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# **Circular Migration and Social Protection in Indonesia**

**Treena Wu**

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## **Author**

**Dr. Treena Wu, PhD fellow**

Maastricht Graduate School of Governance

Maastricht University

Email: [Treena.Wu@maastrichtuniversity.nl](mailto:Treena.Wu@maastrichtuniversity.nl)

## **Mailing address**

Universiteit Maastricht

Maastricht Graduate School of Governance

P.O. Box 616

6200 MD Maastricht

The Netherlands

## **Visiting address**

Kapoenstraat 2, 6211 KW Maastricht

Phone: +31 43 3884650

Fax: +31 43 3884864

Email: [info-gov@maastrichtuniversity.nl](mailto:info-gov@maastrichtuniversity.nl)

*“I left Aceh to work in a factory in Malaysia for two years. Unlike the Javanese, Acehnese women do not work in foreign countries as maids. I do not want to be bonded in servitude (“terikat”). I wanted to help my family but I didn’t want to leave them forever. I sent money home to the one bank account that the whole family uses. But the tsunami destroyed the closest branch in this village. Now my father has to pay Rupiah 8,000 (US\$1) to travel to the bank in Banda Aceh”*

Acehnese woman, aged 24, desa Mon Ikeun, 2006

## 1. Introduction

When the Asian Tsunami hit Aceh, formally known as Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) on 26<sup>th</sup> December 2004, some 130,000 people were killed and 37,000 remained missing. Humanitarian aid was provided immediately based on need. In the following months, relief and rehabilitation work in Aceh as well as the earthquake hit Nias were complemented by reconstruction aid. The Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Agency for Aceh and Nias (BRR) and the then soon to be formed Government of Aceh coordinated the use of foreign aid to ensure that people's shelter and other basic needs were met. The Government of Aceh was elected after the signing of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) – Free Aceh Movement (GAM) peace agreement. Provision of services by aid agencies gradually shifted from coverage for all directly affected by the natural disaster to targeted groups based on a given selection criteria. But someone forgot about migrant households.

Indonesia has a long tradition of migrant workers formally classified as *Tenaga Kerja Indonesia* (TKI) for males and *Tenaga Kerja Wanita* (TKW) for females who work abroad. Accurate statistics are difficult to come by because many TKI and TKW have unpredictable patterns of movement within Indonesia as well as abroad. The little that is known, concerns legal workers who find contract employment such as the young woman from Mon Ikeun village. At the micro-level, these migrant workers who leave temporarily contribute significantly to household income. Yet their contribution to social protection of family members goes relatively unnoticed. When agencies collect household data to determine aid eligibility, there is a higher probability that migrant households are excluded on the basis of available income at the time.

This paper describes migrant households that have been vulnerable to physical and economic threats in Aceh which had experienced over 30 years of civil conflict and the tsunami. This study is carried out in the context of the period of emergency, relief and rehabilitation aid. This description is made to support research responding to observers who claim that certain socio-economic groups are particularly vulnerable to shocks (Glewwe and Hall, 1998). Yet there is very little research on exactly *who* is vulnerable. Rigorous vulnerability analysis using cross-sectional household surveys and panel data are especially rare to carry out in the context of a natural disaster and civil conflict. As an alternative this paper uses an area specific fieldwork approach to collect case studies on migrant households and detailing who within the household is more susceptible to shocks. This follows the intra-household allocation approach for analysis. This complements the work of the World Bank using the National Socio-Economic Surveys (SUSENAS).

The rest of the paper is organized in the following way. The methodology used to collect these case studies is described in Section 2. Section 3 provides a description of poverty in Aceh using World Bank statistics and how this poverty creates conditions that forces labor movement to either other parts of Indonesia or abroad. Section 4 describes the different mobility mechanisms, the remittance corridor and the risks that the migrant worker faces because of an uncoordinated labor market. Section 5 details how the migrant's social protection strategy for the household was badly affected in the aftermath of the tsunami. This is followed by conclusions and analysis with local level policy ramifications in Section 6.

## **2. Methodology**

The unit of analysis is the migrant household. Using the intra-household allocation approach (Lazear and Michael, 1988) no a priori assumption is made that household members receive the same uniform allocation of resources. As such there is an analysis of the different individuals who make up the household.

Fieldwork to these households covered the north east coast of Aceh on one side of the Strait of Malacca and the west coast of Malaysia on the other side (see Figure 1 in Appendix 1). The determination for this area was based on an analysis of existing data on the movement of Acehese refugees and economic migrants to Malaysia prior to and after the tsunami (Wong and Teuku 2002; Wu, 2006; UNHCR, 2005). Using this data, the author mapped out the most commonly used migration route and the most established remittance corridor. For an approximately one and half year period prior to executing the fieldwork, she established relationships and built trust with key informants located in this route. Coincidentally, the RI - GAM peace agreement was in the process of being negotiated. There was a growing atmosphere of the Acehese willingness to speak to outsiders. The author then received support to carry out the fieldwork. Key informants and communities provided support for her to travel through the route. She made the decision to execute the fieldwork on her own on the basis of her fluency in the Indonesian language and the need to maintain the trust established with communities. Using an ethnographic approach, case studies were then collected over a six week period. Households were asked to describe the history of migrant work in their home and how their levels of vulnerability have changed over time. This change is in terms of individual members and the overall household. For each study, the household determined the timing of the interview where the author would

be invited to the home to meet the different family members. In some cases, the author was instructed to follow an individual to the workplace e.g. the market when fresh produce was unloaded at 06.00. The length of the interview was determined by the individual(s).

Case studies were collected from 29 migrant workers and / or their families in Aceh. The sampling method used was non-random snowballing because of the sensitive nature of questions asked about a family's finances. Attempts were made to ensure the sample group was split urban (13 respondents) – peri urban (6 – respondents) - rural (10 respondents) and male (21 respondents) – female (8 respondents). To increase the reliability of the data collected, there were interviews with 6 migrant worker union organizers and community leaders and 7 remittance sending companies in Aceh, Malaysia and Singapore. Singapore is included because it is located on the side of the Strait of Malacca.

### **3. Descriptive Statistics**

According to the 2003 estimates of the national *Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS), almost 30 percent of the population in Aceh was living below the poverty line, as against the national average of 17.4 percent. At the time Aceh was the third poorest region in Indonesia despite being endowed with natural resources that are mainly extracted for use at the national level. The unemployment rate in Aceh was 11.2% in 2003 which was higher than the national average of 9.5%<sup>1</sup>. Many of the unemployed Acehnese are either unskilled or low skilled who traditionally come from subsistence and low income production households. Because of the past inability of the province to provide economic stability and personal livelihood opportunities

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<sup>1</sup> Based on World Bank figures

and the consequences of the RI-GAM conflict, workers have had to look elsewhere to improve their economic welfare.

In 2005 after the tsunami, poverty levels increased but by 2006 these levels had declined to pre-tsunami levels. See Table 2. But the relatively low levels of poverty increase in 2005 arguably mask large differences in tsunami and conflict affected areas. See Table 3. Disaggregating data to the local level strongly implies that all it takes is a small shock for them to fall below the poverty line. See Graph 1. It is argued that it is through the efforts of households, that some measure of social protection is achieved in the absence of state intervention.

### **3. Mobility Mechanisms and the Remittance Corridor**

The rationale for labor movement is to improve economic welfare and to provide some form of social protection for family members. Therefore, the household economic dependence on the remittances made by migrants is very high. Most of these low skilled workers follow a circular migration process. They tend to take employment on a single short-term, repeated short-term such as repeated two year contracts in factories or seasonal basis. Many view the employment as short term because they would like to be quickly reunited with their families once they have made money. These remittances can be in the form of money, property or ideas (skills) usually carried by the returnee migrants to their places of origin (Mantra, 1998). Main areas of spending are repairing or building a home, sending one's children to school or purchasing agricultural land (Rudnyckjy, 2004). However such spending is adjusted to the unpredictable nature of remittances – migrants will send money home only when they have paid off their debts to agents and have some savings.



The top destinations for migrant workers are Malaysia and Singapore. Other destinations include the Middle East. This is because of the geographical proximity between Indonesia and these two countries, similarities in culture and the existence of social networks in the destination countries. The labor supply chain that starts with the sourcing of labor that is then transported to Malaysia and Singapore is well established. This supply chain is managed by a series of middlemen and brokers, locally known as *calo* (Spaan, 1984). The type of labor that is needed tends to be low skilled and is used to meet the needs of the mining, plantation, construction and domestic work sectors. These migrant workers come largely from the agricultural sector. But because of the gains made from technological advancement in this sector, there is less need for agricultural labor (Hugo, 1995). Unfortunately non-farm activities are limited leaving many of these workers unemployed. Because of the higher rates of economic growth in Malaysia and Singapore, there are more employment opportunities for these workers. Furthermore, the wages paid in these destination countries are much higher than in Indonesia (Hugo 1993, Jones 1996). A migrant worker can be recruited for employment following two methods 1) with the help of relatives in the destination countries or 2) by employers / employment agencies in the different sectors.

Old pioneering migrants who are settled are a very important source of job information for new migrants. In addition new arrivals in Malaysia or Singapore are initially settled by the pioneers, and they are also very instrumental in seeking jobs for the new comers. This is mainly because there is a social network in terms of a strong blood relationship between the new and the old migrants (Mantra, 1998).

The employer or employment agency initiates the recruitment process. This type of recruitment is used by Malaysian or Singaporean employers who urgently need to fill positions in factories and plantations. A premium is paid and this provides an incentive for recruiting agencies and brokers officially licensed by the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower to as likely send migrants illegally as their unlicensed counterparts (Jones, 1996). However the consequence is that the migrants urgently recruited tend to enter on a tourist visa and when the visa expires, the workers are likely to be caught, detained and deported; this after having mortgaged land or taken out loans from local moneylenders at 100 percent interest or higher to pay the recruiter's fee in the first place (Jones, 1996). This was verified by a man interviewed in Lamno, Aceh. He had made two attempts to become a migrant worker. He sold all his household assets in order to pay for the recruiter's services as well as to buy a counterfeit passport. Upon arriving in Malaysia he was arrested and deported. His remaining asset for collateral, land was destroyed in the tsunami and he is now struggling to look for work as a driver. Based on interviews with other migrant workers, the average cost for travel papers (legal or illegal) now is a cost prohibitive Rp6 – 7 million or approx. US\$600 – 700.

One of the problems encountered in computing or estimating how much remittance is made by these migrants is the uncoordinated nature of remitting (Asian Development Bank, 2006). On average remittances make up 20% - 50% of a migrant's income. The value of remittances can range from the equivalent of US\$25 – 75 (Kompas newspaper, 30/10/2004). Although these amounts seem negligible, they have a social protection effect and go a long way in supporting the livelihoods of families. These amounts can help prevent families from falling into chronic poverty or minimizing the incidence of transitory poverty.

Although circular migration is the trend for many Acehese workers, the conditions that make this favourable for them is the long term, fluid relationship that has been established in countries surrounding the Strait of Malacca. On the basis there is a single economic space that transcends physical borders. This relationship stemmed from the RI-GAM conflict. Acehese society was continuously in conflict to varying degrees for over 30 years. How they coped is reflected by migration trends and how the remittance corridor has developed over time. The same type of social protection strategy was used in response to the tsunami.

There are permanent Acehese settlements in Malaysia and Singapore. Migration was not solely motivated by economics and redistribution. They migrated for different reasons – trade, education, religion and politics particularly the conflict. The implication is that the social network for Acehese migrant workers is much stronger than for other Indonesian workers. The settlers become an important source of information and support for new arrivals. During fieldwork, the presence of a social network was found in an Acehese community located in Selayang, near Kuala Lumpur the capital of Malaysia. The size of the community is about 500 people. This is a low income, peri-urban area that functions as the wholesale market for fresh produce sold to the city. Wholesale trading activities here used to be controlled by Malaysians but this is gradually changing because of the entrepreneurial spirit of the Acehese. This community in Selayang comprises of Acehese people with origins exclusively from Pidie, Bireun and Lhokseumawe. These were conflict ridden areas and badly affected by the tsunami. This community will only protect the interests of those from the same area of origin. In interviews with community leaders, this group has been in existence since the

beginning of the conflict. According to them, there are other similar communities in the Klang Valley, Penang, Malacca and Johor. Community leaders explained that they have been assisting in the relocation of undocumented migrants, mostly men, from the same areas of origin in order to escape political persecution. This assistance was also provided in the aftermath of the tsunami when some internally displaced people (IDPs) did not know if the security situation in Aceh would stabilize. Once they have entered this community, the migrants receive assistance in looking for housing and work on construction sites or increasingly at the wholesale market. Since the RI-GAM peace agreement, some families have started to return to Aceh.

Acehnese migrant workers in Malaysia and Singapore are concentrated in urban and peri-urban areas. Based on interviews, there is specialization of work and this is distinguished by gender. The TKI or males tend to work in construction, factories and trading. The TKW or females tend to work in factories. In the interview responses it was found that the TKI tended to accept work in the informal economy and risked arrest and deportation. On the other hand, the TKW tended to work in the formal economy and as such experienced less vulnerability. This distinction is related to education levels and qualifications required for formal work. In the interview responses, the TKI tend to be less well educated than the TKW who all have at least a high school education. This is associated with the conflict where males were targeted and many could not complete their education. Another distinction that was found was that the TKI tended to take on unpredictable short-term work while the TKW signed job contracts for 2 years that could be renewed. Many TKW tend to be between 18 – 30 years, work up to 5 years in factories, accrue more savings for remittances

and / or investments and then return home to Aceh to marry. See Figure 5 for a profile of wages by occupation.

Because of the social network and the number of repeated short-term contracts, the size of remittances sent to Aceh is potentially larger than in other regions of Indonesia. However this is difficult to verify. This is because during the conflict, there was a lack of data collected. Also according to a respondent who was a GAM soldier, the system for migration and remittances was fine-tuned for use in the informal economy. This was because of a deep sense of distrust and suspicion of the government. Hence there is the unwillingness to have data recorded officially. Case in point is that the official statistics from the Aceh Department of Manpower (*Dinas Tenaga Kerja Aceh*) reported that in 2004 there were only 150 migrants workers and in 2005 only 5 workers with minimum remittances sent.

#### **4. Effects of the Tsunami on Migration and Social Protection**

Before the tsunami, the formal and informal remittance channels were well developed and functioned well. Formal migrant workers could choose between the two channels. Informal workers could use a combination of the two – the sender without a bank account could use a money changer to transfer funds to his / her family's bank account. Respondents explained that families try to ensure that there is one bank account for use by the whole family. Normally it is the head of the family who has the bank account and everyone else piggybacks on it.

Based on interviews with Acehese families, remittances are mostly used to support aged parents. This is because of the importance of filial piety in Acehese values. The next priority is to use remittances to help pay for the

family's basic needs which includes school fees at the primary and secondary school level. In dollar value, basic needs in Aceh are equivalent to Rp800000 or approximately US\$80/month<sup>2</sup>. Housing which would have been expected to be a priority was not as important to them as most of them had some form of housing.

Remittances are normally only sent after the first year of work in Malaysia or Singapore. This is especially true for workers who have to repay recruitment fees to the calo. On occasion the worker may be fortunate to have entered Malaysia or Singapore illegally using his / her social network. Because of solidarity, there are no fees to pay. Amounts sent tend to be stable because most migrant workers aim for self-sufficiency<sup>3</sup> and have a fixed cost structure that covers in the following order of priority - debt repayment, living expenses and remittances. The percentage that can be saved for remittances is fixed. See Table 5 for the intra-household allocation of remittances.

Given the patterns of intra-household allocation found in Table 5, there is a degree of predictability in the remittance pattern and there is stability in the amounts sent. Predictability increases when the sender is the father and head of the family. Fathers interviewed that by sending money every month, they felt assured that all expenditures could be paid. They did not have to worry about their wives having to manage finances. Also predictability increases when the recipient is an aged or widowed parent. But as observed in Table 5, predictability decreases when the sender is not the head of the family. It was also found that if the sender had many siblings who had jobs, there was even less priority to send remittances.

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<sup>2</sup> Based on calculations by PUGAR – The Center for People Movement & Democracy, Aceh

<sup>3</sup> This was verified by the internal records of Western Union for its Asia market

Young migrant workers interviewed especially men who were unmarried were more inclined to use their income as savings for future investment in Aceh. Daughters were found to be extremely responsible for the widowed mothers' welfare. Hence with reference to Table 5 and the interview responses, remittances are of the greatest benefit to aged parents and widowed mothers, followed by the worker's wife and children. Remittances play a social protection role for these groups. However parents tend to receive remittances as subsidies while the wife and family tend to be fully covered. Remittances are of least benefit to the worker's siblings. Concerning the use of money changers, many respondents found their services to be reliable. This was confirmed by the money changers who became familiar with their customers and knew which village the recipients lived in. As such, predictability in the remittance pattern increases and amounts sent remain stable.

After the tsunami, this fragile balance that helped families month-to-month changed.

Based on interviews, in the first month after the tsunami, many migrant workers could not locate their families. Family members either died or were displaced. These workers took 14 – 30 days to locate their families using mobile phones (calls and SMS text messages) to contact friends and relatives. After locating them, there were more workers who could not return to care for their families in the emergency period than those who could. This was because of several reasons – the worker had just started his / her first year of work in Malaysia and Singapore and had to use all of his / her income to repay the *calo*; the worker had entered the destination country illegally and could not risk arrest by leaving to return to Aceh; the worker did not receive permission for a leave of absence from the

employer or most family members had died including the parents and it was pointless to return to care for a surviving sibling.

A respondent who managed to return located her entire family in an IDP camp. She said that she returned with a plane load of other workers. This was in the beginning of February 2005. She was fortunate to receive a leave of absence from her employer for a month. In addition her employer made a charitable contribution of RM1000 or approximately US\$266. She brought home money, food, clothes and gifts to help her family especially her widowed mother through the emergency period. For the whole month, she stayed with her family in the camp. She was very thankful for the foreign aid assistance that they had received in the camp because it alleviated her burden. By the time she left, her family had returned to rehabilitate their partly damaged home.

There was also a respondent who had a sister who flew from Malaysia to Aceh two weeks after the tsunami. She used to frequently send remittances to her family. But since starting her own family in Malaysia, she sent less money and tended to focus on her mother's needs. In the aftermath of the tsunami, she ensured that her mother was re-located to a relative's house and had sufficient funds, food, medicine and clothes. She did not provide any assistance to her brother. She expected her brother who lived in Banda Aceh to be self-sufficient.

For migrant workers who wanted to return but could not and had some savings, emergency remittances were sent via friends and relatives. According to six respondents (either worker who could not return or family of workers who could not return) amounts sent were the same as pre-tsunami.



In addition, according to a migrant worker union organizer, the union had a fund raising campaign to supplement the remittances of workers. These charitable contributions were pooled and distributed by community based organizations (CBOs) using their social networks and by emergency and relief aid agencies. But this union organizer acknowledged that the union could not individually supplement a worker's private remittances. This implies that these contributions either supplemented or substituted for remittances. Aid agency distribution of goods and cash (through cash transfers, grants and cash-for-work) to IDPs were reportedly extremely important during the emergency. This was especially so in geographically isolated areas where such distribution was an alternative to regular channels.

Both the formal and informal remittance channels were badly affected by the tsunami. Corresponding banks for remittances and infrastructure were destroyed or severely damaged. Only two banks on the east coast of Aceh were operational by the first week of January 2005 (Kompas newspaper, 31/12/2004). BII was operational by 14 January, 2006. Although Western Union (WU) was operational within 24 hours of the tsunami it had a limited coverage because its agents such as the above mentioned banks had suspended operations. Money changers were only operational 1 - 2 weeks after the tsunami. However Pos Indonesia still managed to function by redirecting its work load away from the damaged areas in Aceh to Jakarta and Medan. Correspondingly according to the *Bank Republik Indonesia*, total remittances received by the country for January – February 2005 was Rp. 177,680 million, down 7.34%. This figure did not include remittances using informal channels. As such it could be strongly inferred that the reduction was even more significant during the emergency period.

Although these remittance channels tried to be operational as soon as possible, the main problem that many migrant workers faced was that they could not provide an address for where their families were re-located to. A mailing address is needed by WU, Pos Indonesia and money changers in order for contact to be made with the rightful recipient. The use of a mailing address to identify a recipient is an institutionalized practice in both formal and informal channels because many recipients from poor rural households do not have identification papers. This situation was exacerbated by the tsunami when those who did have identification papers lost them in the disaster.

The problem of the mailing address becomes significant given efforts by formal remittance sending companies to promote more transfers during the emergency period. Singapore Post (Sing Post) announced a temporary commission waiver of the remittance service to the tsunami hit areas. But when asked whether the commission waiver increased remittance dollar amounts or volume of transactions, Sing Post responded that the trend remained stable and unchanged during this period. Using the only accessible January – February 2005 official figures from the *Bank Republik Indonesia* and Sing Post, it can be strongly inferred that many IDPs had their remittances disrupted and had to rely on foreign emergency and relief aid and CBOs.

But by February – March 2005, the remittance patterns started to recover. This may have been motivated the most by the network of money changers. According to a key player in the currency exchange business, they took the initiative to put in place an emergency communications system using the *flexsi* local mobile phone network which had limited coverage of a seven km radius from each main town in each district. Using this system, they could help migrant workers contact their

families. Locations of IDP camps could then be provided to the money changers. They would make arrangements to either deliver the funds to functioning bank accounts that the IDPs piggybacked on or sometimes even make deliveries to the camps. By mid-2005, respondents observed that more migrant workers were returning to Aceh bearing money and gifts. By end-2005, remittance systems both formal and informal were operating at a higher capacity for *Idul Fitri* celebrations in November. This suggests that by mid-2005 as Aceh entered the relief and rehabilitation phase, families were using aid assistance and remittances side-by-side or in a complementary manner.

## **5. Conclusions and Policy Implications**

While aid agencies focused their attention on meeting the basic needs of the Acehnese after the tsunami, very little is understood about household behavior particularly migrant households. Because the migrant worker is not available to be interviewed or surveyed, the contributions made are hidden. Aid agencies were quick to make a too strong assumption that the Acehnese were not able to cope with the natural disaster. But as the fieldwork highlights, a migration route and remittance corridor had been long established as a social protection strategy to cope with the conflict.

While there are now attempts to stimulate the economy and to particularly address regional disparities, this should be complemented by the provision of key public services. In cooperation with the family, the private sector comprising of recruitment agencies, makeshift transport providers (*becak* and *labi-labi*) and money changers fill the gap that should be the main responsibility of the public sector. By managing these services, the Government of Aceh will be able to help better coordinate the movement of

labor. This in turn produces welfare effects for the economy in a state that can barely afford benefit provision for its citizenry.

The current poverty alleviation strategy being considered for Aceh focuses on increasing the productivity of the agricultural and fisheries sectors, as well as a strategy to improve the capabilities of the poor and linking them to growth poles in urban areas. In addition the Government of Aceh is urged by the World Bank to diversify the economy away from natural resources and increase transparency of the distribution and use of revenues. However such a diversification strategy is politically sensitive given the issue of national – provincial use of these resources. To strengthen this poverty alleviation strategy, migrant income and the positive externalities that it produces have to be accounted for. Focus should be given to both aggregate level growth and disaggregated level redistribution.

This can be done by establishing or improving public provision of additional bank and post office branches in remote areas; a larger coverage of local newspapers with recruitment ads; subsidies for private sector transport providers that will give them an incentive to expand their routes and improved mapping of residential areas. This range of services can be provided at the local level and concentrated where most migrant communities are located.

This policy option of improving service provision associated with out-migration will seem counter-intuitive. Instead there is a tendency for policymakers to support targeted transfers to the poor or make some loose claim about pro-poor growth without clearly articulating what this means. But in this context where the people have Aceh have a long, established

tradition of circular migration, the suggested policy option should be promoted. Out-migration and its trading and social networks across the Strait of Malacca is a comparative advantage for Aceh. This movement of labor goes in the direction of available financial capital and skill building / transfer opportunities. In the short to medium term, by letting market mechanisms work, this option will produce more welfare than attempts to build labor productivity in local agriculture. This option challenges policymakers to rethink the concept of labor markets in the context of a post-conflict, poverty stricken and public services deprived society. Put another way, perhaps in this context policymakers should promote policies that let local markets work on their own in the short run and be *laissez-faire*.

## Appendix

Map 1: Migration Route and Remittance Corridor



Notes: Fieldwork was carried out in the two areas marked in boxes. Former migrant workers and household members were interviewed in Aceh and current migrant workers were interviewed in Malaysia. The out-migration route can be traced from Aceh to Medan and then to various urban areas in Peninsula Malaysia and Singapore.

Table 2: Poverty Levels (%) (Source: World Bank, 2008)

	2004	2005	2006
Aceh	28.4	32.6	26.5
Aceh Urban	17.6	20.4	14.7
Aceh Rural	32.6	36.2	30.1
Indonesia	16.7	16.0	17.8

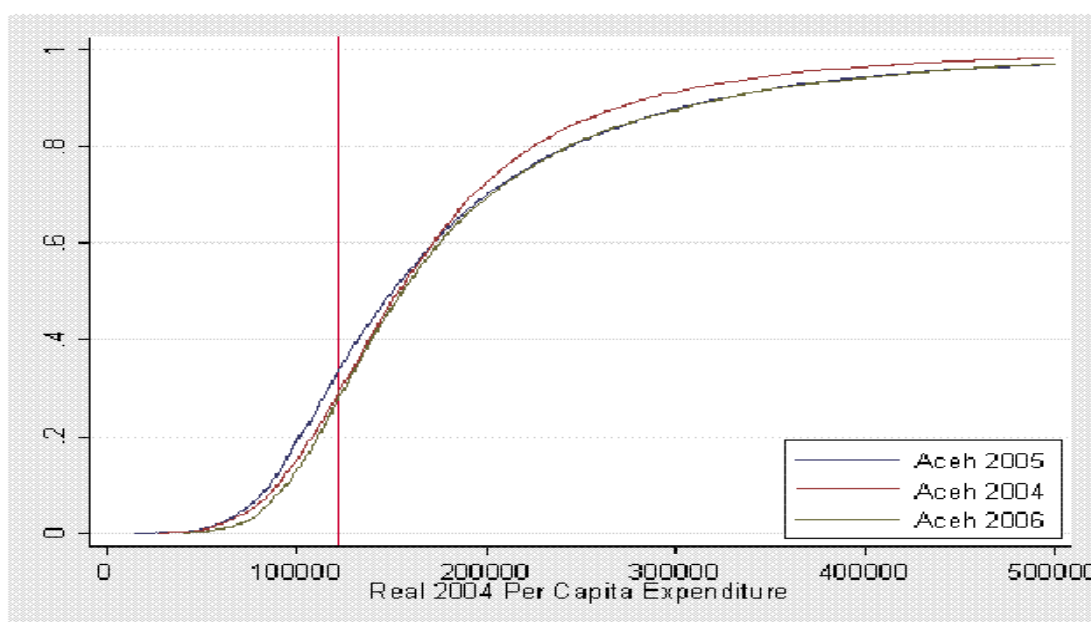
Table 3: Likelihood of Being Poor

	2004	2005	2006
High tsunami	0.83**	1.44***	1.08
Low tsunami	1.00	1.00	1.00
High conflict	1.29***	1.43***	0.96
Low conflict	1.00	1.00	1.00

\*\* Significant at the 5% level \*\*\* Significant at the 10% level

Source: World Bank 2008

Graph 1: Real Per Capita Consumption



Source: World Bank 2008

Table 4: Wages by Occupation

Type of Work	Monthly Wage (US\$ equivalent)
Construction	400 – 530 (depending on skills level)
Factory	114 – 530 (if including overtime)
Trading	320 (average income)
Services – bakery, restaurant, cleaning	186 - 213
Domestic Maid	133 – 213
Plantation	106 (average income)

Table 5: Intra-Household Allocation of Remittances

Sender	Recipient	Amount Per Year (US\$ equivalent)	Frequency
Father and breadwinner	Wife & children	400 – 530	Once a month, every other month, 4x a year
Son	Parents	0 - 200 (subsidy)	Upon parents' request, once a month, 4x a year
Daughter	Parents	50 - 300 (subsidy)	Upon parents' request, once a month, every other month
Daughter	Widowed Mother	120 (subsidy)	4x a year
Brother	Parents and siblings	20 – 500	Once a year
Brother	Brother	0 - minimal amount	Upon brother's request

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Title</i>
001	Roelen, K., Gassmann, F. and C. de Neubourg	Child Poverty in Vietnam - providing insights using a country-specific and multidimensional model
002	Siegel, M. and Lücke, M.	What Determines the Choice of Transfer Channel for Migrant Remittances? The Case of Moldova
003	Sologon, D. and O'Donoghue, C.	Earnings Dynamics and Inequality in EU 1994 - 2001

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002	Hagen-Zanker, J.	Why do people migrate? A review of the theoretical literature
003	Arndt, C. and C. Omar	The Politics of Governance Ratings
004	Roelen, K., Gassmann, F. and C. de Neubourg	A global measurement approach versus a country-specific measurement approach. Do they draw the same picture of child poverty? The case of Vietnam
005	Hagen-Zanker, J., M. Siegel and C. de Neubourg	Strings Attached: The impediments to Migration
006	Bauchmüller, R.	Evaluating causal effects of Early Childhood Care and Education Investments: A discussion of the researcher's toolkit
007	Wu, T., Borghans, L. and A. Dupuy	Aggregate Shocks and How Parents Protect the Human Capital Accumulation Process: An Empirical Study of Indonesia

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008	Hagen-Zanker, J. and Azzarri, C.	Are internal migrants in Albania leaving for the better?
009	Rosaura Muñiz Castillo, M.	Una propuesta para analizar proyectos con ayuda internacional: De la autonomía individual al desarrollo humano
010	Wu, T.	Circular Migration and Social Protection in Indonesia

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001	Notten, G. and C. de Neubourg	Relative or absolute poverty in the US and EU? The battle of the rates
002	Hodges, A. A. Dufay, K. Dashdorj, K.Y. Jong, T. Mungun and U. Budragchaa	Child benefits and poverty reduction: Evidence from Mongolia's Child Money Programme
003	Hagen-Zanker, J. and Siegel, M.	The determinants of remittances: A review of the literature
004	Notten, G.	Managing risks: What Russian households do to smooth consumption
005	Notten, G. and C. de Neubourg	Poverty in Europe and the USA: Exchanging official measurement methods
006	Notten, G and C. de Neubourg	The policy relevance of absolute and relative poverty headcounts: Whats in a number?
007	Hagen-Zanker, J. and M. Siegel	A critical discussion of the motivation to remit in Albania and Moldova
008	Wu, Treena	Types of Households most vulnerable to physical and economic threats: Case studies in Aceh after the Tsunami
009	Siegel, M.	Immigrant Integration and Remittance Channel Choice
010	Muñiz Castillo, M.	Autonomy and aid projects: Why do we care?

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## 2006

<i>No.</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Title</i>
001	Gassmann, F. and G. Notten	Size matters: Poverty reduction effects of means-tested and universal child benefits in Russia
002	Hagen-Zanker,	Exploring multi-dimensional wellbeing and remittances in El

	J. and M.R. Muñiz Castillo	Salvador
003	Augsburg, B.	Econometric evaluation of the SEWA Bank in India: Applying matching techniques based on the propensity score
004	Notten, G. and D. de Crombrugghe	Poverty and consumption smoothing in Russia
<b>2005</b>		
<i>No.</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Title</i>
001	Gassmann, F.	An Evaluation of the Welfare Impacts of Electricity Tariff Reforms And Alternative Compensating Mechanisms In Tajikistan
002	Gassmann, F.	How to Improve Access to Social Protection for the Poor? Lessons from the Social Assistance Reform in Latvia