelling on group tour? 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
Intended length of stay days		Intended address in Indonesia	
Have you been in Africa or South America during the last 6 days? 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No			
Date of arrival			
<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>		(Signature of Passenger)	

Source: Original Card from Immigration Department, 2002.

APPENDIX C

East Nusa Tenggara: Name of PJTKI, The Local Area for Recruiting Potential Migrants, Types of Job and Destination Country.

No	Name of PJTKI	Recruitment Area	Types of Job	Destination
1	2	3	4	5
1	PT. Parco Laut	Kupang, Maumere, Larantuka , Waingapu	Housemaids	Singapura
2	PT. Duta Anandasetia	Kupang, Maumere, Larantuka , Atambua	Plantations	Malaysia
3	PT. Bidarsatria Abadi	Maumere	Housemaids	Malaysia
4	PT. Akarinka Utama	Maumere Larantuka	Plantations	Malaysia
5	PT. Rajasa Intama	Kupang, Atambua Larantuka , Soe	Housemaids Housemaids	Malaysia Singapore
6	PT. Safika Jaya Utama	Kupang, Maumere, Soe, Larantuka Atambua,	Housemaids Housemaids	Malaysia Hong Kong
7	PT. Sari Warti Agung	Maumere	Plantations Housemaids	Malaysia
8	PT. Jatim Sukses Karya Bersama	Kupang, Maumere, Waingapu Larantuka	Housemaids Housemaids	Malaysia Hong Kong

Note: Larantuka is the capital city of East Flores

Source: *Kantor Depnaker*, 1999 (Unpublished Data)

APPENDIX D:

Village Questionnaire

(Modules: A, B, C and D)

Respondent No.:(four digit)

Area : district.....village

Date :, 1998

Time : from.....to

Special notes:

Interviewer:(signature)

.....(name)

Head of Village:(signature)

.....(name)

Researcher:(signature)

.....(name)

II. Economic Resources and Household Income

1. Daily economic activities pursued by those who stay behind to support household income over the last year:

No	Name	Age	Sex	Activity*

Note: (*) Farm / Fishing / Small-scale/home industry / Trade/small-scale selling / Other:(specify)

2. The main reason to involve young children in daily household economic activities over the last two years:

.....

3. Land resource for household income over the last two year:

No	Size (Ha)	Main Use*	Status**

Note: (*) Food Crops / tree crops / Mixed crops / livestock / other:.....(specify)
 (**) Private / collective /(specify)

4. Livestock that support household income over the last two years:

- Cow yes / no
- Pig yes / no
- Goat yes / no
- Chicken yes / no
- Other(specify)
-(specify)

5. Other important resources that support household economy over the last two years:

- Minibus yes / no
- Fishing boat yes / no
- Kiosk yes / no
- Other (specify)
(specify)

6. Please number in sequence three most important income sources for household income over the last two years:

- Food/tree corps ()
- Fishing ()
- Trade/small-scale selling activities ()
- Small-scale/home industry ()
- Livestock ()
- Remittances ()
- Other (specify):..... ()

7. Over the last two years, your annual household income earned in the home village is used mainly for (Please indicates one only):

- Daily household consumption (1)
- Education fees (2)
- Building new house (3)
- Invested in goods/properties (4)
- Invested in bank (5)
- Other (specify)..... (6)

8. According to you, what is the position of your annual household income earned in the home village compared to your annual household consumption level within the last two years? (Please circle one only)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9-----10
 Lowest Highest

9. What is the principal factor affecting low income on your household over the last two years (Please indicates one only):

- Insufficient land (1) - Natural disaster (3)
- Insufficient labour (2) - Other (specify)..... (4)

SPECIFIC SECTION FOR:

- Household of migrant still away (Module A)

III. Labour Emigration to Sabah Malaysia

Characteristics of the sampled migrant worker who is still working in Sabah:

- 1.1. Name :
- 1.2. Age :
- 1.3. Gender :
- 1.4. Marital Status :
- 1.5. Familial status :
- 1.6. Education :
- 1.7. Religion :
- 1.8. Occupation before move :
- 1.9. Current occupation in Sabah :

2. Migration decision-making:

2.1. Information regarding job and wage in Sabah received from:

- Close family member (1) - PJTKI staff (4)
- Other relatives (2) - Official staff (5)
- Friend (3) - Other (specify).....(6)

2.2. Who makes the decision to move to work in Sabah:

- Migrant him/herself (1) - Sibling/brother (4)
- Parent(s) (2) - Other (specify).....(5)
- Spouse (3)

2.3. The main reason to leave the home village:

- Cropping land limited (1) - Family order (4)
- Having low income (2) - Persuaded friends (5)
- Having no/limited job (3) - Other (specify).....(6)

2.4. The main reason to move to work in Sabah:

- Easy to get job (1) - To join relative (4)
- Easy moving process (2) - Similar language (5)
- Earning high income (3) - Other (specify).....(6)

3. The first time moving to work in Sabah:

3.1. Age of migrant at the first time moving to Sabah:.....year-old.

3.2. Number of migrants travelling together:.....persons

3.3. Did migrant hold a passport when crossing the national border for the first time?: yes / no / did not know

3.4. Who provided accommodation for newly arrival in Sabah:

Relative / Friend /(specify)

3.5. Who helped to get the first job in Sabah:

Relative / Friend /(specify)

3.6. Period of time spent on the first emigration:years

3.7. Migrant returned home for three months or over:.....times

3.8. Specific skill attained prior to the emigration to Sabah:.....

.....

4. The costs of movement to Work in Sabah:

4.1. Moving costs taken on the last emigration to Sabah: Rp.....

4.2. The main source of the last moving costs:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| - Migrant's own money (1) | - Private money lender (5) |
| - Parent/brother (2) | - Loan from bank (6) |
| - Other relative (3) | - (specify)..... (7) |
| - Clan treasury (4) | |

5. Period of working and income earned in Sabah:

5.1. Total years spent working in Sabah:.....years

5.2. The monthly income earned in Sabah in the last year: M\$.....
(if it is known).

6. Remittances sent home:

6.1. How many times migrant sent remittances in 1996:.....

6.2. Total amount of the remittances received in 1996: Rp.....

6.3. The remittances in 1996 sent mainly through:

Bank / Post office / Friend/relative / migrant him/herself

6.4. How many times migrant sent remittances between July 1997 and June 1998:
.....times

6.5. Total amount of the remittances received between July 1997 and June 1998:
Rp.....

6.6. The remittances between July 1997 and June 1998 sent mainly through:
Bank / Post office / Friend/relative / migrant him/herself

6.7. Over the last five years working in Sabah migrant sent remittances:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|
| - Every month | () |
| - Once in tree months | () |
| - Once in Six months | () |
| - Once in a year | () |
| - If it was requested (as necessary) | () |

6.8. Over the last five years working in Sabah, migrant sent remittances to family member who lived beyond Eastern Flores:

Never / yes, few times / yes, very often / not sure

6.9. The remittances sent home within the last five years used mainly for:

- Household consumption (*Tick one only*) ()
- Building new/renovating house ()
- Repaying debt, (specify)..... ()
- Purchase goods, (specify)..... ()
- Saving in bank ()

7. Emigration prospects:

7.1. According to you, what is the position of average level of household economy of migrant families compared to the average household economy of non-migrant in the same village:

worst / worse / equal / better / best

7.2. Where is the most potential area to earn income for improving the household economy over the next decade (*indicates one only*):

- Eastern Flores ()
- Other district in NTT ()
- Other province in Indonesia ()
- Sabah, East Malaysia ()
- Other State in Malaysia ()
- Foreign country other than Malaysia ()
- Other reason:..... ()

7.3. Do you intend to send another family member to work in Sabah over the next decade?

Yes / No / Will decided later

7.4. If the movement to Sabah being more restricted and implements strict rules to control illegal migrants, what is your suggestion:

- Stay and work in the home village ()
- Find another area of destination ()
- Fulfil the requirements and move to the region ()
- Move illegally through kinship arrangements ()
- Other (specify)..... ()

SPECIFIC SECTION FOR:**- Household of non-migrant (Module B)****III. Labour Emigration to Sabah Malaysia****5. Migration decision-making:**

5.1. Do you often receive information regarding job and wage levels in Sabah from:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| - Close family member | (1) | - PJTKI staff | (4) |
| - Other relatives | (2) | - Official staff | (5) |
| - Friend | (3) | - Other (specify)..... | (6) |

5.2. The main reason to stay in the home village:

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| - Cropping land sufficient land | (1) | - Looking after family | (4) |
| - Earning sufficient income | (2) | - Other (specify)..... | (5) |
| - Having better job | (3) | | |

5.3. What particular jobs provide sufficient income for your household incomes from working in the home region over the last two years:

- a.
- b.
- c.

5.4. Over the last five years, your household income used mainly for:

- | | |
|--|-----|
| - Household consumption (<i>Tick one only</i>) | () |
| - Building new/renovating house | () |
| - Purchase goods, (specify)..... | () |
| - Saving in bank | () |
| - Other (specify) | () |

6. Emigration prospects:

2.1. According to you, what is the position of average level of household economy of Sabah's migrant families compared to the average household economy of non-migrant in the same village:

worst / worse / equal / better / best

2.2. Where is the most potential area to earn income for improving the household economy over the next decade (*indicates one only*):

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| - Eastern Flores | () |
| - Other district in NTT | () |
| - Other province in Indonesia | () |
| - Sabah, East Malaysia | () |
| - Other State in Malaysia | () |
| - Foreign country other than Malaysia | () |
| - Other reason:..... | () |

2.3. Do you intend to send family member to work in Sabah over the next decade?
 Yes / No / Will decided later

2.4. If the movement to Sabah being more restricted and implements strict rules to control illegal migrants over the next decade, what is your suggestion:

- Stay and work in the home village ()
- Find another area of destination ()
- Fulfil the requirements and move to Sabah ()
- Move illegally through kinship arrangements ()
- Other (specify)..... ()

SPECIFIC SECTION FOR:

- Household of return migrant (Module C)

III. Labour Emigration to Sabah Malaysia

7. Prior the first time moving to work in Sabah:

7.1. Main occupation hold prior to the first time moving to Sabah:

7.2. Specific skill attained prior to the first emigration to work in Sabah:

7.3. Estimated annual income earned prior to the first emigration to Sabah:
 Rp.....

8. Migration decision making to move to work in Sabah:

8.1. Information regarding job and wage in Sabah received from:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| - Close family member (1) | - PJTKI staff (4) |
| - Other relatives (2) | - Official staff (5) |
| - Friend (3) | - Other (specify).....(6) |

8.2. Who makes the decision to move to work in Sabah:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| - Migrant him/herself (1) | - Sibling/brother (4) |
| - Parent(s) (2) | - Other (specify).....(5) |
| - Spouse (3) | |

8.3. The main reason to leave the home village:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| - Cropping land limited (1) | - Family order (4) |
| - Having low income (2) | - Persuaded friends (5) |
| - Having no/limited job (3) | - Other (specify).....(6) |

8.4. The main reason to move to work in Sabah:

- Easy to get job (1) - To join relative (4)
- Easy moving process (2) - Similar language (5)
- Earning high income (3) - Other (specify).....(6)

9. Process of the first movement to work in Sabah:

9.1. Age at the first time moving to work in Sabah.....year-old.

9.2. Number of migrants travelling together:.....persons

9.3. Did migrant hold a passport when crossing the national border for the first time?: yes / no / did not know

9.4. Who helped migrant in processing documents to cross the border area:

Relative / Friend /(specify)

9.5. Who provided accommodation for the time arriving in Sabah:

Relative / Friend /(specify)

9.6. Who helped migrant to get the first job in Sabah:

Relative / Friend /(specify)

10. The costs of movement to Work in Sabah:

4.1. Moving costs taken on the last emigration to Sabah: Rp.....

4.2. The main source of the last moving costs:

- Migrant's own money (1) - Private money lender (5)
- Parent/brother (2) - Loan from bank (6)
- Other relative (3) - (specify)..... (7)
- Clan treasury (4)

11. Period of working and income earned in Sabah:

5.1. Total years spent working in Sabah:.....years

5.2. How many times returned home for three months or over:.....times

5.3. How many times changed job occupation in Sabah:times

5.4. The last job occupied in Sabah:.....

5.5. Monthly income earned in the last year in Sabah: M\$.....

5.6. The skills attained from working in Sabah:

-
-
-

6. The remittances sent home over the last two years working in Sabah:

5.1. How many times migrant sent remittances back home:

- Did not send remittances ()
- One to two times ()
- Two to five times ()
- Six times and over ()

6.3. Estimated amount of remittances sent home over the last two years working in Sabah: M\$.....

6.4. The remittances sent home mainly through:

Bank / Post office / Friend/relative / migrant him/herself

6.5. Over the last five years working in Sabah migrant sent remittances:

- Every month ()
- Once in tree months ()
- Once in Six months ()
- Once in a year ()
- If it was requested (as necessary) ()

6.6. Over the last five years working in Sabah, migrant sent remittances to family member who lived beyond Eastern Flores:

Never / yes, few times / yes, very often

6.7. The remittances sent home within the last five years used mainly for:

- Household consumption (*Tick one only*) ()
- Building new/renovating house ()
- Repaying debt, (specify)..... ()
- Purchase goods, (specify)..... ()
- Saving in bank ()

7. Returning home after working in Sabah:

7.1. Age when returning home:year-old

7.2. Marital status when returning home:

7.3. The main reason for returning home:

7.4. The main occupation after returning home:.....

7.5. Estimated monthly income after returning home: Rp.....

7.6. How useful the skill acquired in Sabah support current household income from working in the home village:

unusable / useful / very useful

7.7. Do you intend to go back to work in Sabah:.....

8. Emigration prospects:

8.1. According to you, what is the position of average level of household economy of migrant families compared to the average household economy of non-migrant in the same village:

worst / worse / equal / better / best

8.2. Where is the most potential area to earn income for improving the household economy over the next decade (*indicates one only*):

- Eastern Flores ()
- Other district in NTT ()
- Other province in Indonesia ()
- Sabah, East Malaysia ()
- Other State in Malaysia ()

- Foreign country other than Malaysia ()
- Other reason:..... ()

8.3. Do you intend to send another family member to work in Sabah over the next decade?
 Yes / No / Will decided later

- 8.4. If the movement to Sabah being more restricted and implements strict rules to control illegal migrants, what is your suggestion:
- Stay and work in the home village ()
 - Find another area of destination ()
 - Fulfil the requirements and move to the region ()
 - Move illegally through kinship arrangements ()
 - Other (specify)..... ()

QUESTIONNAIRE

for

Middleman (Module D)

1. Respondent characteristics:

1. Respondent No.....
2. Respondent Name:.....
3. Age.....
4. Sex.....
5. Marital status.....
6. Education.....
7. Religion.....
8. Main occupation.....
9. Additional job.....

2. Migration experience:

1. Have you ever lived outside the home village for more than three months?
 Where....., how long.....
2. Have you ever been Sabah for visiting relatives? Yes / No
 If yes, how many times.....
3. Have ever worked in Sabah? Yes / No

If yes, how many years.....

3. Involvement in the process of labour migration to work in Sabah:

1. How many years have you been involved in the process of labour migration to work in Sabah:.....years.
2. The most often service(s) given are in the form of:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

3. The main reason to involve in the process of labour migration to work in Sabah

(Provides one reason only):

- To seek income ()
 - To help relatives ()
 - To accomplish leadership duty ()
 - (Specify)..... ()
4. What kind of special reward have you often received from potential migrant or the family left behind for the services you have given:.....
-
5. How many person/family have been helped over the last two years:
- Potential migrants who move to work in Sabah: persons
 - The family stayed behind:.....persons

4. Emigration prospects:

- 4.1. According to you, what is the position of average level of household economy of migrant families compared to the average household economy of non-migrant in the same village:

worst / worse / equal / better / best

- 4.2. Where is the most potential area to earn income for improving the household economy over the next decade (*indicates one only*):

- Eastern Flores ()
- Other district in NTT ()
- Other province in Indonesia ()
- Sabah, East Malaysia ()
- Other State in Malaysia ()
- Foreign country other than Malaysia ()
- Other reason:..... ()

4.3. Do you intend to send another family member to work in Sabah over the next decade?

Yes / No / Will decided later

4.4. If the movement to Sabah being more restricted and implements strict rules to control illegal migrants, what is your suggestion:

- Stay and work in the home village ()
- Find another area of destination ()
- Fulfil the requirements and move to the region ()
- Move illegally through kinship arrangements ()
- Other (specify)..... ()