

SEAPAT WORKING PAPER

7

**Providing information to outgoing
Indonesian migrant workers**

by

**Graeme Hugo
W. R. Böhning**

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE MANILA

ILO MANILA DOCUMENTATION CENTER

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Foreword

This is a working paper of the ILO's South-East Asia and the Pacific Multidisciplinary Advisory Team (SEAPAT). SEAPAT's functions include: (i) advisory services to governments, employers' and workers' organizations on policies and technical issues within the ILO mandate; (ii) assistance in the preparation and updating of country strategies in the labour field; (iii) assistance to constituents in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programmes and projects; and (iv) collection and dissemination of information and facilitating the exchange of national experiences through analytical studies, reports, etc.

This working paper contains three contributions to a Workshop on Information Needs of Indonesian Migrant Workers organized by the Centre for Population and Manpower Studies of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (PPI-LIPI) in association with the International Labour Office, held at the end of May this year in Jakarta. The first two contributions are by Dr. Graeme Hugo, Professor of Geography of the University of Adelaide; the third contribution is my own presentation to this Workshop.

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Director, SEAPAT

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PART I. THE 1999 LIPI-ILO SURVEY ON INFORMATION NEEDS OF OUTGOING MIGRANT WORKERS, by G. Hugo

Introduction

It is apparent that lack of information is an important factor in the various problems faced by Indonesian overseas migrant workers. Indonesia is not alone, other countries that send migrant workers overseas are facing the same problems. International experience indicates that there are two distinct moments in time when different kinds of information are required: (1) **pre-migration information** (when a person contemplates taking the decision to migrate abroad and is faced with many uncertainties); (2) **pre-departure orientation** (when a person has signed an employment contract and is about to go abroad). In between there is a crucial moment when he/she is confronted with an employment contract that he/she would find difficult to understand the implications of. To obtain correct information is the right of every worker. What we must consider is what information do they need, when to provide it and how to disseminate it.

PPT-LIPI has been charged with carrying out a study on the information required by Indonesian migrant workers. In particular the following questions were to be addressed in the research:

Pre-migration information:

- Who should be provided with information;
- What information is required;
- Who should disseminate the information;
- How the information should be disseminated (by looking at the characteristics of the target groups);
- Where the information will be most effectively provided.

Pre-departure information:

- Who are the stakeholders involved;
- What information is required by Indonesian migrant workers/prospective migrant workers and other stakeholders;
- Who should disseminate the information;
- How the information should be disseminated (by looking at the characteristics of Indonesian migrant workers/prospective migrant workers and other stakeholders: for example their ability to read, access to the information and other stakeholders);
- Where the information would be most effectively provided.

Before the Indonesian migrant workers sign the working contract:

- Who is involved in the employment contract;
- The consequences of signing the contract for the Overseas Contract Workers (OCW).

Before OCWs return to Indonesia:

- What are the formalities that need to be completed upon arrival in Indonesia? What costs are involved? How much time does it take?
- How can returning OCWs best adjust back to life in Indonesia?
- How can earnings from overseas be best invested?
- What is involved in returning overseas to work?

Hence the aims of the research were to...

- clarify the nature of problems faced by OCWs and how they may be overcome by providing potential migrants with quality information;
- establish the extent to which OCWs from Indonesia are currently receiving information which is useful in migrating overseas to work and establish the quality of that information;
- establish what sources of information are utilised by OCWs;
- establish what types of information are most needed by overseas migrant workers from Indonesia; and
- establish what are the most effective ways to disseminate this information, including consideration of who the targets of that information should be and how it should be best distributed to them.

Methodology

The literature relating to international migration in Indonesia is extremely limited. There is a lack of empirical studies which detail the decision to migrate, the experience of migration, experience at the destination, the impact on the home area, etc. A major difficulty here is that in Indonesia a substantial amount of the movement is clandestine and hence is not easily studied. Nevertheless, there is also not the base of empirical evidence regarding OCWs who leave Indonesia under the official program to be confident in answering the questions posed in the previous section. Accordingly it was necessary to undertake some preliminary data collection to provide answers to these questions.

Primary information collection in this area is difficult since there are no sources which can be used as a sampling frame to select a representative sample of OCWs to interview. Moreover, in the case of undocumented migration there is not even aggregate data of migrant workers departing from respective areas. It was decided that the following groups needed to be targeted to obtain background data on which to base a strategy relating to improving provision of information to prospective OCWs.

- Returning OCWs who presumably would have fresh in their minds the types of information which they did not get before leaving but required in the process of migration and settlement at the destination. These were also the group who could best indicate the sources of information which are currently accessed by OCWs, the training they receive, etc.

- Similarly it would be useful to talk to OCWs in the process of leaving for overseas since they have recently gone through the process of deciding whether or not to migrate, where to go, etc. Hence they should be in a situation to indicate what sources of information were important to them in making the decision to migrate.
- The *calo*/sponsor group are a crucial element in providing information to intending OCWs in Indonesia. Their role as being fundamental in much of the migration to Malaysia has been demonstrated (Hugo 1993). However, they are probably even more important in the migration to Saudi Arabia. Spaan (1999, p. 293) has pointed out:

In the rural areas they are pivotal in disseminating information on the Middle East and on recruitment agencies in Jakarta. They are knowledgeable on procedures and have the necessary network for sending candidate migrants. Their dominant position vis-a-vis the migrants facilitates exploitation. Almost without exception they demand fees for their services.

The latter issue makes them one of the hardest groups to study not only when they are involved in undocumented migration.

- Along with the *calo*/sponsors in the area of origin the community leaders are important in the information process. There is little evidence thus far of the role that this group play in influencing migration decisions. However, these opinion leaders can play a role in the dissemination of information to prospective OCWs in the same way that they are important conduits of other information to communities.
- The private recruitment agencies (PJTKI) are, of course, major players in providing information to prospective migrants. One such role is through their networks of *calo* and another is through the information/training sessions which they provide to OCWs before their departure.
- DEPNAKER is a central element in the system, and, according to the ILO's Migration for Employment (Revised), 1949 (No. 97), article 2, has part of the ultimate responsibility to provide sufficient accurate information to prospective OCWs. This includes the central offices as well as those down to provincial and *kabupaten* level as well as the Centre for Sending Workers Overseas which is an agency of the Department (AKAN).
- There are a range of NGOs with a major interest in OCWs, although they have not as yet been able to work very much with the government on the information issue.

Therefore, a mixed methodology was adopted which incorporated both quantitative and qualitative methods and which sought to gain information from as many of the above groups as possible. To some extent the methodology was experimental in that there are no existent studies in Indonesia which have attempted to investigate the information needs of migrant workers.

It was decided, within the resources available, that it would be advisable to focus predominantly on interviewing migrants themselves and particularly those in the first group listed

above - i.e. those who have recently returned from overseas. Accordingly it was decided that the following targets would be set to interview returning OCWs:

- 100 new arrivals at Cengkareng Airport Jakarta.
- 100 recent female returnees from Saudi Arabia to villages in West Java, e. g. Cianjur.
- 100 recent returnees in East Kalimantan, e. g. in Nunakan on the border with Sabah.
- 100 recent returnees in Riau, e.g. Batam.

This strategy was designed to 'catch' newly returning migrant workers, both legal and illegal. It was also planned to interview 10 key informants in each area. These would be local leaders and other individuals with involvement in (e.g. *calo*), or deep knowledge of, the migrant worker situation and process. In addition, key stakeholders would also be interviewed in the Department of Labour, Department of Immigration and relevant NGOs.

A number of difficulties were encountered in the field which made it impossible to follow the methodology exactly as planned. It was not possible to interview people newly arriving at the Jakarta airport. After a long absence they were keen to meet up with their families. Interviewing was also difficult because they came back in a group. Interviewing would have been excessively intrusive and it proved very difficult to gain permission to interview in the special terminal dedicated to OCWs. Accordingly, since most returning migrant workers at Jakarta Airport were from West Java it was decided to interview a larger number of migrant workers in that province drawn from the main *kabupaten* of origin in that province - Indramayu, Cianjur and Sukabumi. Local informants indicated that many of the migrant workers came from the *kecamatan* of Sliyug (Indramayu) and Cibeber (Cianjur). In the other two areas it was difficult to identify returning migrant workers when they crossed back into Indonesia. There were substantial groups who were waiting to depart for Malaysia so these were interviewed in preference to the original plan of interviewing returning OCWs.

It was not possible to meet the original targets of 100 interviews in each place because of difficulties in finding them and time limitations. Hence the following numbers were interviewed...

- 146 in West Java
- 58 in Nunakan (East Kalimantan)
- 76 in Batam/Pekan Baru (Riau)

The interviews with returning and intending migrants utilised a questionnaire which is included here as Appendix A. This questionnaire probed the information sources utilised by OCWs, the training they received and the nature of their experience overseas. Some additional strategies utilised to collect data from OCWs included holding some focus group discussions with groups of ten or so migrants to probe the information issue. This was especially utilised in Nunakan where migrant workers are more comfortable talking in a group rather than utilising individual interviews. In addition, in Nunakan some migrant workers who were briefly returning from Sabah to get official documentation or to renew their visas were interviewed.

In addition to the structured interviews with OCWs, a number of in-depth discussions were carried out with stakeholders and others with a deep knowledge of the migration process to

acquire greater depth of knowledge on the migration issue. These detailed discussions were held in both the three regional locations as well as in Jakarta. The groups interviewed included the following:

Government Institutions and Officials

These discussions were conducted in Jakarta with key officials as well as in the local area at the provincial and *kabupaten* level. They involved discussions with officials of AKAN. In many cases there was little correspondence between information received in these discussions with that from OCWs. DEPNAKER accepts the responsibility of supplying information to intending workers. For example, in Cianjur the *Kandepnaker* has an information program supplying details of work opportunities to potential OCWs, has brochures to distribute and has distributed information over local radio. In some cases they cooperate with the PJTKI in this activity and distribute information regarding work OCWs are likely to take up, formalities they must go through and conditions at the destination.

However, much of this does not appear to be getting to the intending OCWs. Moreover officials in Cianjur made several comments on this issue:

- The information material needs considerable development. It really lacks detail regarding work opportunities, conditions overseas and the rights and responsibilities of workers and employers.
- There is no attempt to distribute the information widely.
- There is a need to use both formal and informal means of spreading the information. However, the latter is rarely used. For example, there is no contacting of village heads to better inform them about working overseas so they can give informed advice to villagers intending to go overseas.

Similarly in Indramayu DEPNAKER officials indicated they distributed information. Again brochures are available. However, visits have not been made to all the villages sending migrants and when they have only single visits have been made so the DEPNAKER officials, as elsewhere, have little visibility in the villages sending large numbers of OCWs.

In Sukabumi 'socialisation' visits to villages by DEPNAKER staff were reported. In Nunakan there is one of the few regional offices of AKAN. However, its functions are overwhelmingly administrative. It answers questions of potential OCWs who approach it but there is no active information program.

In Riau a 'socialisation' (information) program had been operating for a year. They use a DEPNAKER vehicle to take information to sending villages.

Other government institutions interviewed included the Immigration Office. They did not have special programs to supply information to intending OCWs. Another group who are involved is the Office of Women due to the high proportion of females among OCWs. Since 1998 they have had a cooperative program with other government agencies, especially

DEPNAKER, in areas sending large numbers of TKI (e.g. Indramayu, Cianjur and West Nusa Tenggara). The material they distribute covers...

- preparation needed before going overseas;
- conditions in the destination;
- warnings about the impact on families left behind - disruption of marriage, etc.; and
- productive use of remittances using models of successful OCWs e.g. in Lombok a woman had purchased motorcycles which she rented to tourists.

However, these socialisation services were not routine and depended on the cooperation of DEPNAKER. It has been limited to only a few areas of origin of Indonesian migrant workers (TKI).

The Office of Women's Affairs has a pilot project at the Jakarta Airport among returning female OCWs, especially assisting those returning who did not complete their contract.

PJTKI (Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia)

Their main role is to assist OCWs in completing all the necessary formalities before migrating but they do have a responsibility in supplying information regarding work overseas, recruitment and return to Indonesia.

Most PJTKI interviewed reported that they combined with DEPNAKER in this function. However, it was clear that in many cases the required information was not presented and, if so, not in a way in which it could be clearly understood by OCWs. There is insufficient detail given about the responsibilities and rights of workers and employers.

Joint information activities of PJTKI and DEPNAKER in Indramayu were reported as not being successful because the potential OCWs didn't pay attention and seemed to trust and rely more on *calo*.

Clearly, the sponsor/*calo* are located in the villages and have more chance to talk one on one with potential OCWs and over a longer period of time. They are also known and trusted local residents. However, the sponsor/*calo* are not necessarily well informed or have access to useful information. In interviews it was suggested that training of *calo*/sponsor was needed as was the need to keep them supplied with relevant information.

The complexity of the recruitment process is a problem here. There is a complex system of agents and sub-agents operating, so it is not a simple process to supply information to *calo*.

There are consortiums of PJTKI that do joint advertising, share internet recruiting sites, etc.

NGOs (Lembaga Suradaya Masyarakat)

These agencies have done a great deal to raise public consciousness of the problems of TKI. A consortium of NGOs concerned with migrant workers has been formed (KOPBUMI-Konsusium Pembela Buruh Migran Indonesia). This involves 58 NGOs and 6 individuals. The

main roles are protection of migrant workers, advocating for them, negotiating for them and they have information pools in regions as well as centrally. Hence they have the information which OCWs need but their activities in disseminating this information to potential OCWs are limited. There are some successful operations by KOPBUMI members in disseminating information to TKI and their families but as yet the numbers are limited. The field worker level of NGOs is clearly an effective means of distributing information.

A number of detailed interviews were held with groups in each of the above categories. Hence a mixed methodology was adopted to establish both the information needs of OCWs and the existing pattern of dissemination of information.

Conclusion

The research strategy outlined above was designed to establish the current situation with respect to information supplied to, and information needs of, OCWs in Indonesia. There are clearly significant differences between groups with the most pressing needs being among women OCWs going to work as domestics, especially to Saudi Arabia. Indeed that could well become the initial focus for development of an information program. In the first place migrants need to know what their rights and obligations are and what the obligations of the recruiting agency and government officers involved are. These especially relate to...

- where registration takes place;
- what documents are needed;
- how can these documents be obtained in the least costly and most expeditious manner;
- precisely what costs are involved and for what services. Some standards need to be set for particular occupations, particular destinations, etc. so that migrant workers know approximately what they should be paying;
- what training is required, where it will be given, by whom and at what cost;
- how long they will be required at the point of transit before going overseas.

In getting this information to potential migrant workers the following seem to be the alternative ways, and perhaps all need to be addressed...

- via the individual potential migrant. This method used in the Philippines has some applicability to Indonesia although the level of education, literacy and reading of newspapers and magazines is much lower in the Indonesian case. Use of comic type presentations and mass media to some extent has applicability in the Indonesian case;
- via sponsor/*calo*. While these agents and sub-agents of the recruiting firms obviously have some interest in providing information selectively so that the potential migrants use their services, the fact is that many are community members in the villages of origin so that if they knowingly exploit other community members their local position may deteriorate. Moreover, they are the present place where most migrant workers get their initial information about potential migration;
- DEPNAKER offices. The survey indicated that very little use was made of Department of Labour Offices to obtain information by the migrant workers. Yet these offices go at

least to the *kabupaten* level and they need to take a more active information dissemination role;

- another possibility lies in the local leadership institutions and individuals. In many of the areas of origin of migrant workers there are strong patron/client (*bapak/anak buah*) relationships which are part of the local tradition.

To some extent the lack of information of potential migrant workers regarding what is required of them registering as OCWs and what they need to do before leaving for overseas is due not only to the lack of effective information programs but also...

- the fact that the official process is far too convoluted and *complex* involving several stages and a great deal of time;
- it is also too centralised with migrant workers having to travel considerable distances to go through the registration, preparation and training processes often involving them in considerable costs not only of travel but also in accommodation at the transit point for a long period.

This means that it is difficult for potential workers to fully understand what is involved and makes it easier for them to be misled and exploited. Hopefully, in the current spirit of *reformasi* there will be a simplification of procedures through reduction of the number of steps involved in registration, the development of 'one stop shops' and the decentralisation of the registration system.

It is not only information about the process of registration and preparation for travel to work overseas which is lacking among potential migrants, but they are also not well informed about what awaits them overseas. This often leads to them not being prepared for working and living at the destination. One result is the very high rate of return of some OCWs from overseas before they complete their contracts. This is especially the case among women who travel to Saudi Arabia to work as domestics.

There are two elements here...

- potential migrants need to be better informed about wages and likely savings, work requirements, work conditions, and living conditions in order to make better informed decisions about migrating. Moving overseas often involves them taking out substandard loans, selling or renting land, etc. It is essential that they make such important decisions in the light of a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of what it will be like at the destination;
- there is also the need for more and better training and preparation of migrant workers before they go overseas so they are better prepared to cope with life at the destination as well as have some training to carry out the tasks required of them. The survey indicated that many migrants did not receive any training although it is mandatory and many of those who did found the training of little utility at the destination.

Hence there is a definite need to include in the information packages and programs given to potential OCWs information about work and living conditions at the destination and the obligations of worker and employer at the destination. At present migrant workers rely to some extent on friends and relatives who had previously migrated for this type of knowledge but again the *sponsor* is the main source accessed. Hence in providing this information to potential migrant workers the multiple approach advocated above for information about recruitment, registration and preparation for overseas work needs to be applied. One of the most controversial and disturbing aspects of the current movement of OCWs out of Indonesia relates to exploitation at destination. While it was evident to some extent among all types of migrants going to each of the main destinations, it was far and away most prevalent among women going to Saudi Arabia. It is apparent that a major challenge facing Indonesian officials in this area is to put in place protective mechanisms to help overcome this problem. The survey found that most migrant workers had no knowledge at all of what strategies they could adopt at the destination if they found themselves in a situation where they were being exploited (e.g. poor conditions, long hours, etc.) or abused (physically or sexually). It was found in the survey that abuse and exploitation from employers was mainly found in women working as domestics in Saudi Arabia. They had no knowledge of what to do to protect themselves and it is clear that women taking up such jobs need to be given information regarding various strategies that they can use when confronted by these issues. The problem is much less elsewhere because the migrant workers usually work with other Indonesian OCWs and have support networks. Also in many areas in Malaysia and Hong Kong, China, the PJTKI have mechanisms in place for workers (and their employers) to report problems directly. There should be specific information about what to do in these situations given to all OCWs, especially women going to Saudi Arabia once they have decided to go overseas.

There is then the need for a second package of information to be developed which does not go to potential migrant workers before they have decided to go overseas but to those who have made that decision and are preparing to leave. This should be part of the preparation process which currently involves providing some training in language, use of equipment, etc. Another element in this information package should relate to how the OCWs can make linkages with fellow OCWs at the destination, how they can maintain contact with family at the origin and how they can best remit funds to their home area. One other area where returning OCWs say they needed information but lacked it was return to Indonesia. At Jakarta the government has established a separate terminal at the airport for departing and returning OCWs where they are processed upon return there by officials and recruiting agents. Moreover, particular transport companies are licensed to take them to their home village. Respondents reported that this offers a range of new opportunities for extortion and exploitation through over-charging. This process must be a transparent and quick one and the returning OCWs need to be informed about what is involved. It is difficult to know where and when this information needs to be provided. The time of departure from the destination country would be ideal. Perhaps this could include labour attaches, embassies and consulates. It is clear that the present role of these is minimal compared to their Filipino counterparts. There needs to be a greater involvement of labour attaches at the main destinations in a number of areas such as protection but also in helping with information dissemination about the return process.

A key question regards who should be involved in this information development and dissemination process. DEPNAKER should be involved despite the fact that there has been little

or no involvement in this area until now. Certainly in the case of the Family Planning Program it has been shown that government departments can operate effectively in this arena. Some care has to be taken in this process, however, and the DEPNAKER staff involved need to be appropriately trained in this area. It should not simply be another task grafted on to the *Kandep* and *Kanmil* throughout Indonesia. It would seem appropriate, however, that the institutions involved in the information program be widened to include NGOs who have a strong interest in this area. Preferably a cooperative activity between a consortium of NGOs and DEPNAKER should develop the information material and the program to disseminate it.

With respect to the *content* of information disseminated, it is apparent that in the *First Package* of material that is disseminated to each potential OCW considering whether or not to seek work overseas...

- what is required in terms of registration and preparation - costs, time, travel, documents;
- what are the differences between documented and undocumented movement. In the studies there was often not a real understanding among some OCWs as what actually constituted illegal movement and what was its implications;
- what types of jobs are available overseas - skills needed, work conditions, wages, language requirements;
- what day to day life is like - positive *and* negative aspects;
- implications of incurring debt in order to migrate.

With respect to the *Second Package* of material that is to be given to people who have already decided to go and registered for working in an overseas country...

- detailed information about obligations of the worker, employer, recruiter and DEPNAKER;
- information about how to deal with abuse and exploitation;
- detailed information about how to contact other Indonesians abroad, labour attache, family at home and how to send remittances;
- more detailed information about work and living situations.

The *Third Package* to be given to returning OCWs should include...

- information on what formalities have to be completed upon arrival in Indonesia - costs, time, etc.;
- information to assist them in adjusting to life in Indonesia;
- information about investing money returned, banking, saving, etc.;
- information about how to return to the destination for a further stint of working overseas;
- how to deal with deportation.

PART II. INDONESIAN INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRANTS: CHARACTERISTICS AND INFORMATION NEEDS, *by G. Hugo*

International migration of Indonesians

Indonesia, even before the outset of the economic crisis in 1997, was a quintessentially labour surplus nation with a high incidence of underemployment (exceeding 30%), low income (\$980 per annum in 1995 and substantially less since the onset of the crisis) and a rapidly growing workforce (2.4% per annum) among its 80 million workers (Hugo 1995). Accordingly, it is not surprising that Indonesia became one of Southeast Asia's major emigration nations in the burgeoning of global international population movements over the last decade. However, the bulk of this movement out of Indonesia has not been of the traditional permanent settlement type.¹ Most has been of contract labour migrants who have worked temporarily at a number of destinations although eventual permanent settlement in those countries has been significant. It is unfortunately not possible to provide an accurate picture of the scale of the labour export from Indonesia because the statistics available only indicate a minor part of the totality of movement. The major source of such data is the Ministry of Manpower which monitors the movement of legal Overseas Contract Workers (OCWs) but has no information concerning the substantially larger numbers who

- leave the nation *legally* but do not register as OCWs with the Ministry of Labour;
- leave the nation without going through any official process.

Table 1 presents the official statistics relating to the deployment of Indonesian labour overseas. The increasing tempo of movement is apparent as is the dominance of the Middle East as the major destination. Since most workers are on two years contracts the actual number of official OCWs overseas in any one year is greater than the numbers deployed in an individual year. The increasing scale of the flow is evident in the table with the numbers being deployed during each national five-year plan more than doubling with each plan. The pattern of more workers being sent overseas each year is interrupted in two years by exceptional circumstances. The downturn in official migration in 1995-1996 is partly an artefact of the data since in 1994 the Minister of Manpower created a new government backed company, P.T. Bijak, which had several roles, among which was to compete with private recruiters to recruit workers directly and deploy them overseas (Hugo 1995a, p. 295). The workers sent overseas by P.T. Bijak were not involved in the official Department of Labour data presented in Table 1 for 1994-1997 although they now are. To give an idea of the impact of this, the number of workers deployed by P.T. Bijak to Malaysia between October 1995 and September 1996 was 36,247 (Setiawati 1997, p. 91). This company also sent 9,000 Indonesian workers to South Korea and a slightly larger number to Taiwan, China, around the same time. Similarly the figure of 517,269 migrant workers being deployed in 1996-97 needs to be seen as anomalous since it includes more than

¹ For example, the numbers in the main destination countries of permanent migration of Australia, Canada and the United States were 44,175 in 1996 (ABS 1996 Census), 7,610 in 1991 (Statistics Canada) and 64,376 in 1998 (US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, April 1998) respectively.

Table 1: Number of Indonesian overseas workers processed by the Ministry of Manpower, 1969-2000

Year (Single Year)	Middle East		Malaysia/Singapore		Other		Total	Percent Change Over Previous Year	Sex Ratio (Males/ 100 Females)
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			
1999-2000*	133,128	40	149,700	45	48,757	15	331,585	na	41
1998-99	179,521	44	173,995	42	58,153	14	411,609	+75	28
1997-98	131,734	56	71,735	30	31,806	14	235,275	-55	20
1996-97	135,336	26	328,991	64	52,942	10	517,269	328	79**
1995-96	48,298	40	46,891	39	25,707	21	120,896	-31	48
1994-95	99,661	57	57,390	33	19,136	11	176,187	10	32
1993-94	102,357	64	38,453	24	19,185	12	159,995	-7	36
1992-93	96,772	56	62,535	36	12,850	7	172,157	15	54
1991-92	88,726	59	51,631	34	9,420	6	149,777	74	48
1990-91	41,810	48	38,688	45	5,766	7	86,264	3	73
1989-90	60,456	72	18,488	22	5,130	6	84,074	37	35
1988-89	50,123	82	6,614	11	4,682	8	61,419	1	29
1987-88	49,723	81	7,916	13	3,453	6	61,092	11	35
1986-87	45,405	66	20,349	30	2,606	4	68,360	23	61
1985-86	45,024	81	6,546	12	4,094	7	54,297	21	44
1984-85	35,577	77	6,034	13	4,403	10	46,014	57	79
1983-84	18,691	64	5,597	19	5,003	17	29,291	38	141
1982-83	9,595	45	7,801	37	3,756	18	21,152	18	
1981-82	11,484	65	1,550	9	4,570	26	17,604	11	
1980-81	11,231	70	564	4	4,391	27	16,186	56	
1979-80	7,651	74	720	7	2,007	19	10,378		
1977							3,675		

Five Year Planning Periods:	Target	Total Deployed
Repelita VI: 1994-99	1,250,000	1,461,236
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

* 1 April 1999 to 31 December 1999

** Year in which 300,000+ Malaysian labour migrants were regularised (194,343 males and 127,413 females).

Sources: Suyono, 1981; Singhanetra-Renard, 1986:52; Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1986:2; AKAN Offices, Bandung and Jakarta; AKAN (Antar Kerja Antar Negara).

300,000 Indonesian workers in Malaysia who came forward in an amnesty for undocumented workers (Kassim 2000). What is apparent in Table 1 is the substantial increase in the number of overseas contract workers deployed in Indonesia following the onset of the Economic Crisis in 1997. The crisis has undoubtedly increased the pressure to engage in international labour

Table 2: Indonesia: Destinations of overseas workers in the Sixth Five-Year Plan Period, 1994-99

Destination	Number	Percent	Sex Ratio
ASIA PACIFIC	848,543	58.1	79.9
Malaysia	556,575	38.1	96.1
Singapore	146,427	10.0	22.9
Taiwan, China	44,851	3.1	152.9
Republic of Korea	37,288	2.6	524.7
Hong Kong, China	35,140	2.4	1.7
Brunei	14,040	1.0	28.3
Japan	12,274	0.8	4620.7
Other Asia	1,943	0.1	16,091.7
AMERICA	12,833	0.9	40,003.1
EUROPE	5,204	0.4	7,667.1
MIDDLE EAST/AFRICA	594,656	40.6	8.3
Saudi Arabia	550,218	37.7	8.5
Arab Emirates	41,768	2.9	2.6
Other Middle East/Africa	2,670	0.2	74.2
TOTAL	1,461,236	100.0	43.1

Source: DEPNAKER

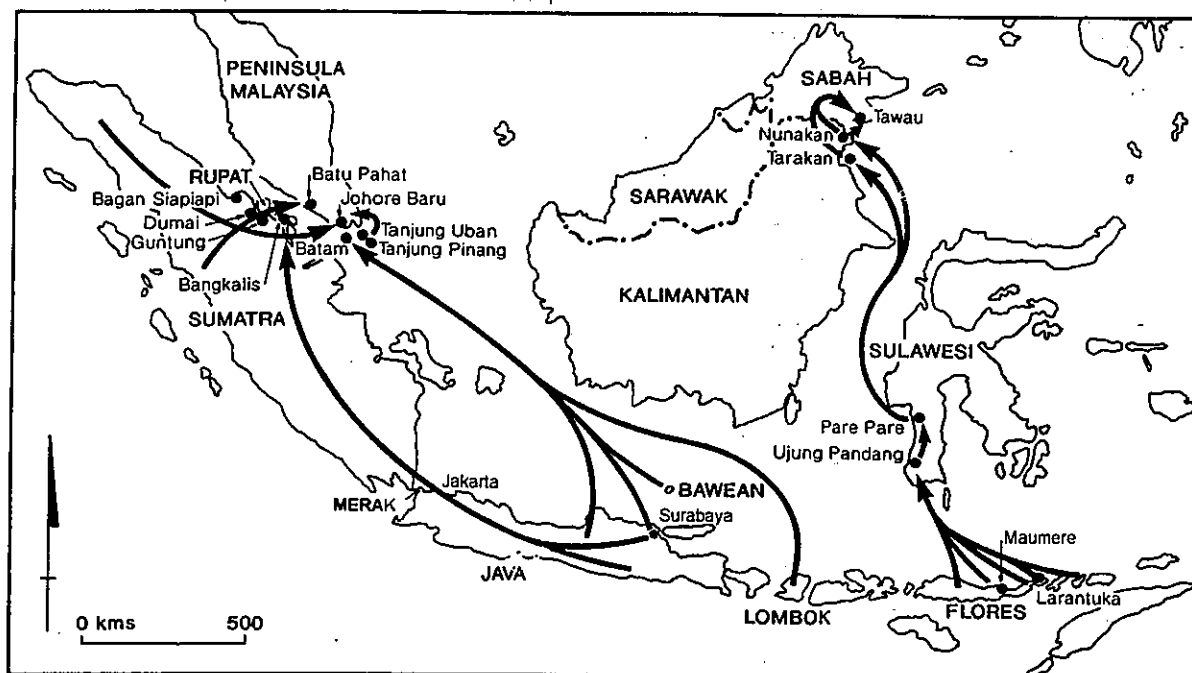
migration so that the period between the onset of the crisis and the end of 1999 saw more workers deployed officially than was the case in the entire first five five-year plans.

It is clear that the crisis has led to increased official international labour migration out of Indonesia. A field study in Indramayu, West Java (Romdiati, Handayani and Rahayu 1998: 23) found that the crisis in this area has seen many locals use international labor migration as a coping strategy. Women are being sent to Saudi Arabia to work as domestic servants. One feature of the crisis more generally in Indonesia is the increasing participation of women in the workforce to expand the household's portfolio of income options (ILO 1999). It seems that part of this strategy may have involved more women being involved in international labour migration.

One of the features of this official movement is the dominance of women, mostly destined to be employed as domestic workers. For example among workers deployed over the Sixth Five-Year Plan period (1994-1999) 2,042,206 women were sent abroad compared with 880,266 males. Moreover, it would seem that during the economic crisis period the female proportion among the migrant workers has increased with the sex ratio reaching record low levels in the 1997-99 period (Table 1). The dominance of women in the movement has significant implications for programs relating to providing information to potential migrant workers.

Table 1 also indicates that the destinations of official overseas contract workers have been dominated by the Middle East and, to a lesser extent, neighbouring Malaysia and Singapore. However, Table 2 depicts the destinations of these workers in the Sixth Five-Year Plan and indicates the dominance of two countries - Saudi Arabia and Malaysia. Over time Asian

Figure 1: Major routes of undocumented migration from Indonesia to Malaysia



destinations have become more important destinations for OCWs from Indonesia although 1998-99 was a record year for the numbers of Indonesians sent to Saudi Arabia. This has significant implications for providing information since the relatively small number of destination countries compared to some other major OCW sending countries like the Philippines means that information programs detailing destination conditions can be restricted to a small number of countries.

The 'official' OCW movement briefly referred to above, however, is only part of the international labour migration out of Indonesia. Undocumented movement is more substantial in numbers than the documented movement but considerations of international labour migration in Indonesia almost totally focus on the latter. It is crucial in any consideration of providing information to potential migrant workers that groups who are considered to be potential undocumented workers be included as well as those who intend going through official channels.

Knowledge of undocumented migration in Indonesia is much more limited than that of documented movement but it is likely that it is significantly greater in scale than the documented movement. Undocumented migration out of Indonesia takes a number of forms including the following...

- Migrants who clandestinely enter a country and do not pass through official border checkpoints. In Indonesia, for example, this includes large numbers who cross the Malacca Straits from Riau to the coasts of Johore in Malaysia.
- Others enter a country legally but overstay their visa. This applies to many who enter Sabah from East Kalimantan.

Table 3: Indonesia: Estimated stocks of overseas contract workers, 1999

Destination	Estimated Stocks	Source
Saudi Arabia	425,000	Indonesian Embassy Riyadh
United Arab Emirates	35,000	<i>Asian Migration News</i> , 30 April 1999
Malaysia	1,900,000	Kassim, 1997
Hong Kong, China	32,000	DEPNAKER
Singapore	70,000	<i>Asian Migration News</i> , 5 May 1999
Taiwan, China	18,269	<i>Asian Migration Yearbook</i> , 1999:197
Republic of Korea	11,700	<i>Asian Migration Yearbook</i> , 1999:182
Japan	3,245	<i>Asian Migration Yearbook</i> , 1999:128
Philippines	26,000	<i>SCMP</i> , 10 December 1998
Brunei	2,426	<i>Asian Migration Yearbook</i> , 1999:125
Other	20,000	DEPNAKER
Total	2,543,640	

Source: Hugo 2000

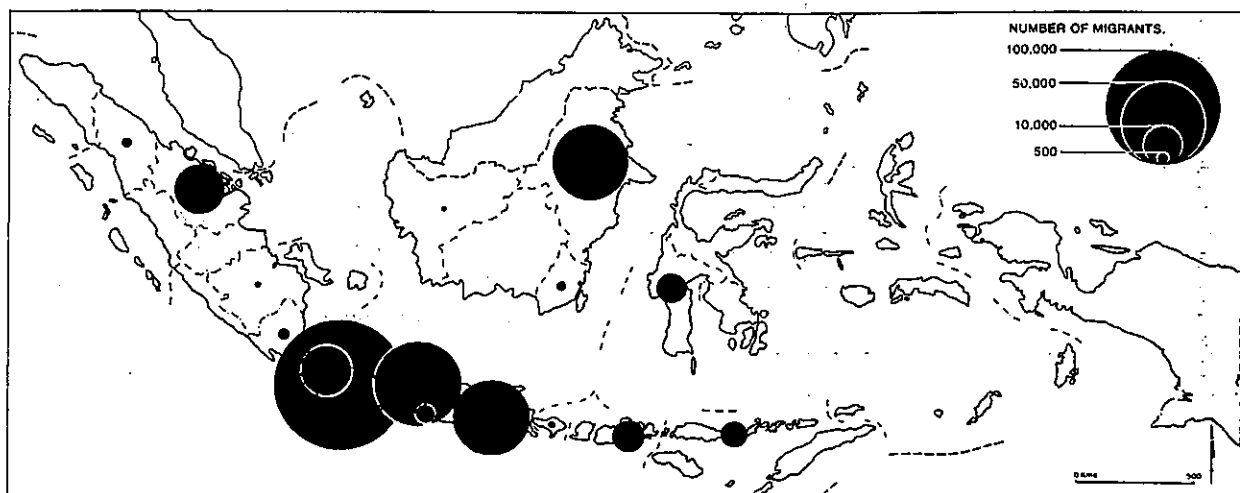
- Another group enter a country under a non-working visa (such as an *umroh* or *haj* visa to enter Saudi Arabia or a visiting pass to visit Sabah) but instead work in the destination country.

All three types of undocumented movement are significant in Indonesia. Although the migration occurs to many destinations, that to Malaysia and, to a much lesser extent, Singapore is especially substantial. This movement differs in many respects from the legal movement, being male dominated (although female involvement is increasing) and predominantly focused on Malaysia although illegal migration to other destinations such as Singapore, Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, China, Saudi Arabia and perhaps Australia is on the increase (*Jakarta Post*, 18 April 1995). Figure 1 shows that the undocumented movement of workers to Malaysia occurs along two major route systems

- from East Java, Lombok and North Sumatra through East Sumatra (especially Riau) to Peninsular Malaysia (especially Johore).
- from Flores, and South Sulawesi to East Kalimantan and then in to East Malaysia, especially Sabah.

Illegal entry to Malaysia from neighbouring Indonesia is neither difficult nor excessively expensive and most Indonesians are ethnically similar to the Malay majority in Malaysia. Much of the movement involves syndicates and complex webs of middlemen, recruiters and other intermediaries (Spaan 1994). Estimates of the numbers involved in the movement vary considerably. An amnesty in Peninsular Malaysia in 1993 saw some half a million Indonesian illegal migrants come forward (*Kompas*, 19 June 1995) of whom 180,000 worked in construction, 170,000 on plantations, 40,000 in manufacturing, 40,000 in services, 60,000 in hotels and 50,000 as domestic workers. However, since coming forward meant that employers had to pay migrant workers award wages and conditions it is clear that not all illegal workers were detected in the amnesty. At the 1997 Indonesian elections some 1.4 million Indonesians

Figure 2: Indonesia: Province of origin of officially registered overseas workers, 1989-92



residing in Malaysia voted (Kassim 1997), so the Malaysian government Immigration Department in 1997 put the number of Indonesian workers resident in Malaysia at 1.9 million - a figure far in excess of most other estimates (see e.g. Hugo 1995a). In October 1998 the Malaysian government estimated that there were 200,000 wives and children of overseas contract workers in the country (*Asian Migration News*, 31 October 1998). Table 3 presents estimates made in consultation with officials in the Indonesian Department of Labour of the stock of

Figure 3: The Kabupaten of origin of officially registered Indonesian OCWs, in West Java, April 1989 - March 1992

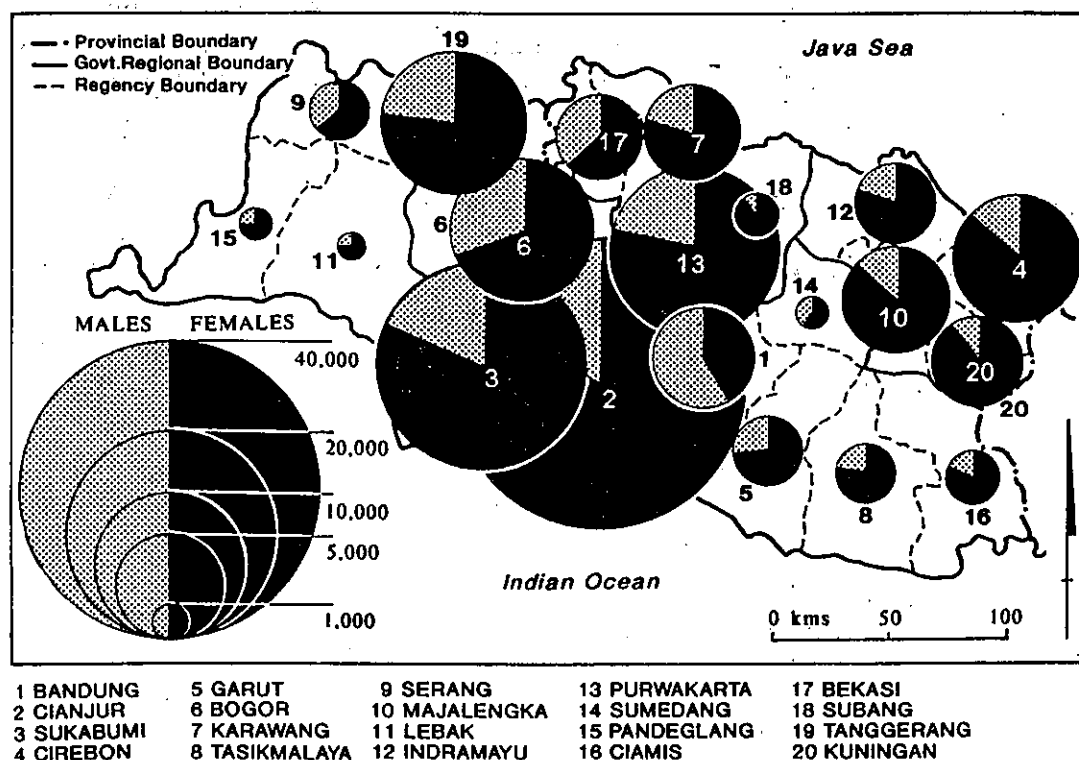


Table 4: West Java migrant worker survey: Sources of information (n=47)

Type of Information	Source (%)		
	<i>Calo</i> /Sponsor	Family/Friends	Recruiting Agency
Employment opportunities	54	34	2
Registration as an OCW	64	25	3
Wages	61	8	19
Administrative procedures	65	3	26
Transfer process	34	4	45

Source: LIPI-ILO Migration Information Study, 1999

Table 5: Riau migrant worker survey: Sources of information (n=58)

Source	Type of Information			
	Work Opportunities	Registration	Cost	Requirements
Friends	18	11	6	8
<i>Calo</i>	65	62	53	66
DEPNAKER/PJTKI/Media	18	26	41	26

Source: LIPI - ILO Migration Information Study, 1999

Table 6: East Kalimantan migrant worker survey: Sources of information (n=76)

Type of Information	Source				
	<i>Calo</i>	Relatives/ Friends	PJTKI	Media	No Answer
Job opportunities overseas	14	64	14	7	2
Registration as OCW	17	38	14	5	22
Cost of travel	21	22	19	3	34
Documentation needed	12	14	22	2	45
Movement process	17	33	17	-	31
Work overseas	26	31	22	-	21
Wages	14	14	21	-	52
Work conditions	9	19	14	-	59

Source: LIPI - ILO Migration Information Study, 1999

Indonesians working overseas in mid 1997 prior to the crisis. This represented over 3% of the Indonesian labour force. It is clear then that international labour migration is now having a discernible impact on Indonesia's labour force. The significance of the movement to Malaysia is evident in the fact that it was reported that in 1993 (*Kompas*, 23 September) 23% of Malaysia's workforce were Indonesians. The migration to Malaysia is dominated by males and is associated with the low paid, low status types of jobs which are eschewed by Malaysians in a segmented labour market (Hugo 1995a).

In considering a program of information for potential and actual OCWs it is necessary to point out that in a large and diverse nation such as Indonesia migrant workers are not a random representative cross section of Indonesian workers. They are selectively drawn from particular groups and areas. This is predominantly due to the significance of chain migration and the fact that once a migration network is established it facilitates and encourages further movement along that network linking regions in Indonesia with regions in the destination country. As a result the effects of international labour migration are concentrated in particular regions of the country and are amplified in those areas. Whereas the impact of international labour migration at the national level is limited in Indonesia, it is of major significance in some regions and many communities. Indeed, migrants tend not only to come from particular parts of Indonesia but also from particular villages within those parts. Moreover, this means that information programs can be targeted to particular parts of the country.

Figure 2 shows that the bulk of 'official' OCWs are recruited from within Java, especially the province of West Java. There is also significant concentration of areas of origin of official OCWs within provinces like West Java as Figure 3 shows.

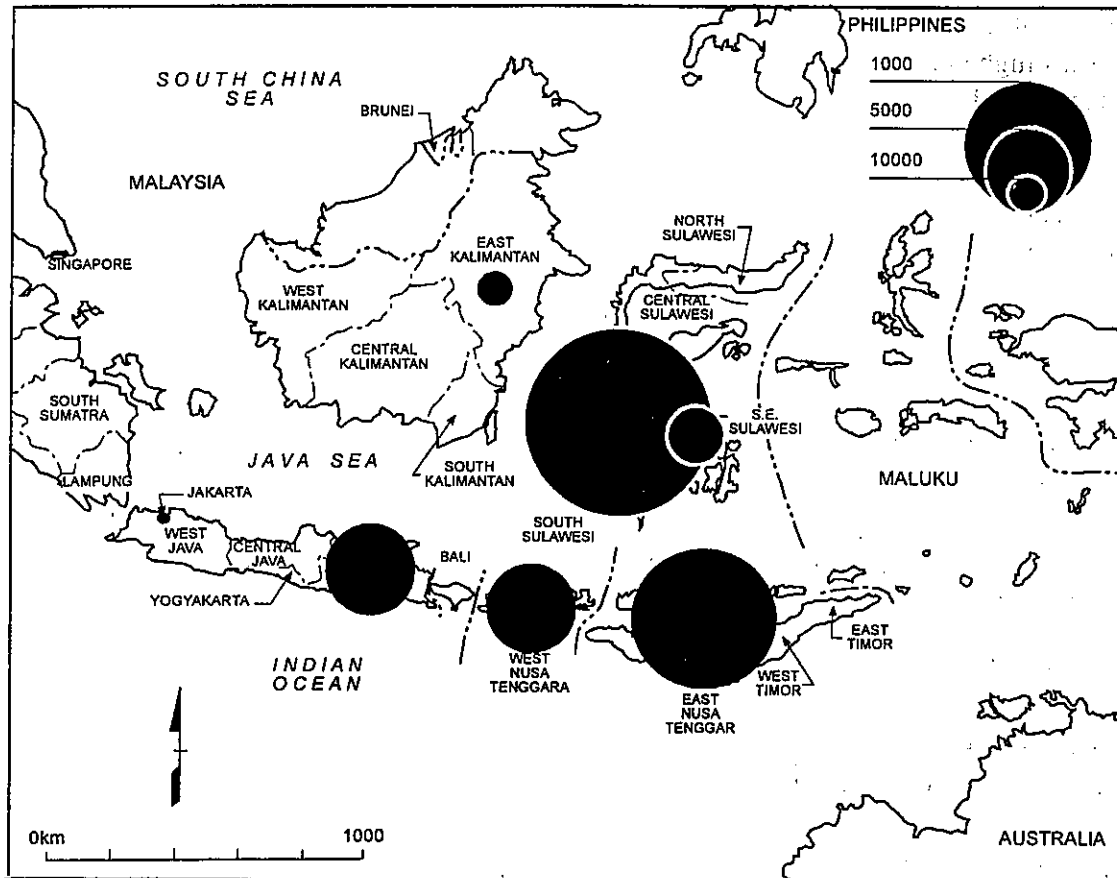
Determining the origins of undocumented workers is much more difficult. However, some indications can be gained from data on deported workers. For example, Figure 4 shows the distribution of the provinces of origin of Indonesian migrant workers detected in Sabah without the requisite immigration papers and deported into East Kalimantan. This shows the dominance of undocumented workers being from Southern Sulawesi and the two Nusa Tenggara provinces, especially East Nusa Tenggara. The main provinces of origin for undocumented migrants travelling to East and West Malaysia are East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, East Java and Central Java, while the main transit points for passage into Malaysia are in North Sumatra, Riau and East Kalimantan (*Jakarta Post*, 18 April 1995). It is interesting that this pattern of distribution of migrant origins is quite different to that for legal OCWs. For example, on Java where West Java is the dominant origin of official migrant workers, East Java is undoubtedly the main area of origin of undocumented workers from Java (Spaan 1999).

The role of information in international labour migration

The central importance of information in the migration and settlement processes has long been recognised. Micro-level explanations of migration include a consideration of the influence of the type, source and accuracy of information about the migration process and the likely experience at the destination as being crucial in the decision of whether or not to migrate. To some extent the presence of relatives or friends at the destination can compensate for lack of information about a destination since these social networks can often assure the migrant of being cared for at the destination. Nevertheless, information about the destination and migration process is an important part of a potential migrant deciding whether or not to migrate; and if so, where they should go.

Migration research has found that it is not only the type, detail and accuracy of information which is influential in the migration process but also the *source* of that information. Information from family and friends tends to be more trusted than that from other sources, for example. It is a fundamental premise that the more complete and accurate information which potential migrants have the more likely that they will be able to make decisions about migration which will

Figure 4: Indonesia: Areas of origin of workers deported from Sabah to East Kalimantan, 1994 to 1998



Source: Provincial Development Office of the province of East Kalimantan Samarinda

be beneficial to them and the less the opportunity that they will be exploited in the process of moving and at the destination. Information can be empowering for the potential migrant not only because it will allow them to make a better decision regarding whether or not to migrate but also because, if they are armed with knowledge about the costs and conditions of migration and in areas like remuneration and conditions at the destination, they can resist exploitation by middlemen in the source country and employers and other groups at the destination.

Distortions or misrepresentations of information about the migration process or conditions at the destination can lead to inappropriate migration decision making and to not enabling migrant workers to resist exploitation. In the context of Indonesian OCWs the possible sources of information about international migration are...

- friends and family;
- *calo*/recruiters who are the people in the village who act-as sub-agents of recruiting companies (PJTKI);
- recruiting companies (PJTKI);
- mass media;

Table 7: West Java migrant workers survey: Reasons for return

Reason	Number	Percent
Completed contract	78	53
Salary wasn't high enough	2	1
Work was too hard	4	3
Missed family	26	18
Sick	13	9
Evil influences	1	1
PJTKI brought them home	5	3
Deportation	1	1
Other	16	11

- government (via the Department of Labour, DEPNAKER); and
- non-government organisations (NGOs).

The survey results of returned migrant workers in three provinces in Indonesia regarding the sources of information which they utilised are shown in Tables 4, 5 and 6. These indicate that the main source of information in the case of West Java and Riau was the *calo* or sponsor while friends played a bigger role in East Kalimantan. This partly reflects the different patterns of movement from the three origins. The movement to Sabah through East Kalimantan is a long-standing pattern of movement in which chain migration is the dominant process and many migrants travel with returning migrants who have made the move before. Hence there is less incidence of recruiting agents arranging the entire migration process than is the case with migrant workers going to the Middle East or to Peninsular Malaysia. Nevertheless, the significance of the *calo* and the PJTKI in providing information which is utilised in the migration process is evident. It is clear that these sources of information can and do supply incorrect or misleading information to intending migrant workers. In the case of family and friends it may be due to former migrants wishing to appear successful in the eyes of others while in the case of middlemen and recruiters there is an obvious self interest in persuading the potential OCW to go overseas and for the workers to pay the highest possible fees possible so as to maximise their profits. It is apparent that in some cases potential migrants are promised non-existent jobs or are promised working and living conditions which are better than those actually provided. Batistella (1993: 156) points out that these problems are addressed by international conventions. Paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the ILO's Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97), provides that "Each member ... undertakes that it will, so far as national laws and regulations permit, take all appropriate steps against misleading propaganda relating to emigration and immigration." The right to information is recognised also by the UN Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families in Articles 33, 37 and 65. It is considered a human right (Article 33) and it concerns, before departure, all conditions applicable to their admission (Article 37). The duty to provide such information rests upon the state of origin or the state of employment as appropriate".

Clearly in the Indonesian case study referred to above there has been little or no involvement of the state (presumably through the Department of Labour) in supplying information to overseas contract workers. Similarly NGOs have not played a significant role either. This pattern is

Table 8: West Java migrant workers survey: Training received before leaving for overseas

Type of Training	Number	Percent
Language	102	70
Use of a modern kitchen	59	40
Use of household appliances	62	43
Caring for children	86	59
Legal protection	8	6
Heavy machinery	8	6
Mechanic	2	1
Didn't receive any training	39	27
Total	146	100

revealed through a number of studies of international labour migrants in Indonesia (Adi 1996; Hugo 1998a; Mantra, Kasnawi and Sukamardi 1986; Pujiastuti 2000; Spaan 1999). Overwhelmingly the sources of information accessed by intending migrants are the agents of PJTKI, and family and friends. Little or no information is gained from government agencies (DEPNAKER) or NGOs. This contrasts with countries like the Philippines where both the government and NGOs play a significant role in providing information to intending OCWs although family, friends and recruiters are also important (Batistella 1993).

There is overwhelmingly convincing evidence in the research on international labour migration in Indonesia that OCWs generally have limited and inaccurate information on the process and costs of migration and the conditions at the destination. This lack of information has a number of consequences:

- It opens up the potential migrant worker to exploitation in the *process of migration*. They are frequently overcharged since they have little or no idea of what the appropriate level of fees is. There is also evidence that they may be requested to pay unauthorised fees and levies for services in the process of recruitment. There are several reports of migrant workers spending long periods in barracks and other buildings owned by the PJTKI while they await departure. This can also be a period of exploitation with the OCWs being required to work for the PJTKI in factories, household work, etc. A potential worker who is aware of their rights in this context and has a clear idea of what his or her responsibilities are and those of the PJTKI is much less likely to be exploited in the migration process.
- It is also clear that many migrant workers are not well prepared for what awaits them in the destination country. This is partly due to inadequate training and preparation before departure but it also is partly a function of lack of comprehensive and accurate information about the destination. Indeed, if such information were available many OCWs might not move in the first place. On the other hand, it would allow OCWs to better prepare for the workplace. A better knowledge of the rights and obligations of the worker and the employer can empower the workers to resist exploitation at the destination. Moreover, there is clear evidence of premature return of Indonesian OCWs,

especially women working as domestics in the Middle East, before their contracts are complete. This is clear evidence of the inadequacy of preparation of workers before they leave. For example, in the Cianjur-Indramayu study only 53 percent of migrants interviewed returned home because they had completed their contract (Table 7).

Similar results are found in other studies (e.g. Mantra and Molo 1985). This very high rate of non-completion of contracts is a major but unexamined problem in Indonesian labour migration. It represents huge financial and social face losses for the migrants involved since many have to borrow money in order to meet the fees for migrating and, if they fail to complete their contract, they are often not able to earn enough money to repay the loan. In addition, the reputation of the PJTKI concerned and Indonesia generally as a labour supplier is undermined. In addition, surveys of some returned migrants show high levels of dissatisfaction with some aspects of conditions. In particular, exploitation in the work place, especially in terms of overwork, is common among female OCWs working as domestics in Saudi Arabia.

Hence the lack of detailed and comprehensive information is a significant impediment to successful international labour migration in Indonesia.

Spaan (1999: 291) has pointed out in the East Java context that because 'migrants lack control over information and networks transferring migrant workers, their relationship vis-a-vis the recruiters becomes one of dependency'. A new information policy should empower OCWs so that their dependency on the agencies controlling international labour migration is decreased.

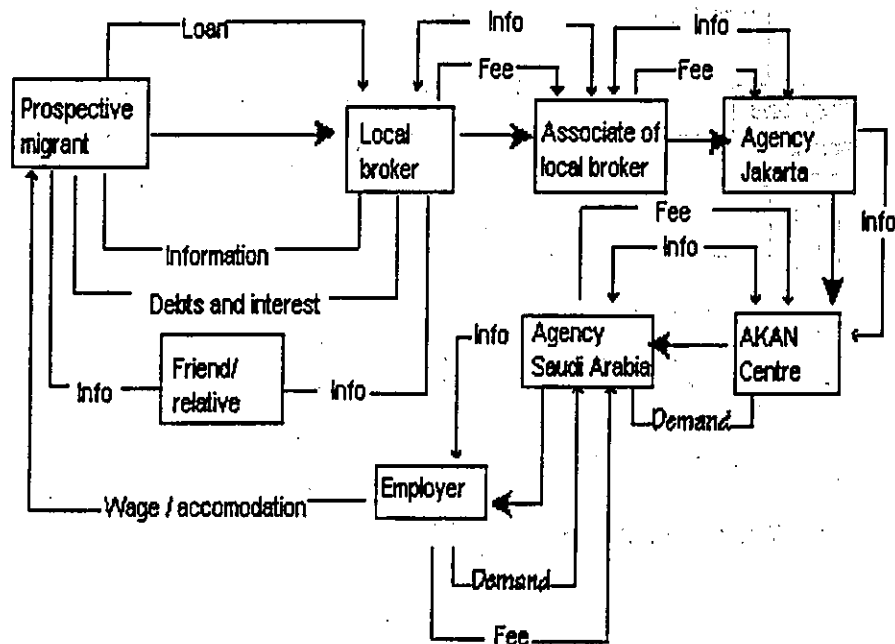
Targets for dissemination of information

In the previous section it was shown that in Indonesia the bulk of information which OCWs receive before they migrate is derived from family and friends on the one hand and sponsors/*calo*/PJTKI on the other. At present there is only a very minor role played by government agencies such as DEPNAKER and NGOs. In effect policies and programs with respect to information for OCWs need to proceed on two fronts:

- Improve substantially the accuracy and detail of information provided by the agencies currently supplying information to potential OCWs - i.e. traditional village-based sources, the *calo*/sponsor and the PJTKI.
- To bring in DEPNAKER and NGOs to play a more significant role in supplying timely, relevant, accurate and detailed information to prospective OCWs.

With respect to existing sources of information a number of issues need to be raised. A distinctive feature in the Indonesian system is the role played by the *calo*/sponsor. These are usually based in the village of origin of the OCW and often are former migrant workers themselves. They are usually employed by one or more PJTKI which are located in one of the major cities such as Jakarta or Surabaya. They play a crucial role not just in facilitating the migration process by passing the potential OCW on to the PJTKI for whom they are an agent. They also can play a crucial role in actually initiating the migration process in that they may be a key factor in persuading a person to undertake migration. The key role played by the *calo* in OCWs moving out of Java has been documented by Spaan (1994, 1999) in his study of East Java.

Figure 5: Example of a brokerage network for official migrants to Saudi Arabia

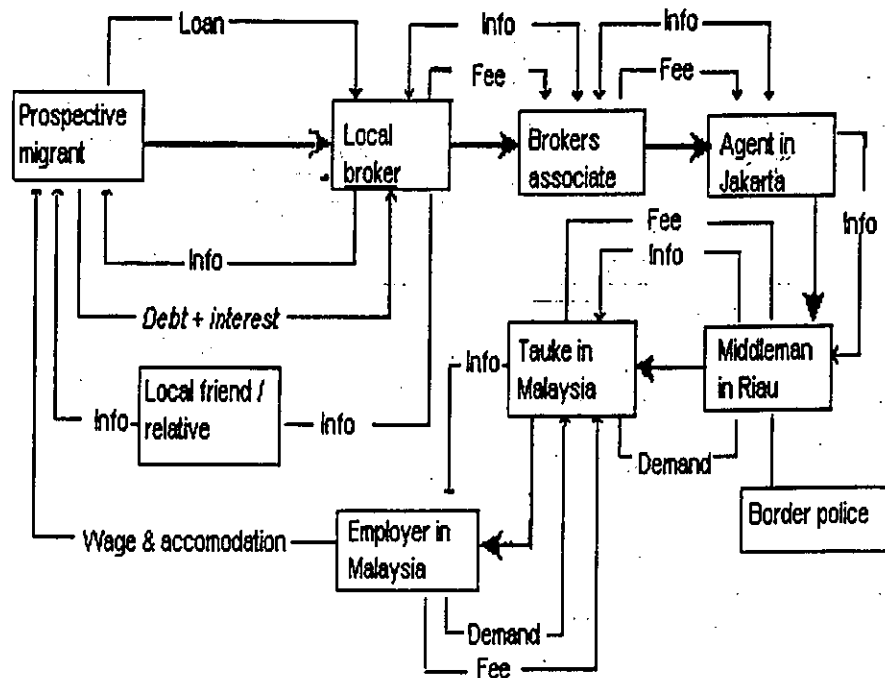


Source: Spaan 1999

Figures 5 and 6 show that in the East Java case *calo* are crucially important sources of information in the decision to migrate *both* legally and illegally. The development of a strategy whereby *calo* can provide more detailed and accurate information to prospective OCWs needs to be an important priority. A major problem here is that referred to by Batistella (1993) that the *calo* has a vested interest in ensuring that the prospective OCW actually decides to become a migrant worker because the *calo* is usually paid according to the number of workers they are able to recruit. Moreover, convincing them that there should be a system which informs workers about the levels of fees they should be paying may also cut into the profits they stand to make. On the other hand, a crucial point is that most of the *calo* reside in the villages, or at least the regions, in which they attempt to recruit OCWs. Accordingly they have a responsibility to the local community and need to maintain good relations with the community in which they live. Thus they potentially are receptive to receiving high quality information materials to use in their discussions with recruits. By both being locally based and involved in the migration process the *calo* should be a major target for enhancing the supply of information to OCWs. Sponsors both operate within and outside the legal system of international labour migration. It would seem from the research that the *sponsor* is a more important source of information about the migration process than the PJTKI.

The PJTKI rarely make the first contact with the potential migrant workers (Figures 5 and 6) and their role is more significant in supplying information about conditions at the destination to OCWs who have already decided to go. Hence targeting the PJTKI for supplying information is likely to be most effective if the information which they supply relates to preparing OCWs to

Figure 6: Example of brokers network of illegal migrants to Malaysia



Source: Spaan 1999

cope at the destination, especially in the work place. At present in Indonesia DEPNAKER and the PJTKI cooperate to provide appropriate training to official OCWs to facilitate their adjustment at the destination. However, it is clear that the extent and quality of training currently provided in Indonesia is questionable. Table 8, for example, shows in a West Java study that the proportions of OCWs who received appropriate training to go overseas was small. Indeed more than one-quarter reported receiving no training at all. The training programs which are mandatory for PJTKI to provide are obviously important opportunities to supply appropriate information to intending OCWs. The inter-relationship between training and information provision in the period which OCWs conventionally spend in the barracks of the PJTKI awaiting departure is clearly extremely important in preparing OCWs for their experience in the destination country. This part of the migration process must be a major focus in improving the dissemination of information. This is clearly one of the most important opportunities to provide detailed and appropriate information to OCWs to better equip them to cope at the destination. The example of the Philippines is instructive here. The pre-departure training of OCWs in the Philippines has gone through a number of alterations to make it more appropriate to the needs of the OCWs (Batistella 1993). The content of the pre-departure briefings needs to be specific to the occupations and locations which OCWs are going to. In Indonesia there is only a very limited number of destinations and occupations which OCWs are going to as was shown in an earlier section. Accordingly developing appropriate information programs about, for example, being a domestic worker in Saudi Arabia is going to be appropriate to a large number of OCWs. There would be the need to develop appropriate packets of information for all major occupation-destination combinations such as domestic worker-Hong Kong, domestic worker-Malaysia, factory worker-Malaysia, factory worker-Taiwan, factory worker-Korea, driver-Saudi Arabia, etc.

Table 9: Migrant worker survey: Worker characteristics

Characteristic	Indramayu/Cianjur (147)	Nunakan (58)	Riau (76)
Male	9	83	28
Female	91	17	72
<20	12	5	5
20-24	28	41	25
25-29	27	33	41
30-34	20	12	9
>35	13	7	20
Don't know	-	2	-
No school	2	5	12
Did not finish primary	27	14	
Finished primary	64	22	27
Above	7	54	37

Targeting the official PJTKI for improving information is not difficult since they have to be registered. The main issue relates to improving the materials used by the PJTKI in providing information to OCWs and the way in which this is conveyed. Of course PJTKI outside the legal system will not be able to be reached. The PJTKI also have an important role in that they are the way in which links can be established with the *calo*/sponsors. If there is to be an initiative to provide information materials and training to *calo*/sponsors the PJTKI will be relied upon to provide the names of all of their agents to be the conduits for this. Hence the PJTKI should not only be important elements in any upgraded information program so that they can develop their pre-departure programs but because they will be important links in developing programs for the *calo*/sponsor.

It would seem that a major effort needs to be made to improve the quality, accuracy, relevance and comprehensiveness of the information that *calo*/sponsor and PJTKI have to pass on to OCWs and intending OCWs. They will continue to be among the major sources of information of OCWs and they need to be provided with the resources to ensure that this role is played in the best interests of the OCWs.

A crucial point in the Indonesian context is that there are complex connections between the various actors involved in the recruitment of OCWs. This needs to be taken into consideration in developing any strategy to improve the flow of information to prospective OCWs. Spaan (1999) has made a detailed study of these complex inter-relationships in a case study in East Java. These are depicted diagrammatically in Figure 7. He stresses the role of the village-based middlemen not only in facilitating international labour migration but movement within Indonesia as well. Figure 7 shows the important linkages 'between prospective migrants and the government recruitment agency (Pusat AKAN), consisting of informal (*calo*, mediator) and formal actors (*lurah*, district DEPNAKER office) and institutions (regional recruitment agency, central AKAN office).' He goes on to say that, 'although the function of the regional labour department offices (AKAN and DEPNAKER officers) is to disseminate information on employment opportunities, as well as registering and recruiting potential migrant contract

Table 10: Indonesia: Percentage of the population aged 10 years and-over illiterate by age and sex, 1995

Age	Percentage Illiterate	
	Males	Females
0-14	2.03	1.77
15-19	1.59	2.01
20-24	1.73	3.22
25-29	3.12	7.28
30-34	5.42	12.26
35-39	7.09	15.89
40-44	8.86	19.38
45-49	11.03	26.89
50+	25.41	56.15
Total	7.87	17.14

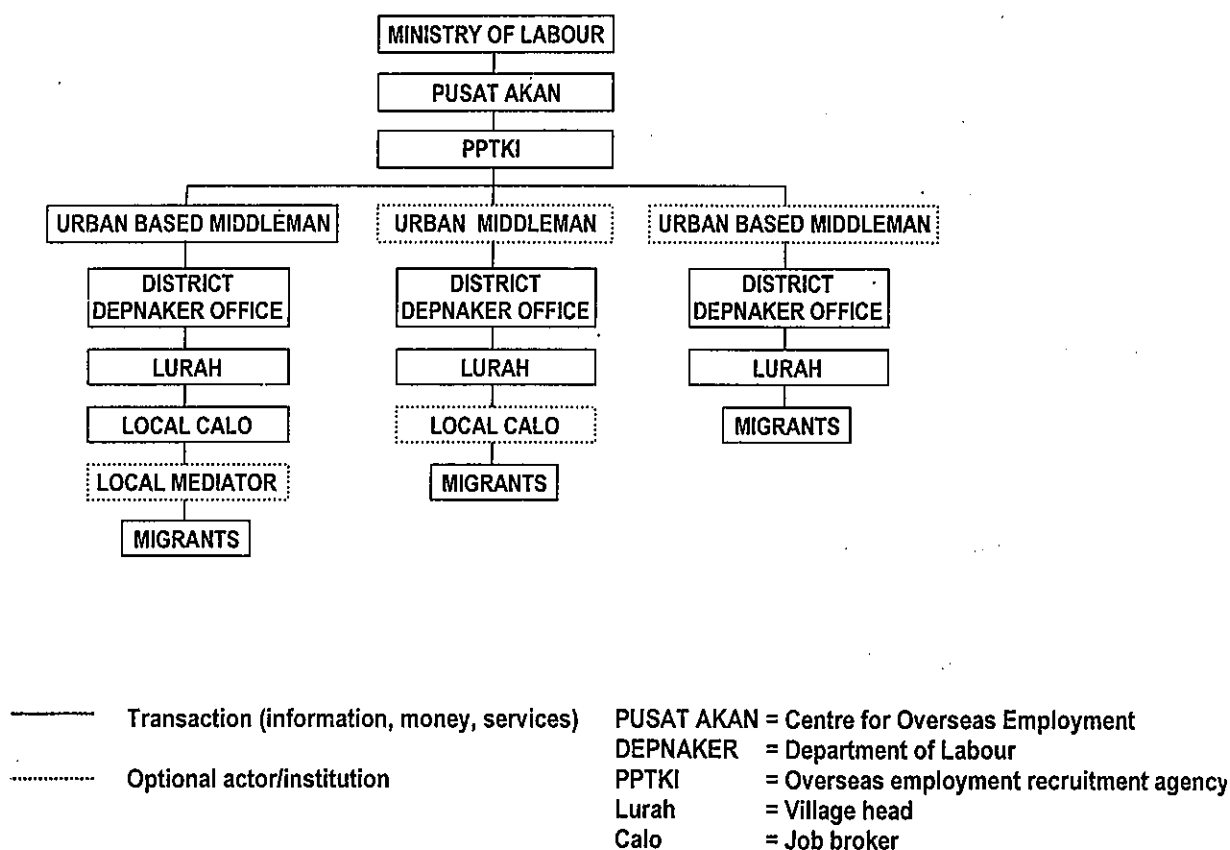
Source: 1995 Indonesian Intercensal Population Survey

workers, the spread of information at village level is far from optimal ... only in rare instances did district level DEPNAKER officers spread information to rural areas by visiting different villages' (Spaan 1999: 290).

Turning to the sources of information which are most trusted by potential OCWs - family and friends - it is more difficult to intervene to improve the detail and quality of information. These are more difficult to target than either the sponsors or the PJTKI. There are two possible strategies in this area:

- The provision of media coverage regarding the process of migration, its costs, the conditions at the destination, etc. This would partly involve electronic mass media. Almost all of the respondents to the LIPI-ILO study indicated that they have access to radio and television. Hence electronic media programs should reach the bulk of people who are likely to migrate as well as their families. However, such programs can be very expensive and there is uncertainty about their effect. Probably the most effective way of getting messages across is through the 'soap operas' that are very popular on Indonesian television. However, such a program would create a lot of expense. In influencing the opinions, attitudes and information provided by 'informal', traditional locally based sources of information another strategy may be worth considering. In this respect it should be recalled from an earlier section of this paper that the origins of migrants are strongly spatially concentrated at two levels. Certain regions are known as areas of origin of migrant workers (e.g. parts of West Java like Indramayu and Cianjur, East Flores in East Nusa Tenggara, etc). Provincial officials in every province in Indonesia are able to identify the main regions in their provinces which provide overseas migrant workers. Officials at the *kecamatan* level can identify the villages which send large numbers of OCWs. One of the key characteristics of all types of migration in Indonesia (Hugo 1975) is that one village can be a source of high levels of migration while a neighbouring

Figure 7: Linkages between local and supra-local actors in migration networks



Source Spaan 1999

village with similar characteristics has few migrants. Hence information programs for communities can be highly spatially focused;

- Another aspect of importance here is what Jackson (1971) has referred to as *bapak/anak buah* relationships. In many of the areas of origin of migrant workers these strong patron/client relationships are part of the local tradition. Formal and informal leaders have traditionally played an important role in shaping the behaviour of villagers. They are frequently used for advice. There is a feeling of '*hutang budi*' mutual obligation which is felt between patrons and clients and there are strong relationships of trust which are built up. Many Indonesian agencies utilise this relationship to spread information about innovations. A good example here is the national family planning program which has been an internationally acknowledged massive success. One of the most effective strategies of that program, especially in its earliest days, was to ensure that the wives of village leaders adopted contraceptives and became major spokespeople for the benefits of adopting contraception. It would seem appropriate that village leaders be better informed about the overseas migrant worker program and perhaps become important

Table 11: Indonesia: Percentage of the population aged 5 years and over able to speak Indonesian by age and sex, 1995

Age	Percentage Able to Speak Indonesian	
	Males	Females
5- 9	68.2	69.5
10-14	96.8	97.2
15-24	98.8	98.0
25-49	97.9	94.4
50+	89.1	74.2
Total	90.3	83.8

Source: 1995 Indonesian Intercensal Population Survey

conduits of information about the program to potential migrant workers. They tend to be better educated than other villagers so the possibilities of using more printed material are greater. This would involve identifying key leaders in the various communities and not restricting the activity to only the *Kepala Desa* (the head of the village). The process need not be nation-wide since it is clear that migrant workers tend to be drawn from particular provinces and particular areas and villages within those provinces.

The information programs need to be targeted carefully to the areas which are sending significant numbers of migrants overseas. These can be readily identified. Data on official migrants held by DEPNAKER includes the place of origin of migrant workers. However, this at present is not analysed nor is it made available in the statistics provided on migrant workers. This needs to be analysed to assist in the targeting of information programs. However, attention also has to be paid to migrant workers who migrant overseas outside the legal system and these tend to come from *different* areas and villages to the 'official' migrant workers. These, however, can be readily identified through inquiries at the province level to identify the main *kabupaten* sending such workers; at the *kabupaten* level the main *kecamatan* sending workers can be identified and the main *desa/keurahan* sending migrant workers can be targeted. The main provinces, *kabupaten*, *kecamatan* and *desa/keurahan* identified as sending areas should then be systematically provided with information programs which include...

- information targeted at individual potential migrants through television, radio, comic book publications, information sessions, etc.;
- intensive briefing and follow-up with material and updates to key people at each administrative level, especially leaders at the village level;
- actively involving DEPNAKER personnel in briefings and dissemination of information;
- programs to inform and provide material to the *sponsor* at the village level.

Mode of dissemination of information

Indonesia has much to learn from a country like the Philippines which has a longer and more intensive experience of sending workers overseas and has been more successful in ensuring that its workers fulfil their contracts overseas and have a positive migration experience. This is due to more substantial and detailed migration information systems, a more effective migrant worker protection system through NGOs and a more extensive and effective labour attache system and a greater involvement of NGOs in the entire process. One undoubted element is that the education profile of Filipino workers is substantially higher in the Philippines than in Indonesia. This has meant that intending OCWs can be influenced by a wider variety of information media than is the case where migrant workers have limited education. This is a particular challenge in Indonesia. The education profile of its workers is relatively low as the studies of OCWs in Indonesia show (Adi 1996; Mantra and Molo 1985; Hugo 1998; Pujiastuti 2000; Setiawati 1987). In the studies of returned OCWs in three parts of Indonesia undertaken by LIPI-ILO low levels of education were the norm as Table 9 shows. Moreover, some 10 percent of all OCWs interviewed were illiterate. Accordingly the extent to which printed literature can be utilised to present information is limited. This is especially the case among the female OCWs. Less than 5 percent of the respondents in the LIPI-ILO survey of three OCW groups indicated that they had read newspapers. Hence any attempt to use printed information in the process of disseminating information must take this into account.

In the Philippines written material has been most effective in informing intending OCWs. For example, very detailed booklets have been prepared such as *Destination Middle East: A Handbook for Filipino Domestic Workers* (Kanlungan Centre Foundation 1997). This is an extensively detailed document of fifty pages covering the following:

- Understanding migration;
- The process of migration;
- Working and living in the Middle East...
 - country profile
 - living conditions of domestic workers
 - conditions of work
 - common problems and what to do
 - how to avoid rape and sexual abuse.
- Managing oneself and surviving in the Middle East;
- Appendices -agencies and organisations helping migrant workers.

Figure 8: Sample of the content of *To be a Domestic Helper in the Middle East is No Joke!*



Source: Kanlungan Centre Foundation, Inc., 1998.

This is a book which with little modification could be prepared for Indonesian OCWs intending to go to the Middle East. It would certainly need to be translated into Indonesian but would be an invaluable resource throughout the areas sending large numbers of women to the Middle East as domestic workers. In Indonesia most young women have the ability to read and speak Bahasa Indonesian. Table 10 shows that levels of illiteracy have declined substantially in recent years so that there is a significant difference in age cohorts in their ability to read and write. We do not know what proportion of Indonesians are able to speak Bahasa Indonesian but as Table 11 shows again there are important differences between the generations. Previously much primary school teaching in Indonesia has been in the local language but in recent decades Indonesian has become the medium of teaching. Hence the majority of potential OCWs will be able to read booklets in Bahasa Indonesian similar to that prepared in the Philippines. Moreover, the *bapak*, patrons and village leaders who are crucial in the formation of opinions and attitudes in the village will generally be able to read information presented in this form.

Nevertheless, attention has been given to non-written forms of information presentation. Firstly the comic book type of presentation can be effective with potential migrants who have limited education. Again the Philippines has produced some effective information material. One such booklet entitled *To Be A Domestic Helper In The Middle East Is No Joke* (Kanlungan Centre Foundation, 1998) has a lot of resonance with the Indonesian situation. Some samples of the content of this booklet are presented in Figures 8, 9, 10 and 11 and they indicate the basic nature of the advice and information which is provided. Again there would appear to be major scope for providing information in this form to potential female OCWs in Indonesian villages.

Figure 9: Sample of the content of *To be a Domestic Helper in the Middle East is No Joke!*

Sample of a typical workload of a domestic worker:

- 5 a.m. Wake up/prepare breakfast/attend to children's needs for school
- 6 a.m. Escort children to schoolbus/wash the car if there is no driver
- 7 a.m. Clear breakfast table/make the children's beds
- 8 a.m. Do the laundry/clean the toilets, house, garage.
- 11 a.m. Assist employer in cooking/preparing lunch
- 1 p.m. Serve lunch/wash the dishes and pots/clean the kitchen
Eat lunch (sometimes with your employer or after your employer has had lunch, i.e. at around 4 p.m.)
- 3 p.m. Serve tea and coffee to guests
- 6 p.m. Iron clothes
- 9 p.m. Assist in the preparations for supper
- 10 p.m. Serve supper
- 11 p.m. Wash dishes, pots and pans/clean the kitchen. You may now eat your supper and, later, continue ironing or doing other chores before sleeping.

Source: Kanlungan Centre Foundation, Inc., 1998.

Figure 10: Sample of the content of *To be a Domestic Helper in the Middle East is No Joke!*

What to bring:

- Travel light.
- Do not bring unnecessary things.
- Bring clothes prescribed by the culture of the country you are going to.
- It is good to bring a month's supply of personal hygiene products.
- Bring paper and pen, and a prepared distress letter in case you need to seek help.
- Do not bring items that may offend the culture of the country of destination. In Saudi Arabia, for example; non-Islamic religious articles such as the Bible, rosaries, religious images, and Christian prayer books are not allowed.



Source: Kanlungan Centre Foundation, Inc., 1998.

Figure 11: Sample of the content of *To be a Domestic Helper in the Middle East is No Joke!*

Beware! Illegal recruitment has many faces.

- Do not trust just anybody offering you an overseas job.
- Make sure that the recruitment agency has a license.
- Write down all agreements and keep a copy for yourself.
- Do not sign any document that you have not read nor understood.



Source: Kanlungan Centre Foundation, Inc., 1998.

PART III. CONTRIBUTING TO THE PROTECTION OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS BY PROVIDING THEM WITH RELEVANT INFORMATION AT VARIOUS STAGES OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS, *by W. R. Böhning*

Introduction

This paper starts by explaining why information matters; at what stages migrant workers need which kinds of information; how the raw material could be collected that various institutions will have to process in order to obtain relevant information; who or which institution could convey information to the intended target audience and in which form this might be done.

Of course, my analyses and proposals are those of an outside observer with limited knowledge of Indonesian realities.² What I say needs to be refined and adapted to the country's changing circumstances. This workshop, where other ideas will be aired, has the singular task of meshing various strands of thought into a feasible and effective system of providing information to intending and departing migrant workers.

Information empowers!

At about the time when Indonesia emerged from its struggle for independence, the tripartite membership of the ILO adopted the first major international standard on migrant workers, the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97), which spells out in Article 2 that

Each Member for which this Conventions is in force undertakes to maintain ... an adequate and free service to assist migrants for employment, and in particular to provide them with accurate information.

There are several other provisions of ILO Conventions and Recommendations that point to the role and importance of information, which I shall not go into here. For, it is obvious that people lacking information are unlikely to make the best choices or to avoid the pitfalls, the exploiters and the extortionists who are preying upon those who carry cash or who will be earning foreign wages that can be tapped. Ignorance is not the migrant's fault - ignorance is the government's fault! If the government does not provide accurate information to its citizens it fails in its duty to protect them.

Protection, unfortunately, did not constitute more than a rhetoric component of Indonesian migration policy under the New Order regime. Several subsequent DEPNAKER administrations have made laudable efforts in trying to conceptualize - with ILO's help - preventive and remedial measures to protect Indonesian migrant workers (TKI). There is now a Bill concerning

² Much of what I know I have learned (a) on the occasion of the DEPNAKER-organized regional workshops in Pekanbaru, July 1999, and Mataram, October 1999; (b) from Prof. Graeme Hugo, University of Adelaide; and (c) through the ILO funded research carried out by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences under the direction of Dr. Yulfita Raharjo - to all whom I am very grateful.

Manpower Development and Protection on its way to Parliament which actually embraces the notion of protection in its title. It contains draft articles, notably but not only in Chapter IV, which go a long way to laying the foundation for a comprehensive and effective protection policy for TKI. Article 39 speaks about the compilation, arrangement and management of information to be provided and disseminated - presumably to TKI in the first instance. A Ministerial Decree is to be elaborated. This workshop should engender inputs necessary for the elaboration of this Ministerial Decree; but there may have to be several stages before the Decree can be finalized.

One need not consider whether information should be provided only to regular or also to irregular TKI (for the distinction, see also footnote 2 below). Irregular TKI need information at least as much as regular migrants, and this both prior to their departure and once they are abroad. Furthermore, the crucial means of reaching the target populations are not recruiters or DEPNAKER but radio and TV, which will address their messages to migrants irrespective of the status they may have.

The four stages of migration when information is needed

When people start making up their mind of whether to move abroad and how to do so - I call them intending migrants - they are usually more bereft of information than at any other time. They are dependent on others, are easily influenced and can fall into the hands of well-meaning or of ill-meaning relatives, friends, village heads, recruiters, even employers. In rural regions of high emigration, intending migrants generally fall into the hands of sponsors or *calos*. Sponsors or *calos* mostly link them to private recruitment agencies (PJTKI). Much exploitation and extortion takes place during this first and crucial stage - in respect of transporting and accommodating intending migrants, promising them jobs, ensuring documentation, stipulating training requirements, and so on. This is the stage when **pre-migration information** is needed to minimize graft, corruption and to empower migrants to stand up to intermediaries who take more of their money than they should. If migrants are exploited at this stage they often suffer from it for years.

The second stage of the migration process spans the period when the TKI is taken care of by a - licensed or unlicensed - PJTKI and moved - regularly (under the benediction of DEPNAKER) or irregularly - to foreign employment.³ At this stage, too, much can go wrong for the migrant worker, all the more so because he or she is almost entirely dependent on the information received from the PJTKI. At present, some information is given to migrants about the destinations, jobs, what to do and that they should follow the injunctions of the PJTKI and future employers. This is the point in time when, indeed, **pre-departure information** is necessary. But the kind of information that is given at present appears seriously to fall short of what TKI ought to know at the moment of departure.

³ A licensed PJTKI may move an Indonesian worker through legal, authorized channels in accordance with the procedures foreseen (called here "regular"); or through illegal, unauthorized channels (called here "irregular"); or the transfer may take place partly under regular and partly under irregular auspices. By the same token, an unlicensed PJTKI may move somebody regularly or irregularly or partly under regular and partly under irregular auspices. These finer distinctions need not detain us here. The basic distinction between regular and irregular migration is the most important one and retained in scheme 1 below.

The third stage at which TKI need information is when they labour abroad and face circumstances, further intermediaries, exploitative or abusive employers. **Post-arrival information** and services are almost totally lacking at present.

The fourth and final stage at which information matters is the return stage, i.e. **return information**. There are many people preying on return migrants carrying cash. President Habibie established special procedures in Terminal III of the Jakarta airport to cut down on exploitation and abuses. But migrants still do not really know what is awaiting them when they come back.

Neither I nor this workshop will be able to tackle in any depth the information needs of Indonesians abroad and of returning migrants. What to plan for in respect **post-arrival** and **return information** has to be left to another occasion.

What kind of pre-migration information is needed?

Given that one wants to protect intending migrants from economic exploitation and physical harm, and to help them to make the right decisions for themselves and for their families, **pre-migration information** will have to tell people in regions of high emigration what may await them when they leave their household, move within Indonesia, upon arrival and when they are abroad. As migration tends to conjure up tales of getting rich quickly, while images of what can go wrong are brushed aside, the **focus of pre-migration information** must be on the dangers ahead and how to cope with them rather than on the opportunities abroad.

The first thing a government ought to do is to inform intending migrants extensively and accurately about:

- approved procedures, regular channels and how to make use of them as well as how to avoid irregular intermediaries, transporters, recruiters, etc.;
- documents required, notably
 - the placement agreement to be concluded between the job placement organizer and the TKI;⁴
 - the employment contract to be concluded between the employer and the TKI, which must also be signed by the job placement organizer;⁵
 - the passport and, if necessary, visas or other authorizations needed to enter certain countries for employment purposes;
- clearances that may be required, such as
 - health examinations or medical certificates;
 - skill testing, training or language certificates;

⁴ According to Article 41(2)(b) of the Bill concerning Manpower Development and Protection.

⁵ According to Article 41(2)(c) and 41(3) of the Bill concerning Manpower Development and Protection.

- countries recommended as destinations or to which government has discouraged or banned movements of TKI for reasons to be explained;
- names and addresses of blacklisted local recruiters or PJTKI;
- how much time it takes, on average, to move from one's household to a PJTKI, to get one's documents and clearances, and so on;
- and, most of all, what the allowable fees or upper limits of fees are that can be charged legitimately at various moments by
 - intermediaries, recruiters or job placement organizers;
 - government officials;
 - doctors, training institutions (PJTKI and others); and last but not least,
 - transporters.

Another subject on which the government must inform intending migrants extensively and in simple language understandable to them is the complaints procedures and redress mechanisms that will be open to them when they feel unjustly or abusively treated by intermediaries, job placement organizers or government officials. The Bill concerning Manpower Development and Protection, expected to be enacted by October 2000, obliges not only the government but also private agencies to set up "a grievance service unit to handle grievances and resolve manpower and employment problems and to establish problem-solving mechanisms in their representative offices" (Article 45(1), see also Art. 44).⁶ The possibility of filing a lawsuit in a District Court should also be mentioned (see Article 46).

What kind of pre-departure information is needed?

At the point of departure, migrants are anxious to obtain all relevant document, clearances, tickets and to hear what is awaiting them abroad. But they also need to be told at this stage what to watch out for, what to do and what not to do - in their employment relationship, vis-a-vis authorities of the other country and in terms of cultural or other traditions to be respected there. This kind of general information should certainly be given to them now, preferably in written or electronic form so that they can absorb it at their own pace and when they need it.

Pre-departure information must be country specific and perhaps specific to typical occupations such as construction workers or household helpers.

In addition, it will have to be explicit and accurate about

- approved procedures, regular channels and how to avoid irregular intermediaries, transporters, recruiters, etc.;
- documents required, notably as regards

⁶ In the case of DEPNAKER, the details of the grievance service unit and its procedures are to be determined and specified by Ministerial Decree (Article 45(3)).

- entry into the country of destination;
 - stay or residence there;
 - return;
 - employment as a wage or salary earner or in the form of self-employment;
 - Indonesian identity papers and passports, including what to do when intermediaries or employers ask for the passport to be handed over to them;
- names and addresses of blacklisted intermediaries or employers;
 - and what the allowable fees or upper limits of fees are that can be charged legitimately at various moments by
 - intermediaries or employers; and
 - government officials.

Last but not least, **pre-departure information** must be up-to-date and exhaustive in respect of

- the designations, addresses, phone numbers, etc., and functions of Indonesian diplomatic authorities in migrants' countries of employment, including of the names of labour attaches there or of the country teams which the Bill on Manpower Development and Protection obliges the government to establish (Article 47);
- the designations, addresses, phone numbers, etc., and functions of the "representative offices" of PJTKI which that Bill obliges private recruitment agencies to set up abroad (Article 45(1));
- the designations, addresses, phone numbers, etc., and functions of foreign, international or Indonesian Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) active in the country of employment in fields that may be helpful to them such as human rights or labour rights;
- the designations, addresses, phone numbers, etc., and functions of the employment country's public authorities to whom TKI may turn in case of need;

and this should be supplemented by simple pictographs or flow-charts explaining how to make use of the grievance and dispute settlement procedures instituted by the Indonesian government and PJTKI at home and in the country of employment

Whether **pre-departure information** is to be imparted by the government or PJTKI is a practical question rather than a question of principle. The government is obliged to ensure that the minimum of information indicated in the preceding paragraphs reaches migrants. Government and PJTKI, through APJATI, have to enter into a mutually supportive partnership and should agree on the best way of getting the information across and having it absorbed or safely stored by the migrants.

There is other information of interest to TKI, such as how to remit safely their earnings or what to do when they fall ill, that could be provided at the point of departure or, alternatively, after arrival abroad.

Where to collect, process and disseminate relevant information

Much of the raw material needed to provide **pre-migration information** and practically all of the raw material needed to provide **pre-departure information** is already in the hands of the government, notably DEPNAKER and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some of it is in the hands of large PJTKI. And a little is in the hands of NGOs. It is not yet systematized for the purposes of informing intending or departing migrants with a view to protecting and helping them. That is an important task which, in partnership, could be tackled without delay and with the involvement of media specialists drawn from TV and radio, as well as with the involvement of public and private transport companies.

Still, there are information gaps, especially in respect of **pre-migration information**. Data need to be collected, processed and updated as regards, for example

- irregular Indonesian intermediaries, transporters, recruiters, PJTKI and foreign intermediaries, employers, etc.
- local *calos*, sponsors, government officials as well as government officials at the national level or at border-crossing points and ports engaging in graft, corruption, exploitation or extortion.

The raw material to satisfy most of these needs is actually available to DEPNAKER since the opening of Terminal III in September 1999. Thousands of returning migrant workers - both those who left under regular auspices and those who left under irregular auspices - have personally recorded, or have had DEPNAKER officials record, what went wrong. This is a quite inexhaustible source of information which, although it primarily relates to employers and conditions abroad, also contains references to what happened prior to departure from Indonesia. If this latter kind of information were judged to be insufficient in detail or representability, the questions DEPNAKER officials ask and the forms they fill in could easily be modified to obtain what is lacking at present.

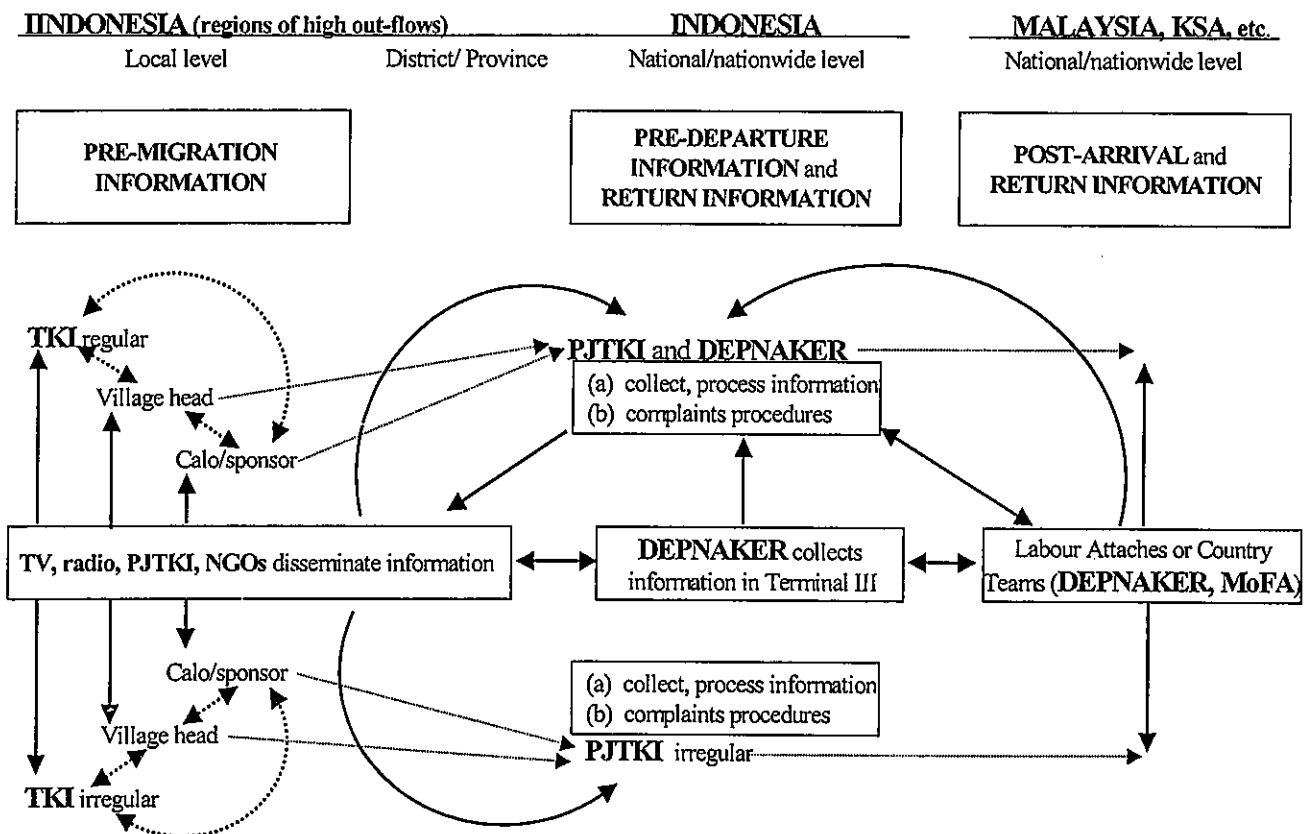
Another component of missing raw material could be generated by Indonesian labour attaches or the country teams to be established according to Article 47 of the Bill concerning Manpower Development and Protection.

At any rate, the raw material is not lacking. What needs to be done is to set up, within DEPNAKER but also within individual PJTKI or APJATI, a mechanism to analyse, dissect, evaluate information and present it in such forms as is suitable for refinement by communication specialists - for them to turn into oral or written material that can easily reach migrants and be understood and absorbed by them at the initial stages of the migration process.

In lieu of conclusions

Scheme I hereunder sets out, in simplified form, the information flows as they occur at present among the crucial partners in the migration process - indicated through dotted arrows. The shaded boxes and the unbroken arrows depict how an information system could be superimposed on what exists in order to cut down the widespread malpractices characteristic of Indonesia's migration system today.

Scheme 1. A simplified depiction of the present (----->) and of a possible future (====>) system to provide information to intending, departing and actual Indonesian migrant workers (boxes represent part of the possible future system)



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