Indonesian Female Migrants and Employers’ Mistreatment in Malaysia: a Case of Domestic Servants from Central Java

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Abstract
This paper aims to investigate the main reasons why some Indonesian domestic servants are badly treated by their employers in Malaysia, and to discuss the steps taken by the Indonesian and Malaysian governments to cope with this situation. The study used a phenomenology qualitative approach with a social paradigm definition for the micro analysis. The findings show that the main reasons why the Indonesian domestic servants were badly treated were lack of communication skills and low level of competency; different culture; feudalism; bad institutional structure; and the differences in the Act between Indonesia and Malaysia. The steps taken by the Indonesian government include providing assurance to non-problematic employers for hiring the Indonesian workers, establishing a Cooperation Agency for problem solving, suggesting a one-day or one-week off to the Indonesian domestic servants or giving them compensation, resolving all problems by the Indonesian and Malaysian Cooperation Associations, and revising the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) of the labor force.

Keywords: Indonesian female migrants, migration, domestic servants, employers’, mistreatment

1. Introduction
Migration is a popular term for many people who want to seek employment abroad. Migration is due to different reasons such as they think that working abroad is financially and socially valuable where wages are higher, environments are better and life facilities are more accessible. In addition, working abroad provides more opportunity for building up wider social networks, which are very useful for the future undertakings. Also, migrants perceive that job opportunities are abundant in the destination countries. However, before migrate process, people usually make a decision on intention and process. The decision making for being a permanent or non-permanent migrant largely depends on the capacity of the urban area in the destination country to develop its industry (Mc. Gee 1977 in Abu-Lughod & Hay, 1977; Sutomo 1993), and the opportunity for employment in the trade and servant sectors. The migrants will occur if an individual decides to live in a destination area permanently due to favorable environment.

A migration mechanism always relates to a process of decision making and a theory of understanding this mechanism can be referred to Lee’s push-pull theory (Lee 1966). According to Lee (1966), there are four factors that influence people in making a decision to migrate, which include the place of origin, destination area, detriment, and personal. The factors that related to the place of origin and destination area may have positive, negative or neutral effect on migration decision. It is positive if it encourages migrant’s intention; negative if it impedes migrant’s intention; and neutral if it does not influence migrant’s intention. Likewise, the factors that related to the destination area will be positive if it attracts migrant’s intention; negative if it impedes migrant’s intention; and neutral if it does not influence migrant’s intention (Lee, 1966, Mantra &Sumantri, 1987). According to Todaro (1976, 1979), pay differences between the countries of origin and the destination countries caused people to migrate. People will move from a place where labors are abundant and wages are low to a place where labors are scanty and wages are high. Based on the several findings from the previous studies, it could be concluded that (1) migration relates to distance, (2) migration is gradual, (3) migration is circular, (4) there are differences between the rural and urban area in terms of migration intention, (5) the females prefer to migrate to nearby areas, (6) there is a significant relationship between technology and migration, and (7) economic aspect is the main cause of the migration intention.

Indonesia has been experiencing a massive migration among its population and migration-out is more prevalent. In fact, population mobility in Indonesia had begun since 1905. Formerly, this mobility was intended to meet the need for farming workers in the agriculture sector. At that time, the Dutch government had migrated 155 heads of households from Java to the Gedong Tataan of South Sumatra (Mantra, 1988). The 1980 population census indicated that migration-out from Java involved 2,402,557 people and migration-in to Java recorded 1,804,115 people. In 1990, migration-out of Java had increased to 3,416,923 people and migration-in was 3,058,725 people (Firman, 1994). Nevertheless, the number of transmigration in Central Java decreased from 2002 to 2007. In 2003, a transmigration target was 1,249 heads of households and only 1,087 heads of households did migrate.
According to Zehadul and Moha Asri the Malaysian households have given higher priority for hiring the domestic servants, so that they will be more efficient and skilled before they embark to Malaysia. This paper aims to investigate the main reasons why some Indonesian domestic servants are mistreated by their employers in Malaysia, and to discuss steps taken by the Indonesian and Malaysian governments to cope with this situation. The paper is divided into six sections. The following section highlights the Indonesian migrants in Malaysia. The literature review is discussed in the subsequent section and it is followed by the methodology, the findings and discussion, policy implications and conclusion.

2. Indonesian Migrants In Malaysia

Table 1 presents the number of international migrants in Malaysia by country of origins. It is shown that Indonesian comprises the highest migrants in all years, followed by Bangladesh, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan. The number of Indonesian migrants in Malaysia increased drastically from 269,194 in 1999 to about 1.2 million in 2006 and slightly dropped to 1.1 million in 2008. It comprises of more than half of total migrants in Malaysia. International migration from the Philippines showed an increasing trend overtime and the number were between 7,299 and 26,713 persons between 1990 and 2008. The number of migrants from Thailand showed an unstable trend, from only 2,130 in 1999 to 20,599 in 2002, 5,751 in 2005 and increased to 21,065 in 2008. The percentage of the Philippines and Thailand migrants are quite low, less than 5 per cent, but it brings significant impacts on the Malaysian economy. Viewing from their close distance to Malaysia, future international mobility from these three countries into Malaysia is anticipated to be increased (Ministry of Home Affairs, Malaysia, various years).

The majority of the Indonesian migrants are females. Table 2 illustrates the number of Indonesian workers abroad by gender between the period of 1994 and 2007. Of the total 5,624,097 Indonesian workers abroad, 4,145,034 are females and 1,479,063 are males. The majority of females are working as domestic servants. In Table 3, it is reported that between the 1995 and 2007, the total Indonesian migrant workers were 5,624,097 people of which 3,083,645 were in the Asia Pacific countries, 2,513,233 are in the Middle East and Africa, 18,388 are in the United States and 8,891 are in Europe. Out of the total in the Asia Pacific, 2,004,885 people worked in Malaysia. Other main destination countries include Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea. In 2005, it was reported that about 72 per cent of the legal Indonesian foreign workers in Malaysia were females. Most of them worked as domestic servants and received a very low wage. In a more recent statistics published in the Malaysia daily newspaper (Utusan Malaysia, June 17, 2007), it was reported that there were 310,000 foreign servants in Malaysia, of which about 90 per cent (or 250,000) of them were from Indonesia.

In order to facilitate the foreign workers movement from their countries of origin, there are about 30 foreign servant agencies established in Malaysia. These agencies play an important role in recruiting the domestic servants. They have been cooperating with the Indonesian agencies in giving trainings and courses to the domestic servants, so that they will be more efficient and skilled before they embark to Malaysia.
Indonesian maids because of low salary. In addition, they can communicate with their employers well using a quite similar language that is Malaysia-Indonesia. Normally the average salary paid to the Indonesian maids ranging from RM400 to RM600 per month, which is much lower than the amount paid to the Philippine maids at a minimum of RM700 per month (NanYangSiangPau, May 24, 2007).

Most findings from migration studies, for example, by Yulpis (1975, 1982a, 1982b), Temple (1974), Mantra (1988, 1991), Sjahir (1995), Mulyantoro (1991), and Sutomo (1993) demonstrate that economic factor is the main reason why people migrate. In the actual fact, there are many other factors such as social, health and life insurance that affect migration decision. Subadi (2004), in his research entitled A Migration of Tegalombo People Village: an Analysis of Circular Migration in Phenomenology Perspective states that a process of making decision in circular migration depends on some consideration of social relationship, economic factors, health and life insurances.

Further, the finding of his study shows that the structure of the rural community consists of *kuli kenceng* (white collar), *kuli setengah kenceng* and *kuli ngindung* (blue collar). The circular migrants is conducted by a few of *kuli setengah kenceng* group who are aware of the relationship to circular migration, possess few capitals and intent to quit from farming earnings to become traders in a destination area, and have social relationship to the earlier migrants, secure and healthy, and have life insurances. In the circular migration process, a group of the *kuli setengah kenceng* faces an economic problem (for example, low income, difficulty in finding a job, and failure in harvest). They have established social relationship with the earlier migrants, stays with the successful relatives/migrants (expected to help them find a job), meet primary needs such as meals and temporary residence, become an autonomous migrant, and urges their family and relative in the place of origin to be involved in circular migration. A process of circular migration uses a regular cycle and racial systems. The cycle system means that a circular migration stays with the successful migrants while a racial system means that between the new and old migrants has a familiar relationship or lives in one place of origin. A migration decision is related to a social relationship, security and healthy, and life insurances.

Firdaus Abdullah (2009) stated that the case of violence against the servants is not a normal criminal action but it includes many other aspects. In addition to the humanistic dimension, criminal issue and violence against foreign servants in Malaysia also have a diplomatic, international relation, and enforcement dimension of the Act. It means that in addition to disturbing the relationship of the two countries, this case can also result in a confidence crisis in state administration and our justice system.

According to Nazarudin Zainun and Soijah Likin (2004), it is necessary to understand servants’ attitude and behavior: “what factors really result in the torture against servants? And why does an employer torture his or her servant?” They suggested that, the answer to the problem is that the servants’ qualifications do not meet employers’ expectation. An employer has to pay at least RM5, 000 to the agent in getting a servant beside the monthly salary of about RM400 per month. Therefore, the employer has very high expectation in getting most qualified servant. If the servant fails to serve as expected, the employer will be very disappointed and this will lead to mistreatment.

Also, low educational attainments among the Indonesian maids; make them very difficult to understand what their employers want. Most of them use broken mother tongue language in their communication. Some of the Indonesian housemaids are even having difficulties in understanding their mother tongue proper language, what more to understand another language. This subsequently leads to miscommunication or misunderstanding of the instruction regarding the house chores. Consequently, this will create tension and anger among the employers.

Fatimah Yusoff argues that employers’ personality and servants’ attitude and behavior are among factors that resulting in housemaid mistreatment. An employers’ sadistic behavior and servants who cannot adapt to their works will create stress amongst the employers, which can lead to a torture on the servants. A Head of the Islamic Council of Negeri Sembilan states that an employer who has a very high expectation will abuse a servant when she fails to work well. It is consistent with Nazarudin Zainun and Soijah Likin’s view (Bernama, July 11, 2009).

**4. Methodology**

In viewing the Indonesian domestic servants’ mistreatment, the study uses Berger’s phenomenology (Berger & Luckmann 1967, 1990) with a social definition paradigm for the micro analysis. In this approach, the individual is a subject of the study for interpretation. The researchers then will interpret a case based on their scientific knowledge. As stated above, Berger defines his method as the first order understanding (asking the researcher to interview the people to find accurate information) and second order understanding (explaining and interpreting the result of interview for elaborating a new meaning). In addition, the use of this perspective is morally dependent on examination, data gathering, analysis and conclusion that does not involved any kinds of forces.

The subject of the study is Indonesian housemaids (19 people) from Central Java who were mistreated by their
employers in Malaysia. In addition, there were other informants selected on the basis of validity consideration. They were the neighbours (9 people) of the female workers, their families (19 people), Indonesian Labor Allocation and Protection Agency (BP3TKI) (one person), and one Head of Provincial Agency/Sub-Head of the female workers Allocation Abroad.

In obtaining information of the Indonesian domestic servants in Malaysia, the researchers went to the Provincial Central Java Department of Labour to consult the head of BP3TKI for crosschecking the information. Then, the researchers interviewed the selected domestic servants who were mistreated by their employers in Malaysia. The data gathering involved observation, documentation and in-depth interview. The researchers took many pictures of the servants present physical condition as documentation. The researchers used a structural and semi-structural in-depth interview. In this interview, the researchers asked some substantial questions that could be developed into more detail questions.

The data analysis employed a method of first order understanding and second order understanding with an interactive model, including data reduction, data display and conclusion/verification. The researchers analysed the domestic servants’ and other informants’ information and then asked them whether the information were accurate or not. The researchers then selected and analysed the accurate information and deleted the inaccurate one.

5. Findings And Discussion
This section reports only nine reliable cases from the survey. Information was gathered either directly from the victims or from their relatives when the victims were not available. The detail discussions on each case are as follows:

a. Case 1
On August 5, 2008, she was tortured, hit, often forced to drink any detergents and eat sand by her employer in Malaysia. She was working with this employer for more than one year but only got one-year salary.

b. Case 2
On June 2009, she was abused by her employer in Malaysia. According to the Head of Provincial Central Java National Allocation and Protection Agency of female workers (BNTKI), this servant was often tortured by her employer and got many violent treatments.

c. Case 3
This maid said that she was punched and hit with a wood and rattan by her employer in Malaysia. In addition, she only had a meal once a day and was paid for nine months even though she had been working longer than a year. She also said that she did not escape immediately because expecting her remaining salary to be paid.

d. Case 4
She had been mistreated as a slave and tortured by her employer because she refused to have sex with her employer. In addition, her employer enforced some violence on her and asked her to eat only cakes and apples for dishes. In a three-day span, she was sick and dismissed by her employer. Then, a driver (from Surabaya East Java, Indonesia) brought her to Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur.

e. Case 5
At present, as a result of serious injury, she has been hospitalized in Mranggen Demak (Central Java). Her body is full of bruises. Her right-sided auricle of ear was abnormal. This 32-year old woman said that she did not know why her employer in Malaysia often hit her with a stick, an umbrella and other hard objects. This violence on her occurred continuously despite of working very hard. She had tried to escape from her employer but with no avail. The worst thing was that she did not receive any salary after working for thirteen months.

f. Case 6
Her parents and relatives did not know about the actual cause of her death. Previously, they knew that she was sick. After her remained was buried, her parents were informed that she died because of influenza and heart attack. The parents also learned that her disease became more severe after she was tortured by her employer in Malaysia.

g. Case 7
Her parents stated that they did not know the cause of her daughter’s death. Her relatives were informed that she died. After some days later, her younger brother told his parents that she died because she was tortured by her employer in Malaysia.

h. Case 8
She told us that she did not know her fault. Her employer asked her to clean the bathroom but all of the sudden her employer hit her head and seriously got angry with her. After this event, her employer physically tortured her without any specific reasons.

i. Case 9
She stated that she did not know about his fault. She told us that her employer was hot-tempered and often hit her. The most tragic mistreatment was that her employer poured a hot water and put a hot iron on her. On another occasion she said her employer injured her with a knife. She managed to run away and make a police report.

Based on the above cases, the researchers can conclude that there are seven main reasons why the Indonesian domestic servants from the Central Java were mistreated by their employers in Malaysia; (1) miscommunication between the employers and maids, (2) low competency amongst the maids 3) employer’s high expectation, (4) different culture, (5) feudalistic and slaver attitude amongst the employers, (6) less structured institutions and inefficient foreign workers agencies, and (7) different Acts. 

Based on our discussion with the related authority the solution for mistreated housemaids comprises of two kinds: (1) legitimate in which the cases will be the responsibility of Police and General Attorney, and (2) non-legitimate where this case will be the responsibility of BP3TKI as a mediator. The role of BP3TKI is to take action, i.e., if the data of Indonesian Private Sector Labor Allocation (PPTKIS) is not clear, BP3TKI will ask PPTKIS to clarify it. Further, PPTKIS will coordinate with the Agency in searching for more detail and accurate information. If the Agency cannot assist this, the problem will be resolved by the Indonesian Embassy in Malaysia and it will ask a testimony to a related party. A common decision-making is to find another employer if a servant still wants to work in Malaysia.

The PPTKIS officer (2009) stated to the researcher that, in realizing the female workers allocation program abroad, the Provincial Central Java government will take six steps that cover the following scenarios; (1) based on the Governor No. 560/00946/2003, if PPTKIS of which central office is located outside Central Java recruits Central Java people as Indonesian workers, it must own a branch office of PPTKIS in Central Java and the preparing of the workers’ document for departure and arrival must be done in Central Java, (2) according to the Provincial Central Java Governor’s letter No. 560.55/18895/2009 about the training programs for the Indonesian Labors from Central Java, it is made compulsory for the informal Indonesian Labor to undergo any trainings and competency test, (3) with the related agency, PPTKIS establishes Task Force to coping with the Indonesian labors who have deportation problem, (4) reviewing the performance/revitalization of the government’s training agency in producing competent workers, (5) evaluating the performance of branch office by controlling the branch office of PPTKIS in the allocation of female workers (6) technically; the allocation of female workers in the region is conducted by the Provincial Central Java BP3TKI and a few by the Regency/Municipality Agency.

The Indonesian government expressed that the violence of female workers in Malaysia is due to the difference in Labour Act of both countries. This claim is consistent with the statement by the Indonesian Minister of Labour and Transmigration. Furthermore, he said the difference in Labour Act frequently resulted in the violent case on Indonesian labours and the case is difficult to solve because it involved political aspect and amendment of the Act will take sometimes.

The Malaysian government remains its stand to welcome the Indonesian workers and continue to take great efforts in protecting them, especially to those who have met legal procedures. The Malaysian Prime Minister once states that the Malaysian government will try to do justice to the Malaysian people who act violently against the Indonesian workers in comply with the Act. In addition, the Malaysian Minister of Human Resources agrees to establish an agency to make sure the recruitment of the Indonesian servants is more organized. Also, the maids will entitle a one-day or a week off. If they do not get this furlough, the government promise to pay compensation to them. Apart from this, all employers are urged to provide bank account for their servants.

Based on the findings, it could be concluded that a violent action experienced by the servants is partly due to the difference in the Labour Act of the two countries especially related to human rights and social insurance. An employer’s behavior with low appreciation and understanding of the hardship of foreign servants will have higher probability to mistreat her servant. In most circumstances a servant is unable to argue with her employer because she is afraid of being fired. In addition, argument means betrayed that would lead the situation even worst. A feudalism attitude of an employer will influence her to mistreat her maid regardless of whether there are any mistakes or misbehavior caused by the servant. Another pertinent reason for the Indonesian housemaid abused is lack of language competency that will lead to miscommunication. Consequently, the servant will not carry- out her duty according to her employer’ expectation.

6. Policy Implication

Based on the findings of the study, there are two steps undertaken by the two governments 1) the cooperative measures by Malaysian and Indonesian Government, and 2) a cooperative model for sending professional female workers; 

1. The Cooperative Measures by Malaysian and Indonesian Government

An agreement of the countries (Indonesia and Malaysia) to cope with the problem of Indonesian labors and
female workers in Malaysia is as follows. (1) The Indonesian government must guarantee that for employer who has paid a fee to the servant agencies in Malaysia and Indonesia will get a servant. (2) The guarantee is committed by the Indonesian Minister of Labor and Transmigration during his meeting with the Malaysia Minister of Human Resource. (3) The Malaysia Minister of Human Resource said that the two parties have agreed to establish an agency for ensuring all issues involving the decision making of the Indonesian servants to be resolved. (4) The two parties have agreed that the servants will get a one-day or a week furlough by their employers depending on the agreement between them. If the servants do not get any furlough, the employer will have to give some compensation to them. (5) The Malaysia Minister of Human Resource states that a one-day or a week furlough will be a rule through a penal case of the 1955 Work Act in the session of the House Representatives on October 2009. (6) Regarding the issues of the Indonesian particulars such as servants’ passports and salary, they have agreed that the cases can be solved by the Malaysian and Indonesian Association. (7) In addition to the agreement between the two countries, the Malaysian government in particular will take steps including (a) ensuring that every employer has a bank account for his or her servant so that the Ministry of Human Resources can monitor the pay for the servants. (b) Every servant gets a protection from Working Compensation Act. (c) A standard contract will be provided by the Labor Department to be signed by an employer and servant concerning the length of contract and etc. (d) The Malaysian and Indonesian governments will review the MoU signed on May, 2006 regarding Indonesian labors in Malaysia.

2. A Cooperative Model for Sending Professional Female Workers

After amended in the Act No. 39/2004 and its enforcement regulation, Indonesian labors and female workers who will be sent abroad must meet very specific qualifications for each kind of job and a country allocated. However, the more important is as follows: (a) a clear rule and regulation for the two parties, (b) rights and obligation of international labors, and employer as well, (c) formal requirement and standard, (d) equal working appointment, (e) a high priority in humanistic values of anti-slavery, discrimination, gender equality, and anti-human trade. To allocate international labors professionally at home is necessary to get any support of the Indonesian government for striving the approval of the allocation of international labors in Malaysia by completing MoU where there are four items, including (a) an increase in a wage rate ranging from Rp 1,600,000 to Rp 2,000,000, (b) international labors’ passports kept by themselves, (c) a furlough in each weekend, and (d) establishment of Task Force to handle international labors between The Malaysian and Indonesian governments.

7. Conclusion

There are seven main reasons for the Indonesian maids from Central Java abused by the employers in Malaysia, including (1) miscommunication between the employer and servant (2) low competency amongst the maids 3) employer’s high expectation, (4) different culture, (5) feudalistic and slaver attitude, influencing an employer on his or her servant, (6) less structured institutions and less efficient foreign workers agencies, and (7) different Act.

In the essence, the responsibilities of BP3TKI for the case of violence or abuse against foreign workers in Malaysia are legitimate and non-legitimate. The BP3TKI is responsible for (1) ensuring the identity of Indonesian labors (whether they are legally or illegally recorded in Central Java, (2) asking PPTKIS to clarify, (3) coordinating with an agency, (4) submitting the case to the Indonesian Embassy to call the two parties, (5) making a decision in whether they want to work in or go home, and (6) supervising the arrival of female workers when leaving Malaysia for the place of origin.

The cooperative agreement of both countries (Indonesia and Malaysia) to cope with the problem of Indonesian labors and female workers in Malaysia is as follows. (a) The Indonesian government will guarantee that an employer who has paid for a fee to the servant agencies in Malaysia and Indonesia will get a servant from Indonesia. (b) The two governments establish an agency for ensuring all issues that related to decision making on the Indonesian servants to be resolved. (c) The two parties have agreed that the servants will get a one-day or a week furlough by their employers based on the agreement between them, regarding a furlough date. If the servants do not get any furlough, the employer will give some compensation to them. (d) All of the cases can be solved by the Malaysian and Indonesian Association. (5) The Malaysian and Indonesian governments will review MoU regarding labor migration signed on May, 2006.

In specific, the Malaysian government (1) ensures that every employer has a bank account for his or her servants so that the Ministry of Human Resources can monitor a pay for the servants. (2) Every servant gets a protection from Working Compensation Act. (3) A standard contract will be provided by the Malaysia Labor Department be signed by an employer and servant concerning the length of contract and etc.

A model of cooperation for sending Indonesian labors professionally is as follows: (1) completing and reviewing MoU, especially regarding (a) an increase in a wage rate ranging from Rp 1,600,000 to Rp 2,000,000,
(b) passports of Indonesian labors kept by themselves, (c) a furlough in each weekend, and (d) establishment of Task Force to handle Indonesian labors between The Malaysian and Indonesian governments; (2) making the Act approved by the two parties; (3) enforcing a clear rule and regulation for the two parties; (4) guaranteeing rights and obligation of female workers; (5) determining formal requirement and standard; (6) making an equal working appointment; and (7) keeping a high priority in humanistic values of anti-slavery, discrimination, gender equality, and anti-human trade.

As a conclusion, Malaysia stills very much in needs of domestic servants from Indonesia and finds that Indonesia is the best source of housemaids. Even though there are other sources of domestic servants such as Myanmar, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Thailand, Malaysia would prefer housemaids from Indonesia viewing from its close culture, religious and language. However, the unscrupulous employers had spoil both countries relationship and to some extent retard the Indonesian government from sending its females workers to Malaysia. Nevertheless, both countries have taken several steps to overcome the problems and hoping that the new enforcement will work well.

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### Table 1: Number of International Migrants in Malaysia (%)

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<td></td>
<td>(Year)</td>
<td>(Year)</td>
<td>(Year)</td>
<td>(Year)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>269,194(65.7)</td>
<td>788,221(73.8)</td>
<td>1,211,584(66.7)</td>
<td>1,085,658(52.6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>110,788(27.0)</td>
<td>82,642(7.7)</td>
<td>55,364(3.0)</td>
<td>316,401(15.3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>2,130(0.5)</td>
<td>20,599(1.9)</td>
<td>5,751(0.3)</td>
<td>21,065(1.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>7,299(1.8)</td>
<td>21,234(2.0)</td>
<td>21,735(1.2)</td>
<td>26,713(1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>2,605(0.6)</td>
<td>2,000(0.2)</td>
<td>13,297(0.7)</td>
<td>21,278(1.0)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>17,644(4.3)</td>
<td>152,833(14.3)</td>
<td>507,507(28.0)</td>
<td>591,481(28.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>409,660(100.0)</td>
<td>1,067,529(100.0)</td>
<td>1,815,238(100.0)</td>
<td>2,062,596(100.0)</td>
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Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Malaysia, various years.

### Table 2: The Distribution of Indonesian Workers Abroad by Gender 1994-2007

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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42,833</td>
<td>39,309</td>
<td>137,949</td>
<td>84,075</td>
<td>152,887</td>
<td>1,479,063</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>132,354</td>
<td>195,944</td>
<td>297,273</td>
<td>295,615</td>
<td>543,859</td>
<td>4,145,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>175,187</td>
<td>235,253</td>
<td>435,222</td>
<td>380,690</td>
<td>696,746</td>
<td>5,624,097</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASIA PACIFIC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>70,733</td>
<td>101,621</td>
<td>304,186</td>
<td>160,970</td>
<td>351,966</td>
<td>3,083,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>15,878</td>
<td>35,487</td>
<td>25,707</td>
<td>9,131</td>
<td>37,496</td>
<td>2,004,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei</td>
<td>1,846</td>
<td>2,659</td>
<td>4,370</td>
<td>6,503</td>
<td>5,852</td>
<td>62,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hongkong</td>
<td>3,306</td>
<td>5,282</td>
<td>21,709</td>
<td>14,183</td>
<td>29,273</td>
<td>193,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>3,423</td>
<td>9,597</td>
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