

Suffer to Survive: The Indonesian Illegal Workers Experiences in Malaysia and Japan

ALI MAKSUM¹

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

SURWANDONO

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Abstract

This article departs from the reality that many Indonesian workers have been sentenced to the court and charged under the immigration act due to illegal work and overstay. Subsequently, Malaysian government, for instance, has made some arrests and mass-deportation, while all illegal workers were prosecuted and sentenced before their deportation. In other words, the illegal worker in Malaysia especially from Indonesia were arrested and treated as a criminal. Interestingly International Organization for Migration (IOM) listed Malaysia as one of the dangerous places for migrant workers. In contrast to this, Japan is one of the country with lowest risk of forced labour. This article urges readers to engage in a reflection on the trend and dynamics of the Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia and Japan, while the Indonesian government incessantly take advantages from their large remittance. This is a qualitative research supplemented by semi-structured interviews with some key respondents especially who have experiences and expertise on Indonesian illegal workers. Systematically, the discussion of this article is divided into five sections, namely, history of Indonesian migrant workers, Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia, Indonesian illegal workers in Japan, the struggles and conclusion. The gained empirical data revealed that Indonesian workers have their own perspectives and reasons pertaining the illegal workers' issues.

Keywords: Indonesian; Illegal Workers; Exploitation; Contribution; Malaysia; Japan.

Introduction

The raise of globalization is a phenomenon, which has made the world become more complex. Global society had witnessed so-called economic interdependence, while the concept itself has also been enlarged and involves non-state actors/transnational. In the liberalism scholars' point of view, this phenomenon is called as "complex interdependence" (Keohane & Nye, 2001, pp. 20-32). Keohane & Nye (2001) believe that in the complex interdependence, international relations have not emphasized on state-to-state relations per se. People-to-people relations as well as transnational organizations should also take into account as international relations phenomena. Further, the relationships among them were real and hard to control. This is due to the emergence of "multiple channels" (Keohane & Nye, 2001, p. 21) in the globalization era has totally affected the transformation of human relations. People could build their relationship and contact with their partners worldwide beyond the state borders.

Migration is one of easy examples of how human movements become free and uncontrolled – including in Malaysia-Indonesia migration phenomena. Migration is often framed as a security problem – a threat to public order, national identity and welfare (Huysmans, 2006) – and irregular migration as a criminal offense (Bigo, 2003; Themistocleous, 2013; Pinyol-Jiménez, 2012). Whereas trade and finance are subjects to global regulation, human mobility is not governed by a formal regime

¹ Postal Address: Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Jl. Lingkar Selatan, Tamantirto, Kasihan, Bantul, Yogyakarta Indonesia 55183. E-mail Address: amaksun@gmail.com.

(except for refugees) (Kalm, 2012). In short, while capital, goods and skilled workers circulate freely; unskilled migrants do not, at least not in a legal fashion. Thus, “mobility is a privilege that is unevenly distributed among human beings” (Pécoud & de Guchteneire, 2006). Migration control is a complex and costly endeavour including border patrols, issuing of visas and residence permits, prosecuting, detaining and removing undocumented migrants (Pécoud & de Guchteneire, 2006).

Conceptually, migration is defined as “an inflow or outflow of population from a defined region to another region for a permanent or semi-permanent settlement” (Mishra, 1981, pp. 227-228). Specifically, the United Nations (1970, No. 47) revealed that migration is the movement by people from one place to another more than one year with the purpose of work for a permanent migration, and one year or less than one year for temporary migrant, provided they receive pay from sources within the countries they enter. Meanwhile, the influx of human migration is influenced by some factors such as not enough jobs, few opportunities, political fear or persecution, for job opportunities, and for better living condition (Lee, 1966).

Much has been written about Indonesian migrant workers, however, very few analysts have tried to make a comparison between two countries where many Indonesian workers were placed. Most of them are more focused on specific countries and theme such as Indonesian workers in Malaysia (Liow, 2003; Azmy, 2012; Lin, 2006), and in Saudi Arabia (Husson, 1997; Silvey, 2004; Diederich, 2005). There are no comparative studies that attempt to examine Indonesian workers in the two specific destination countries. Saudi Arabia and Malaysia are the two main destination countries of Indonesian migrant workers. Nevertheless, in both countries, Indonesian workers generally faced similar experiences whether from their employers or from the government. Both countries are also relatively undemocratic, where public voices are strictly taken control by the government of Malaysia (Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, 2008) and Saudi Arabia (Meijer & Aarts, 2012). In contrast, Japan is recognized as a stable democratic country and the world’s third largest economy (Woodall, 2014; Takayoshi, 1966). In addition, Japan is listed as the country with the lowest risk use of forced labour with only 0.73% compared to Malaysia (75.76%), Singapore (0.76%), and Saudi Arabia (1.73%) (International Organization for Migration, 2010). This study is, therefore, a relatively novel undertaking, which can modestly contribute to enrich the related body of literature by providing an assessment of Indonesian migrant workers especially in Malaysia and Japan with a comparative perspective.

In the context of Indonesian migration in Malaysia or Japan there have some specific events involving Indonesian migrant workers, for instance, illegal workers, undocumented workers, and forced labour, which are closely related to the bad treatment and exploitations. Nevertheless, the occurrence of those phenomena was mainly due to the workers and employers do not make official registration to the authorities. This is because the workers and the employers attempt to avoid tax obligations or circumvention and non-compliance with other laws (Feige, 2016). Consequently, some abuse cases emerged, which are commonly faced by migrant workers such as forced labour. According to International Labour Organization (2016) forced labour “refers to situations in which persons are coerced to work through the use of violence or intimidation, or by more subtle means such as accumulated debt, retention of identity papers or threats of denunciation to immigration authorities”. Consequently, this research has three objectives, namely:

1. To understand the background of Indonesian migrant workers
2. To understand the development and scenarios of the Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia and Japan;
3. To analyse the Japanese and Malaysian government policies towards Indonesian illegal workers;

Methodology

Type of Research

This analysis is based on qualitative research with content analysis. The qualitative methods are more flexible for the researcher since they allow for greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participants (Trochim, 2006). The qualitative research aims at answering questions such as how, what and/or why (Robson, 2011).

Furthermore, this qualitative research also involves an inductive approach which seeks to understand a particular case, including individual experiences (Trochim, 2006). Generally, this method can be applied to various fields of social sciences such as historiography, ethnography, and qualitative sociology. Thus, according to Bryman (2008) qualitative studies typically focus on the use and meaning of words instead of counting the collected data.

Moreover, Hale (1991) asserts that a qualitative research cannot be identified as a low-quality project. This is because the qualitative approach has been widely accepted and is becoming increasingly popular among researchers of various disciplines including contemporary policy research (Meadows, 2008). In addition, the qualitative method is appropriate for dissertation (Patton, 2002). The direct interaction between researchers and respondents gave accurate results that tend to be more accurate than other research designs. Based on these observations, this article will focus on Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia and Japan. This research attempts to gather as much data and information as possible related to the influx of illegal migration from Indonesia to Malaysia and Japan.

Data collection

The data was obtained mainly from:- i) official documents such as annual reports, official publications, white papers from the related agencies/ministries and think-tanks which are publicly available; and ii) relevant information in various published forms such as official declarations, press statements, and media reports/commentaries/debates/interviews through newspapers, magazines and on-line media. Furthermore, some letters, especially from media coverage whether from Indonesia, Malaysia and Japan such as *Kompas*, *The Jakarta Post*, *Okezone*, *Jawa Pos*, *The Rakyat Post*, *Astro Awani* and *The Japan Times* were crucial empirical sources to support this study.

This qualitative research does not use random sampling but purposive sampling (Moleong, 2000). This method allows the researchers to select respondents to be interviewed based on the particular characteristics which are considered to have a correlation with the populations that have been identified previously (Hadi, 2000; Marshall, 1996). Therefore, this research is enriched by empirical data through interviews with selected people who have experiences with Indonesian illegal workers whether in Malaysia or Japan. The people who have been interviewed for this study are all Indonesian migrants who have worked either in Malaysia or Japan: Muhammad and Jemali (Malaysia) and Fakhuri (Japan). We have also successfully interviewed official from Indonesian Consulate General in Penang, Malaysia as well as Indonesian migrant workers expert from Universiti Sains Malaysia where the research is conducted. These latter people/actors are important to understand Indonesian illegal workers both in Malaysia and Japan.

Data analysis

In this study, the authors use content analysis. Content analysis is carried out systematically through an analysis of the content of the data resources. According to Creswell (2009), content analysis is one of the special techniques for the qualitative study. Content analysis is a useful research technique to make conclusive inferences that can be repeated and valid from a text (or other materials). Content analysis is a scientific tool that involves special procedures aimed to provide new insights, to enhance researchers' understanding of particular phenomena, or to describe a practical action (Krippendorff, 2004; White & Marsh, 2006). In addition, this approach requires a profound reading of the text materials which is relatively few. This approach allows researchers to interpret the text, whether analytically or critical, into the narrative that can be academically accepted (Krippendorff, 2004). Moreover, the content analysis is a technique that is widely used for qualitative research especially policy research.

Through this research mechanism, the authors allow to systematically link the data related to Indonesian workers in Malaysia and Japan. Furthermore, we have conducted a review of previous studies, find the gaps, and use the existing data, categorise data, events, interviews, documents, and information throughout the research. Specifically, we have conducted a study on the motivations, actions, comments related to the Indonesian illegal workers issues in Malaysia and Japan. In addition, this study offers a systematic analysis of the background and scenarios of the Indonesian workers in Malaysia and Japan (Hermann, 2008). In fact, the writing process of this research, we found out some data that need to be re-adapted and re-interpreted. Nevertheless, the content analysis approach allows

the researchers to use various types of data such as statistics, images, diagrams, and others to support the analysis of this study (Wesley, 2010).

Data Presentation

The research and the writing process of qualitative research is a complex due to the fact that it runs concurrently from the data collection, data analysis and interpretation of data. This situation departs from the nature of qualitative research data which are subjective, interpretive, descriptive, holistic, and more quantitative. The findings are technically presented through direct quotes (Krippendorff, 2004; Ahmad Naqiyuddin Bakar, 2008) or descriptions while some data such as statistics can also be visualised (Ruenwai, 2006).

According to Cohen & Crabtree (2006), data presentation can be done through selecting key quotes, build a table or matrix, chart or model. In addition, the direct quotes, facts/stories from interviews, focus group discussion, notes or natural conversations and other data are a common methodology used in qualitative research. The use of direct quotations is very important since it allows the reader to examine and assess the data collected and have been analysed by the researchers as well as to understand the findings of the analysis. The readers can also review the reasonableness of ideas, credibility or validity of the researchers claim (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). However, data presentations in the qualitative research are generally flexible (Creswell, 2009).

Indonesian Migrant Workers: An Overview

The Indonesian Secretary of State records that before Indonesia gained independence from the Dutch colonial, many Indonesian migrant workers had been deployed to some areas. The colonial government enforced a program known as the slave labour program or forced labour to be placed particularly in Suriname, New Caledonia, Thailand, and Sarawak (Eastern Malaysia) since 1887. Traditionally, Indonesian workers migrate to Malaysia due to the geographical proximity. Most of them had been granted citizenship by the Malaysian government. Officially, however, the Indonesian government under the Ministry of Labour Affairs had endorsed migrant workers in 1969 following the approval of Labour Act 1970 (*PP No. 4 Tahun 1970*). Ministry of Labour divided migrant worker programs into two groups which involved private agencies, namely *Antar Kerja Antar Daerah (AKAD)* (cross-regional/provinces migration) and *Antar Kerja Antar Negara (AKAN)* (cross-country migration) (Erman, 2008). Currently, the private agencies organized under *Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (PJTKI)* or Indonesian Migrant Workers Agency. The main tasks of PJTKI are to recruit, to place, and to ensure the migrant workers' safety during their arrival (Irwan, 2008).

Meanwhile, the Indonesian government has also made effort to improve services in the host countries, build effective mechanism as well as data management and enhance cooperation among agencies. In 2004 for instance, the government enacted the placement and protection of migrant worker act known as *Undang-Undang No. 39 Tahun 2004*. Previously, the authority ratified some International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions followed by implementation of Indonesian acts. For instance, (1) Convention No. 105 on abolition of certain forms of forced labour, which is still allowed under the Forced Labour Convention of 1930 followed by the implementation of *Undang Undang No. 19 Tahun 1999*; (2) the ILO Convention No. 111 concerning anti-discrimination followed by *Undang-Undang No. 21 Tahun 1999*; (3) the ILO Convention No. 138 regarding minimum age for admission to employment, the parliament passed *Undang-Undang No. 20 Tahun 1999*. The latest was the ratification of International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families of the United Nations 1990. In line with this scenario, the government initiates to establish a special agency to manage migrant workers professionally called *Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (BNP2TKI)* or National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers.

In the midst of the increasing number of migrant workers, Indonesian government absolutely gained advantages especially from their remittances (Wan, 2012). The head of BNP2TKI asserted that “the money remitted by the Indonesian overseas workers [...] does not include cash

they brought by themselves or entrusted to their colleagues when they returned home” (The Jakarta Post, 13/1/2014). This figure perhaps does not reflect the real amount due to the “multiple channels” to bring their salary and do not remit through legal channels. The Malaysian Deputy Finance Minister Ahmad Maslan pointed out that “the amount had gone up due to an increase of access to non-banking financial institutions that allowed foreigners to transfer their money to their home countries, [...] most of them are working illegally in Malaysia” (The Jakarta Post, 12/11/2013). The figure below shows the latest trend of Indonesian migrant workers remittances from 2010 up to 2014.



Figure 1: *The Trend of Remittances by Indonesian Foreign Workers (Billion USD)*

Source: Central Bank of the Republic of Indonesia (Bank Indonesia, 2015)

The figure depicts the development of remittances which the trend is moderately rising. From 2010 up to 2013 the amount was steady on 6 to 7 USD. However, in the following year the money that has been transferred to Indonesia was higher than the previous three before, reaching above USD 8 billion. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), it reports that the largest amount of remittance came from Malaysia (USD 2.3 billion) and Saudi Arabia (USD 2.2 billion). The remittances flowing from Malaysia to Indonesia is 35 percent of the total remittances in 2009, followed by Saudi Arabia with USD 2.2 billion (33%). The balance of the total remittances comes from various countries such as Hong Kong USD 425 million (6.6%), Taiwan with USD 425 million (6.4%), Singapore with USD 425 million (6.4%), United Arab Emirates with USD 179 million (2.7%), and Japan with USD 142 million (2.1%) (International Organization for Migration, 2010). This achievement placed Indonesia as the third-largest recipient of remittances in Southeast Asia, where the first and second ranks are the Philippines and Vietnam respectively (World Bank Migration and Development Brief, 2012).

Apparently, the above achievement is unfortunate, likely due to resulting from lower skilled workers compared to more highly skilled Philippines peers. The Indonesians are lacking of language and work skills, leaving them prone to exploitation and torture by unscrupulous employers and labour agencies. Indonesian migrant workers were seen as under educated (The Jakarta Post, 29/4/2013). Therefore, these are the real problems behind the big contribution of Indonesian migrant workers. On the other hand, officially-deployed workers usually stay overseas for more than a year and many overseas workers do not go through official channels, since the number of overseas Indonesian contract workers at any one time is several times greater than the annual number of deployments. Further, Indonesian migrant workers were increasingly feminized and undocumented. According to IOM, nearly 79% Indonesian migrant workers were women, while BNP2TKI mentioned a lower margin, which comprises of 56% for female workers and the remaining were male (44% to 46%) (International Organization for Migration, 2010). This difference between the two sources is due to the data from BNP2TKI is generally based on the official record, while the Indonesian undocumented workers are not well recorded. The Indonesian official is also difficult to obtain the real data due to many Indonesian workers used illegal channels. The Johor State of Malaysia, especially in Pengerang, Ladang Mados, Sungai Tiram, Tanjung Sedili, and Tanjung Balau, are well-known as illegal exit and entry locations for many Indonesian illegal workers. Many have blamed that some Indonesian citizens and

Malaysian permanent residents, are responsible for this complicated situation, which directly impacted to the documentation of the Indonesian workers especially in Malaysia (The Rakyat Post, 19/7/2015). The figure below shows the distribution of Indonesian migrant workers based on gender.

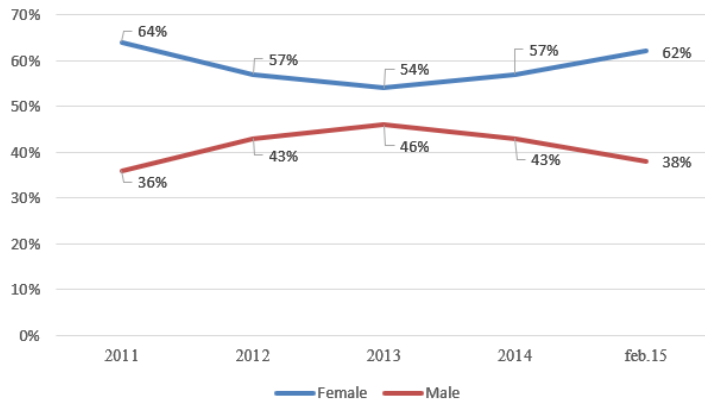


Figure 2: *The Distribution of Indonesian Migrant Workers Based on Gender*
Source: (BNP2TKI, 2015)

The following figure indicates the trend of Indonesian migrant workers’ deployment from 2011 to February 2015.

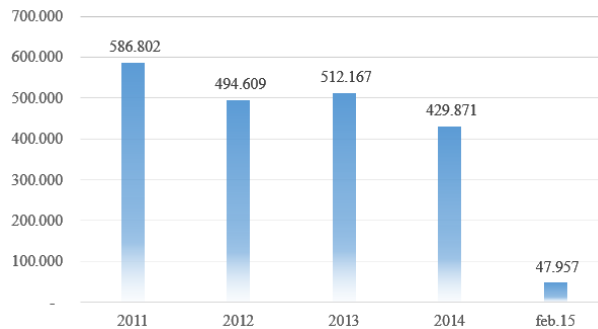


Figure 3: *Indonesian Migrant Workers Placement (2011-2015)*
Source: (BNP2TKI, 2015)

Referring to the above figure, it clearly demonstrates that the trend of Indonesian migrant workers, officially tend to decline albeit fluctuated. In addition, Malaysia recently is the major destination country, together with Taiwan and Saudi Arabia as the second and third place. Approximately 95,785 Indonesian is working in Malaysia alone. While in Japan the number is only 2,036 – extremely lower compared to Malaysia (BNP2TKI, 2015).

Working Illegally in Malaysia: demanded, exploited and humiliated

Until 2012, the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur reports that the Indonesians who worked in Malaysia have reached two million people, and half of them work and live undocumented or even do not have any single official identification document (Caraka, 2012). Consequently, various social and security issues began to emerge following the involvement of Indonesian workers in criminal activity and social problems. Joseph Liow recorded, for instance, in 1987 alone around 36% of the prisoners in Malaysian prisons were Indonesian (Liow, 2005). The trend

of involvement of foreigners, especially from Indonesia, in criminal activity was increased in 1990s. In 1996, for example, the criminal cases committed by foreign nationals consist of 27.3% which include murder, 18% attempted murder, 35.6% armed-group robberies and 16.3% armed robberies. It has been believed that half of them were Indonesian (Nor, 2005). Nevertheless, in fact, compared to the overall data of criminal cases across Malaysia, the number of Indonesian immigrants who involved in criminal cases was absolutely small, only 2.05% of the total cases around 65,737, while the rest of (97.95%) were locals (Nasrullah, 2009). Further, a Malaysian analyst denied the Indonesian contribution, hence the influx of foreign workers including from Indonesia has brought many long-term negative impacts (Rusniah, Mohamed & Saadon, 2014).

Malaysian government pushed to take serious attention against migrant workers. Numerous security operations were enforced involving police, immigration, military, and volunteer paramilitary forces called as *Ikatan Relawan Rakyat Malaysia (RELA)*. However, the impact of the government's affirmative action was not significant due to the trend of Indonesian involvement in various criminal cases was seen to rise. In 1998, for instance, Indonesian workers involved in a riot at a detention camp in Semenyih, Selangor, which resulted in a policeman and eight illegal immigrants died while thirty others were wounded. Subsequently, in 2001 the Indonesian immigrants were also involved in an anarchist riot in Immigration Detention Machap Umboo, Malacca, and in the temporary detention centre in Pekan Nenas, Pontian, Johor. Additionally, in 2001, Indonesian immigrants were also engaged in a largest scale riot, where many Indonesian attacked the police forces in Nilai, Negeri Sembilan (Nor, 2005). As a result, the government strongly condemns this terrible violence and urged to re-examine Indonesian workers through the "Hire Indonesians Last" policy (Liow, 2005). This rumbling situation was tremendously not tolerated by the Malaysian government due to the Indonesian workers' violent behaviour, which is seen as overtly extreme and ungrateful. Malaysian government was so angry due to "they [Indonesian immigrant workers] had the cheek to wave the Indonesian flag. They are not in Jakarta. They are in Malaysia" (Straits Times, 22/1/ 2002). In addition, the government began to fear, especially Malay politicians, due to some Indonesian Christian preaching their religion towards Malay Muslim community (Liow, 2003). In a further development, some workers began to be stricken with various problems of either crime or mistreatment. Some employers, for instance have involved in serious criminal offence towards the maids from Indonesia, such as torture, sexual assault, exploitation, unworthy place and so on (Wan, 2012).

Since the 1970s until the 2000s the two countries have hold a series of consultations to resolve the problems of Indonesian workers. To the government of Malaysia, the Indonesian government was perceived as not being serious regarding illegal workers' issues. In contrast to this, the Indonesian government has accused the Malaysian government which seems to tend to exaggerate and dramatize the issues (Liow, 2005). Following the failure of negotiations, the Malaysian government carried out a massive deportation towards Indonesian illegal workers. This massive deportation was part of Malaysian policy called *Operasi Nyah* (Go Away Operation) to handle the influx of illegal immigrants which were totally uncontrolled in the middle of the 1997 economic crisis. In July 2002, the Malaysian Immigration Department continually has sent home around 253,540 illegal immigrants where 82% were Indonesians (Liow, 2005). However, the two countries have failed to obtain a satisfactory agreement although two negotiations were held (Liow, 2003). Some non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as the human rights organization in Malaysia called *Suara Rakyat Malaysia* (SUARAM) and *Tenaganita* have strongly blamed the violence actions conducted by government as serious human rights abuses. Furthermore, the two NGOs also suspected that the series of riots were caused by police provocation (Liow, 2004).

According to Migrant Care, an NGO concerned on migration issues, recorded that the number of deaths involving workers in Malaysia was quite high. Migrant Care estimates that in 2007 alone, at least 653 deaths of Indonesian workers were successfully tracked in Malaysia. The number decreased in 2008 with the total of cases of death of about 513 and until 2009 the trend was downgraded to 70 workers died in Malaysia. In addition, during 2006-2008 at least 289 cases of abuse towards Indonesian migrant workers have occurred (Silfia, 2009). In 2008, several abuse cases involving Indonesian workers had appeared in the Indonesian mainstream media. In January 2008, for instance, Yasinta Moy, a maid from Indonesia has been mistreated by her

employee that affected her mental condition (PAB Online, 2008). Subsequently in September 2008, an Indonesian worker has suffered serious injuries after being beaten and forced to drink boiling water by her employer in the state of Negeri Sembilan (Jawa Pos, 2/9/2008). Still on the same month, a migrant worker has been raped by five masked-men in Penang (Kompas, 12/9/2008). The number of such cases is in accordance with the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur that records at least 766 cases occur each year (Bustami, Karim & Maksum, 2012).

The emergence of various problems following the rise of the abuse cases has a close correlation with the background behind the cases. The background of the workers and employers should be seriously considered by both parties. Many workers, for instance, have poor social background such as divorced, family conflict, and involved in black magic (Milenia Muslim, 2009). Similarly, among employers also exist several problems, such as having emotional problem. This situation has resulted in various incidents such as stealing, damaging of goods, being lazy, and lying that often causes the employer to become annoyed (Milenia Muslim, 2009). These phenomena were certainly not published by the press either in Indonesia or Malaysia (Milenia Muslim, 2009). Meanwhile, the same decision is also made by media in Malaysia by providing “over” coverage towards Indonesian workers.

Malaysia has completely become international spotlight due to the rise of abuse cases involving housemaids especially from Indonesia. Following some cases, Malaysia was strongly suspected of committing human rights abuses towards migrant workers. International society has also been urged to charge the employers seriously. Some factors are believed to have determined the rise of the number of cases. One of the important factors is the existence of recruitment agents operating across the country, either during their recruitment process in Indonesia or upon their arrival in Malaysia. An analyst pushed that “Malaysia must punish the recruitment agents accused of forcing more than 100 foreign women to work as unpaid domestic helpers and should enforce laws to protect migrant workers” Majority of Indonesians affirmed that
 “they had been forced to work as domestic helpers and at food stalls, been given little food and been confined to a four-story building at night, [...] they had been beaten by the supervisors, [...] They locked them up. They couldn’t go anywhere” (The New York Times, 3/12/2012).

The form of exploitation towards Indonesian illegal workers by the employers also varies. One of the Indonesian senior officers, for instance, explained how the Indonesian workers have been exploited when the Malaysian Royal Palace was built. At the time, he said that “once all Indonesian unpaid workers already finished their job, the “employer” report and invite the police forces to arrest them” (Interview 2013/2014).

Therefore, the Indonesian government urged to re-examine the deployment of the migrant workers to go abroad including to Malaysia. Malaysia has become a special attention due to the number of the cases involving migrant workers, notably Indonesian informal workers are extremely high. The high number of Indonesian migrant workers who have been charged with death penalty demonstrated that many of them were involved in serious problems in the work places. In 2010 alone for instance, Indonesian government has released that around 345 Indonesian workers have faced death penalty, which most of them are from Aceh (Politik Indonesia, 29/8/2010). The latest report of Indonesian Foreign Ministry in February 2015 states that 229 Indonesian citizens have been charged with death penalty and most of them were in the three main countries, such as Malaysia (168 cases), Saudi Arab (38 cases) and China (15 cases) (Okezone, 25/2/2015). The head of BNP2TKI, Nusron Wahid recognized that the recruitment agents were one of the main factors behind the growing number of Indonesian workers’ exploitations (Okezone, 18/4/2015). As a result, the Indonesian government has decided to regularly decrease and would permanently stop the deployment of Indonesian informal workers abroad, except for professional workers.

Moreover, Malaysian public perceptions towards Indonesian workers were more negative than before. There are three negative images embedded in Indonesian workers, especially for female despite there were also many Indonesian females who cannot be included in this group. All the three images were “slave,” “part-time employee/prostitutes” and “cheating wife” (Silfia, 2009). Nevertheless, these images are cannot separated from their education background which

absolutely low. According to a report, majority of Indonesian workers in Malaysia were high school graduates (Muhammad & Arifin, 2009). However, according to the Ministry of Social Affairs of Indonesia, around 56.8% of the workers were only primary school graduates. In line with this, many Indonesians also felt of being insulted due to the use of the term “Indon” by Malaysian newspapers when reporting and exploiting the cases involving Indonesian workers (Nasrullah, 2009).² Further, the Malaysian government and the media also did not hesitate to call the Indonesian workers as “troublemaker” (Liow, 2004).

In general views, Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia at least face three conditions, which basically stem from the worst environment. First, the high number of unemployment, the limited job vacancies, and chronic poverty in Indonesia, were arguably become the primary factor. These conditions, of course, trigger many Indonesian to migrate and improve their live even riskier. Under limited information and knowledge, Malaysia was perceived as the best destination that promises better income, cultural similarities and geographically close. Second, some employers in Malaysia prefer to recruit Indonesian illegal workers with various reasons, such as cheap, easy to communicate and hard workers. However, some employers were violated the agreement committed before. Eventually, this factor leads to the violence towards the employers, such as murder and even riots. The third factor is work environment. The work environment means that the surrounding area is a critical factor due to some reasons. For instance, the majority of the Indonesian workers in Malaysia totally understood that they live far from the family’s supervision and nobody will supervise them. Thus, they could manage their life freely, which finally leads to some immoral cases such as free-sex, prostitution, and abortion. The three factors portrayed the overall condition of Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia, i.e., demanded, exploited and humiliated.

Working Illegally in Japan: illegal is more profitable

The Japan Ministry of Justice has recorded that until 2013 there are approximately 67,065 illegal immigrants who reside in the country. Korea, China, and the Philippines are among the largest contributor of illegal migrants in Japan with above 10%. While the remaining countries are lower with numerous percentages. The complete configuration of the top ten countries can be described in the figure below. Officially, the Japan government strictly oppose unskilled labour to work in the country through the closed-door immigration policy. However, in fact, via so-called TITP (Technical Intern Training Program), Japan has indirectly invited young people from Asian countries for a training found to be *de facto* low-skilled workers (Nidya, 2013).

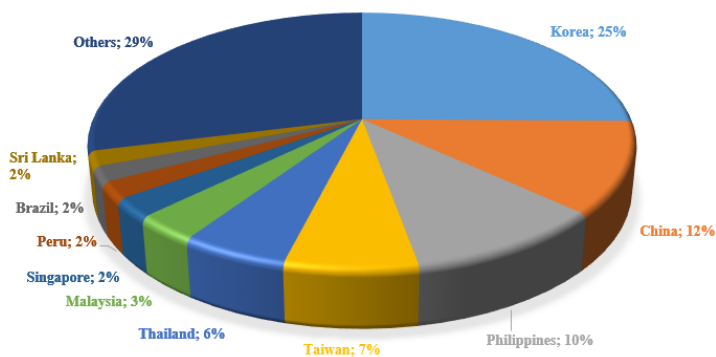


Figure 4: Illegal Migrants in Japan (2013)

Source: Japan Ministry of Justice (2013)

² The term “Indon” is completely controversial and terribly unacceptable to many Indonesian people. This term is perceived as racist and humiliate Indonesian people. In fact, many Indonesians in Malaysia also use it and at the same time, many Malaysian call Indonesian as “Indon” not as a derogatory term, yet to be more practical and as a short form like Bangla to call Bangladeshi, Thai for Thai people.

The figure indicates that Indonesian workers are not listed on the data. The number is seen to drop compared to the previous years, which still ranked Indonesia in the top ten of the irregular migrant workers' contributor in Japan (Japanese Immigration Bureau, 2003). The trend is also similar with other countries, which their numbers fluctuate each year. However, the statistic is dominated by countries such as Korea, China, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, and Iran (Kashiwazaki, 2002). Generally, according to Haning Romdiati, they became illegal due to some reasons: 1) those who enter on a tourist or entertainment visa but violate the terms of their visa by taking up (other) employment; 2) legal workers whose work permits have expired; 3) "technical trainees" who abandoned their contract workplace for a factory with higher pay and better working conditions. Haning Romdiati believes that although no precise data on Indonesian illegal workers exists, her impression was that the number was quite large, as seen in the observed concentration of workers by ethnicity or place of origin. In Tokyo for instance, many Indonesians gather weekly in Ueno Park to wait for potential employers and brokers to approach them. The Indonesian workers became and remain illegal workers due to the difficulty for unskilled workers to obtain work permission. Furthermore, the demand on illegal workers increased due to the emergence of problems among employers in Japan. Some employers are eager to save their budget by hiring low skilled labours, which are mostly illegal migrants. The strategy is smart due to many workers are willing to "undertake dirty, physically hard, and often dangerous jobs at low salary and without insurance benefits, which are generally shunned by Japanese workers". The Indonesia Embassy in Tokyo discovered that some Indonesians work in the sex industry in Oarai and Tokyo. Yet, many Indonesians were also employed in agricultural plantations, maritime, and fishing industries, for instance in Ibaragi (Haning, 2003).

Some analysts believe that up to 70% of illegal immigrants in Japan were expired-visa holders. Specifically, Ministry of Justice has released in 2013 that the percentage of illegal immigrants classified as "short stay" were about 7,375 (13.6%), "Japanese spouse" 783 people (13.4%), and the remaining were various, such as college students, entertainer or others. This statistic was calculated from the total of illegal migrants in Japan, which are nearly 67,065 as illustrated in figure 4 (Japan Ministry of Justice, 2013). It was indicated that many workers use multiple ways and with conditions that have tempted them to become illegal. Generally, however, after many Indonesian workers arrived in Japan, some of them use informal networks of their relatives and friends or even illegal agencies and promoters to change jobs, as irregular workers have always done (Okushima, 2005).

The discussion concerning Indonesian migrant workers in Japan is slightly different compared to, for instance, Korean migrants. The geographical and cultural proximity are the two factors embedded in the Korean migrants' issues in Japan, while this has also become political commodity for local politicians (Chung, 2010). This situation is similar with the Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia as explained in the earlier section. However, the ways the Japanese government handle the foreign migrants, especially illegal workers, are more advanced compared to Malaysia. Although there were many differences in terms of complexity of migrant problems between the two countries, Japanese policy has been seen as more "civilized." In fact, Japanese government tends to be more tolerant towards migrant workers and makes effort to provide social cohesion between immigrants and local community. According to Erin Aeran Chung:

[...] although Japan Ministry of Justice officials could turn a blind eye to the swelling ranks of immigrants in Japan, local government officials were forced to create some sort of immigrant integration program to maintain social and political stability in their communities (Chung, 2010, p. 155).

One of the most important program carried out by the local government for immigrants was system of assemblies and advisory councils, through which foreign residents could represent their interests (Chung, 2010). Nevertheless, immigrants in Japan were also endorsed to build "organization" for their aspiration, despite the fact that many immigrants struggle to meet their basic needs due to language and cultural barriers, legal obstacles, and social discrimination especially in health care access (Chung, 2010). It means that even the government itself recognizes the resistance of the society, yet the authority has the good will to resolve the problems in the best way. In Ryoko Yamamoto's point of view "the autonomy and expertise of

migrant-support NGOs enable them to challenge the state and create the basis for their modest yet significant political impact.” Further, he wrote that

[...] the real problem the country faces is not crimes by foreigners, but, rather, the xenophobia of the Japanese government, political leaders, and the media. Blaming migrants for Japan’s crime problem is nothing but an expression of discrimination. In fact, approximately 98% of crimes are committed by Japanese (Ryoko, 2015).

As it is in Malaysia, many Japanese employers strictly keep their employees’ passport. This aimed to prevent the foreign workers to escape and leave to other factories as illegal workers (Kyushu & Atsushi, 2002). Interestingly, in 1990 the Japan Ministry of Justice has deported roughly 1,217 Indonesian workers or 2.8% of the total number of deported illegal workers by 1996-2000 (Kyushu & Atsushi, 2002). The authors, unfortunately, have not obtain the most current statistic number regarding this trend. Instead, the table below will demonstrate the last scenario of Japan’s policy towards illegal workers.

Table 1: *Number of Illegal Workers Deported by Government of Japan*

No.	Citizenship	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Percentages
1.	South Korea	11,444	10,346	9,360	13,164	11,336	25.7
2.	China (Mainland)	7,403	7,810	7,224	8,278	8,132	18.4
3.	Taiwan	437	557	429	466	492	1.1
4.	Hong Kong (etc.)	82	112	53	60	36	0.1
5.	The Philippines	5,646	5,067	5,631	6,672	7,420	16.8
6.	Thailand	5,561	4,483	3,604	3,926	3,902	8.8
7.	Iran	3,180	2,225	2,219	1,639	1,598	3.6
8.	Peru	4,034	1,694	1,746	1,459	1,458	3.3
9.	Malaysia	2,214	1,579	1,350	1,429	1,288	2.9
10.	Pakistan	1,418	1,152	1,255	1,314	1,217	2.8
11.	Indonesia	817	957	1,210	1,220	1,090	2.4
12.	Bangladesh	926	930	1,067	1,082	1,073	2.4
13.	Others	4,623	4,692	5,387	5,549	5,148	11.5
	Total	47,785	41,604	40,535	46,258	44,190	100%

Source: adopted and modified from Kyushu & Atsushi (2002)

The above table reveals the deportation trend of illegal workers was dominated by South Korea, China and the Philippines, while the rest of the countries are apparently lower including Indonesia. Indonesia was ranked in the eleventh place or number two from the lowest rate. However, the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo estimates that until 2013, there are roughly 1,800 Indonesian citizen working illegally, that was dispersed in some factories in Japan (Berita Satu, 31/10/2013). Specifically, Wilopo, Chief of Immigration office of the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo reports that during 2013 Japanese government has conducted deportation of around 140 Indonesian illegal and over stayers (Tribunews, 23/1/2014).

Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan through its authorized agency Labour and Social Security Attorney assure that all problems related to Indonesian workers will settle through negotiation with various parties including Indonesian embassy as well as the workers. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Embassy has also acknowledged that many Indonesian illegal workers can be cured of the habit as even most of them have been charged and deported under the Japanese law. Yet, they still have strong desire to return to Japan (Berita Satu, 31/10/2013). Majority of illegal workers have also totally understand that the Japanese law is strict and uneasy. According to the government’s Immigration Control Act, all foreigners who have been deported from Japan will be blacklisted to enter the country for a certain period (Japan Ministry of Justice, 2015).

Moreover, the Labour and Social Security Attorney also provides assistances, which significantly help the workers problem. This can be considered as smart idea that should be implemented in countries where many Indonesian workers live, such as in Malaysia. The main objective of this agency is “to provide various kinds of services including classification of

information and analysis of structure, which enables clients to reduce their profitless work.” The agency argue that “products” and “money” of management resources were influenced on by business result and “people” by emotion. Thus, they support clients for making appropriate labour management since it is indispensable to create good employer-employee relationship (Labour Consultant, 2015). This indicates the establishment of this agency is purely to assist and protect the rights of the workers so they can work safely and comfortably. The commitment of this agency can be seen from their structure and apparatus of the organization. Until 2013, the organization has empowered 38,000 personnel from various background such as law, economy, social work, and others (Berita Satu, 31/10/2013).

In the context of Indonesian workers in Japan, of course, some issues related to work condition and exploitation emerge such as “low wages; compulsory overtime; and physical abuse by management”. Furthermore, as unskilled labour, Indonesian workers in Japan are highly possible to face this situation due to some weaknesses related to communication problem (Haning, 2003). However, the number of cases cannot be revealed and no media reporting was made. Furthermore, no specific number or statistic exists in relation to this issue. This situation strongly contradicts with the Indonesian workers in Malaysia, where they were newsworthy and receive wide coverage from both countries’ newsmakers. Furthermore, the cases related to the abuses towards Indonesian workers have primarily become headline news. Nonetheless, in this section I attempt to explain some issues that can offer a bit explanation about the Indonesian workers condition in Japan.

An analysis in Japan argues that, unskilled labours from foreign countries, including from Indonesia, are actually facing difficult situation. On one hand, although they were protected by Japan’s labour law, the work condition is still problematic such as “long working hours under severe conditions, low and unpaid wages as well as abuses such as trainees being confined or being banned from contacting other trainees.” On the other hand, the foreign workers have to fight to sustain their live in Japan with various problems. Until 2013, approximately 80 percent of 2,300 businesses employing trainees covered by the Ministry’s 2013 on-site inspections were found to have violated labour regulations, including safety violations and failure to pay minimum legal wages. The Japanese employers have a simple reason why they still use the foreign low-cost workers, which is the cheap salary and they experience difficulties to recruit local people to fill these vacancies (The Japan Times, 10/2/2015). Consequently, both foreign workers and the Japan employers have “win-win solution” to continue these practices.

In recent development following the construction boom ahead of the 2020 Tokyo Olympic, the demand on foreign workers is high. The Japan government has also revised the immigration policy regarding the period of visa status for foreign workers. Lastly, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has permitted foreign trainees to stay in Japan for five years instead of three. The government was realistic and felt it impossible for the local workers to cover all the projects. The solution is they should take migrant workers from developing countries. In other cases, for instance, Japan was also dependent on such low-skilled sector like care services. Specifically, one of Japanese case worker agency states that “It has been said that we will need 1 million caregivers for the elderly by 2025, which would be impossible to handle only with the Japanese population.” Therefore, to the many employers and people in Japan “the issue is not whether we accept immigrants or not. They are already here, playing a vital role in our society” (The Japan Times, 23/11/2014).

Meanwhile, the lack of language skills was also another obstacle faced by Indonesian workers in Japan, which usually brings them into problems. Although the number is not as high as in Malaysia, yet it still requires serious attention. The death cases involving foreign workers including from Indonesia indicates that Japan has problems with migrant workers. It was estimated that from 2008-2009 around twenty-seven foreign nationals who came to Japan in government-authorized training programs have died. The victims are involved in various cases including brain or heart disease (9), died at work (4), suicide (3), bicycle accidents and the rest died of unknown causes. Most of them are from China (21), Vietnam (3), the Philippines (2) and Indonesia (1). Whereas, there were also thirty-five workers who died in 2008 alone due to numerous cases (Hays, 2015). Moreover, many unskilled-foreign workers especially from Indonesia, who have worked in fisheries sector, had also faced problem notably the low wages

obtained. They only earn USD 375 a month and some of them are paid considerably less than that. According to one of Indonesian seamen, he was paid an amount of USD 280 a month, some are even only paid as low as USD 150 (Hays, 2015).

Meanwhile, the extreme language differences between Japan and Indonesia apparently becomes a barrier to many Indonesian trainees. They should learn the Japanese language from the very basic equal to primary school. Further, many words are difficult to understand or do not have equivalent in the Indonesian language. At the meeting held by Japan Liberal Democratic Party in March 2012, many Indonesian trainees protested the government treatment. Regarding the compulsory national language examination. One of them, for instance, argues "I've suffered physical and mental strain as I've had to study kanji ranging from primary school levels to technical terms all by myself" (Hays, 2015). This indicates that it is not easy for many Indonesian workers to learn Japanese. Their talents and highly dependent on them, yet still being shunned.

In the middle of booming construction industry, Japan has also faced some problems such as the 2011 earthquake, ageing population and low birth rates, as well as the weakening of Japanese Yen. Of course, this situation has an impact to the rate number of foreign workers. Moreover, some employers still need the unskilled foreign workers, while the immigration policy is stricter and more difficult to shift their status to become permanent immigrants. However, the Japanese government has also faced difficulties due to "the population decline cannot not be reversed without immigrants." Besides that, the current system, namely TITP, which is meant to attract foreign youth "is so widely abused by Japanese employers and seriously condemned by the U.S. Department of State as "forced labour" in their report. Nevertheless, many Japanese analysts are still optimistic that the high number of unemployment especially in the developing countries such as Indonesia, Vietnam and, the Philippines still make Japan as a better and attractive place to work (CNBC, 10/12/2014).

At this point, I can recognize that the situation of Indonesian workers in Japan also remains the same. However, the level of abuses is extremely lower compared to the cases involving Indonesian workers in Malaysia. In addition, in the context of Japan, foreign workers obtain huge attention from the public especially the NGOs. Furthermore, this difficult situation was also followed by some negotiations between the host and origin countries of foreign workers such as Indonesia and the Philippines. At the same time, the voice of migrant workers including from Indonesia was actually accommodated and recognized along with the existence of the NGOs. The NGOs in Japan were significantly seen as alternative power to migrant workers. Although, the bargaining power of NGOs was not as powerful as political forces, yet at least

[...] the presence of a vocal, watchful, and knowledgeable group of people who are willing to confront the state on behalf of the migrants is critical because it forces government officials to be more careful and more accountable with what they say and do (Ryoko, 2015).

One of the important points addressed by the NGOs was the Japan government urged to formulate "a policy that accepts overseas unskilled workers as human beings who will enter Japan to work and start new lives," and "they are not robots to be returned after their visas end" (Kakuchi, 2014).

This section concludes that Indonesian illegal workers face similar problems in whatever host countries. But, they got some distinctive values if they work illegally in Malaysia. Firstly, in terms of recruitment, Indonesian illegal workers are relatively more formal through TITP (Technical Intern Training Program). It means, upon their arrival, they mostly hold official document and have met the immigration procedures. However, no specific database is available that indicates the arrival of Indonesian workers in Japan were categorized as illegal especially through TITP program. Second, some employers also conducted exploitation towards Indonesian workers. Yet, the number is considerably low and did not gain huge media coverage as it is in Malaysia. These conditions have forced some Indonesian workers to escape from the old employers. They were triggered by some Indonesian colleagues that have promised a better job and salary albeit incredibly risky. Third, there also exist some negative consequences from migrant workers, they still gain huge attention and recognition from the public especially the NGOs. The Japanese people also admitted the big contribution of migrant labour including Indonesian illegal workers towards national development.

The Struggles

For many Indonesians who have the experiences of working illegally whether in Malaysia or Japan, both were promising places to get better job and earn higher income. However, it was not easy to struggle in a culturally different country compared to in Indonesia, especially in terms of political system and law enforcement. Most Indonesian workers rationally understand that illegal working was risky, yet they also desire to change their situation and improve their income. Through interviews with former Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia and Japan, the author discovers some findings.

Generally, Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia are satisfied with the performance of the government and their apparatus. They argue that some existing weaknesses still occur due to the small number of Malaysia's corrupt officers. Muhammad states that "principally the government of Malaysia is good, yet only some stake holders have taken advantages on illegal workers" (Interview, 19/4/2015). In the context of Malaysia, culture, religion and emotional relationships between the two countries are some important factors behind the increasing number of Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia. Muhammad goes on that "all are returned to the *Serumpun* (brotherhood) factor [...] due to they prefer to work with "us" regardless of our status, legal or illegal." Meanwhile, from Indonesian Foreign Ministry point of views, the Malaysian policy towards illegal workers was disappointing. He argues that "from time to time, year by year, the problems remain the same. I regret that Malaysian police only arrest Indonesian illegal workers. Whereas the "bad employers" are still untouchable from immigration prosecution (Interview, 11/6/2015).

Following the mass deportation, for instance at the end of 2014 and early 2015, Indonesian foreign Ministry perceived that the immigration operation of Malaysia has procedurally appropriate. Malaysian government also granted dispensation towards Indonesian illegal workers. Malaysian government gave an amnesty and will facilitate those who will return to the home country through official procedure during the operation. However, they should pay for administration process. The Indonesian foreign ministry officer said that "Indonesian workers were required to pay RM800 which inclusive penalty (RM400), the IMAN agency³ (RM380) and insurance (RM20)." However, the Indonesian government is still concerned on pertaining issues, especially the role of immigration of Malaysia. In many cases, the Malaysian employers are rarely sentenced and charged in the court. According to the Indonesian Foreign Officer, the Malaysian immigration was allegedly involved and play crucial role in the immigration operation towards Indonesian workers (Interview, 11/6/2015). He continues to argue that "the omission of the employer and only arrest the illegal workers was one of the local government's failure to protect the victims of human trafficking (Indonesian foreign ministry officer's Facebook page, 8/6/2015). Meanwhile, Chief of Malaysian Immigration Datuk Mustafa Ibrahim opposed the issue by stating that there is "no compound for bad employers, they will be sentenced in the court" (Astro Awani, 25/2/2015). Nevertheless, the Indonesian officer stays pessimistic and sceptical since "it cannot be trusted" (Indonesian foreign ministry officer's Facebook page, 23/6/2015).

Regarding the punishment that will be received once they were arrested as illegal workers, some Indonesian workers have interesting experiences. As illegal workers were perceived that being arrested and jailed were the two consequences they should face. They mostly "will return to Malaysia once they have completed the official documents in the home country." Simply because, "they enjoy and feel comfortable working in Malaysia." Thus, some prisoners are taking it easy with the penalty charges and they only see it as risk costs. Many of them have been guaranteed by their boss, and they will be sponsored so that they could be released from jail through redeeming money mechanism. The imprisonment period is relatively short. After being jailed two or four months, they will be released. However, in fact, they should stay in jail longer than that period due to they have to queue for deportation. It means that the waiting period for deportation is longer than the actual period of imprisonment [...], so it was odd (Interview, 19/4/2015).

Throughout their life in Malaysia, the empirical data reveals that Indonesian illegal workers have faced different situations and conditions. However, they had become illegal since the work environment has forced them to enter Malaysia illegally or to escape from their employers. Mostly,

³ The IMAN Agency is the only recognized agency to handle Indonesian illegal workers' deportation process.

they strongly desired to gain better wages and income from the new boss. For instance, Jemali who was in Malaysia for several years has got a fascinating story. He said that, generally, he is dissatisfied with his employer. According to him, “I did not receive the agreed salary of about RM600, but only earn RM300 which were not paid monthly. So, I was forced to owe my friend to fulfil for my daily needs.” However, he felt comfortable with the housing facilities in the middle of the plantation field. Nevertheless, he decided to escape from his employer and became an illegal worker, yet he was sadly deceived by the bad work agency. Finally, during his last seven months, he successfully found a good employer and earned better salary. Furthermore, he could also save some of his money and made preparation to return to Indonesia (Interview, 7/5/2014).

Another story is about the exploitation and human trafficking practices against Indonesian workers. Mostly they did not know that they would be forced to become illegal workers. An Indonesian female worker has a tragic experience during her helper-life in Malaysia. She was forced to work from 6am until 12am or sometimes 1am in the early morning, that she has not imagined before. She was treated as a slave that should work 24 hours. She was also not allowed to perform her religious obligation of *Shalat* (praying). She did not predict that she fell into the hands of human trafficking syndicate. According to her, their operation was extremely smart and well organized. For example, prior her arrival in Port Klang, Malaysia by boat from Sumatra, she was given IDR 1,000,000 and RM5. She realized that the money belonged to her. Actually, the money was prepared as a guarantee usually required by immigration officer. But, someone would claim the money and seize her passport as they have passed the immigration check. Commonly, all illegal workers will be able to pass and enter Malaysia since corrupt officers were willing to be paid for only RM5. During their waiting period for job placement, they were served badly and strictly not permitted to contact their relatives or family in Indonesia. Finally, they will use all channels as they could reach and receive assistance especially from Indonesian Embassy or consulate in Malaysia. Eventually, she regretted her decision and planned to return home as soon as possible so she could start a new life in Indonesia (Indonesian foreign ministry officer’s Facebook page, 28/2/2015).

I also got another story during my research in Sabah, East Malaysia. My colleague mentioned that a story happened when he was on board during his “illegal trip” from Nunukan, Indonesia to Tawau, Malaysia using a boat. Along with other companions of around 15 people, he successfully passed Malaysian border and reached the coastal point. Suddenly, the Malaysian police raided and forced them to stop from entering Malaysia. The police interrogated them and asked their documents, such as passport and visa. All the passengers could not show their identification documents. Nevertheless, something unpredictable happened. The police allowed all passengers to enter Malaysia and leave them. The police said that “I know your number is very big. It’s OK! Please continue your trip!” (Interview, 2009). In actual case, Malaysian police totally knew what have occurred, yet they acted differently. Because they recognized the illegal workers’ contribution as well as their problems and made it as if it is a normal business. Nevertheless, the border authorities of both sides – Indonesia and Malaysia – most responsible on this matter are allegedly the corrupt ones.

In Japan, the situation was relatively different. This is because the policy and implementation of the Japanese government towards the immigrant workers including Indonesian were strict, but procedurally accepted. During the enforcement, mostly the authority apparatus did not use violence and tend to opt for negotiation. Consequently, illegal workers were also cooperative and did not resist against police. The following describes the extent of their perception towards the Japanese government and how they can survive during their illegal life in Japan. One of the former Indonesian illegal workers who had lived in Nagoya, Tokyo and Osaka admitted the following:

I have never been arrested by police throughout in Japan. But, I have an interesting experience. One day, I was chased by the police on a car. Yet, I was cycling. They cannot arrest me due to I turned my way to a passage away. Another story, a night during Islamic holy month of Ramadhan, I decided to go early to the factory. Suddenly, police conducted operation and raided our hostel. All my fellow illegal workers had been arrested, except for me. I felt lucky due to my decision to stay in the factory had “saved” me from the arrest (Interview, 24/9/2015).

The above statement shows that he can survive in the midst of strict rule of law in Japan. Probably, some Indonesian illegal workers in Malaysia also got the same experience as those who work illegally in Japan. But, in the Japanese context, it was seen as more tolerance towards illegal workers. The narrative shows that the Japanese police should have chased him (suspect) and arrested the illegal workers. In fact, police did not make the arrest seriously and allowed him to escape. This demonstrated that the police realized the role of migrant workers – parallel with the public opinion. It means that the police considerably understood the migrant workers' contribution towards Japanese national economy. Fatkhuri added the following:

The attitude of Japanese immigration and the police were marginally so kind to us and during in Japan, I have never met a sort of violence action occurred there. I think, they would respect us as long as we can answer and explain their questions and cooperate appropriately (Interview, 24/9/2015).

It was seen that he has known the normal procedures and law enforcement in Japan. Despite the fact that he had lived in Japan for many years, their environment was also influenced by his knowledge about survival in Japan. It means that their friends, especially from Indonesia, will give assistance to those who have obstacles and difficulties regarding their works. In fact, many Indonesian workers were mostly dissatisfied with their job especially on the salary, which was considered not enough to feed the expensive lifestyle in Japan. Thus, becoming illegal was a realistic choice. According to Fatkhuri "I have to be honest that being illegal was more profitable with higher wages than legal one. A legal worker will only receive approximately JPY 700 and those who can leave their employer and being illegal will earn JPY 1500." However, he also warned those who want to go to Japan that the present situations are quite different. Because "the job vacancies were more tightened and the remaining chance was only in agriculture sector, which is challenging for many Indonesian youngsters" (Interview, 24/9/2015).

Becoming illegal or also known as irregular workers is risky. But, sometimes some illegal workers do not care with the system that could actually protect them from various problems so as to survive in Japan. In such cases, for instance, local Japanese government and Indonesian Embassy have encouraged and urged both legal and illegal workers to report and contact their nearest offices. This is important in order to gain financial support for their family and fellows as well as for schooling and unemployment problem. Yet, for Indonesian especially from Minahasan ethnicity, they "tend to forego registration and funding, not only because they do not care or are not familiar with the regulations, but also because they are afraid of being arrested by the Immigration Bureau." Probably this was a sample of the background of many Indonesian workers in Japan. It was believed that this was caused by the "effect of the system since their registration in their homeland is rife with problems of corruption and both natives and foreigners are often obliged to pay bribes to officials" (Pudjiastuti, 2015).

Although the law infringement, especially for the immigration in Japan, will lead to the high punishment consequences, it is not hampering many Indonesian to return to Japan. This is because they realize that the penalty is not a burden. They believed that as long as they could explain clearly to the Japanese authority about their purpose, they optimistically could pass the immigration and security clearance. In the worst case Fatkhuri asserted that "if we failed to avoid police chase and finally arrested, usually we are given the chance to get flight ticket from various sources such as from donation or colleagues, and until they get the ticket." Once they got the air ticket, they could leave Japan for Indonesia. But, not all Indonesian illegal workers are as lucky as Fatkhuri. The latest story, his friend failed and was promptly deported by Japanese immigration right after his arrival in the Japan airport. According to him, "my friend actually had been deported previously and were already blacklisted. But, he courageously decided to return to Japan. Unfortunately, the officer recognized him and deported him to Indonesia" (Interview, 24/9/2015). In contrast to this, based on my observation, many Indonesian workers in Malaysia that had been deported and blacklisted by the immigration of Malaysia were free to return to the country and continue to work illegally.

All in all, this section demonstrates that Indonesian illegal workers face different situations either in Japan or Malaysia. However, some points that I got from this analysis are 1) their perception on the government were marginally positive; 2) Japan's immigration regulations are

strict, yet generally accepted. Conversely, Malaysian immigration is also strict, but the illegal workers could tackle in various ways as some border officer are well-known as corrupt; 3) Japan’s authority gave opportunity to the Indonesian illegal workers to get the flight ticket so they can return to the home country. Malaysian government, however, will directly carry out deportation once the illegal worker is proven guilty and sentenced in court.

Conclusion

The trend of Indonesian migrant workers can be traced since the period of colonial era. Mostly they were deployed to particular areas such as Suriname, New Caledonia, Thailand and Sarawak. In the post-colonial era, the number gradually increases following the skyrocketing economic boom of some Asian countries including Malaysia and Japan. Both countries became an enticement to the Indonesian “unemployment”, notably in Java since it promises good salary. Unsurprisingly, their remittance successfully boosted and contributed to the national economy. Malaysia was perceived as the best destination that promises better income, cultures sharing, and geographical closeness even very risky. At least, Indonesian illegal workers have faced three situations namely demanded, exploited, and humiliated. While in Japan, some Indonesian workers were also attracted to have a better salary, but they should tackle the risk. However, they have gained huge attention particularly from NGOs. The Japanese people also admitted the big contribution of migrant labour, including the Indonesian illegal workers, towards Japan’s national development. Nevertheless, most Indonesian illegal workers perceived that the local government of either Malaysia or Japan was marginally positive. Despite the fact that some weaknesses definitely exist, yet they continue to return to these countries. Once they arrived, they would struggle until they could survive.

The following table is the illustration of the similarities and the differences between Malaysia and Japan as destination countries for Indonesians especially illegal workers.

Table 2: *Similarities and the differences between Malaysia and Japan as destination countries*

Similarities		Differences	
<i>Malaysia</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Malaysia</i>	<i>Japan</i>
The demand for cheap labor		Cultural and language similarity	Cultural and language barrier
Labor exploitations		Mostly via illegal recruitment	Via legal recruitment called TITP (Technical Intern Training Program)
The employers keep the passports of their employees		The contributions are recognized, but being humiliated and treated as a criminal especially by the government	The contributions are recognized, but being treated fairly by the government
Being placed in unskilled jobs		Illegal workers are blacklisted, but easy to return to Malaysia through illegal channels	Illegal workers are blacklisted, but difficult to return to Japan whether through official or illegal channels

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank The Sumitomo Foundation for funding this research through the Fiscal 2014 Grant For Japan-Related Research Projects and the anonymous reviewers of this journal for their useful comments. The views expressed in this article are their own and do not represent The Sumitomo Foundation.

References

1. Ahmad Naqiyuddin Bakar. (2008, November 11-13). *Malaysian New Communication and ICT Policy: Regulatory Reform and the New Mode of Governance*. Paper presented at the e-Asia International Conference, Madrid, Spain.
2. *Astro Awani* (25 February 2015). Isu Pati: Tiada lagi kompaun, terus heret ke mahkamah – Imigresen [illegal migrant issues: no compound imposed, directly to the court]. Retrieved June 24, 2015, from <http://www.astroawani.com/berita-malaysia/isu-pati-tiada-lagi-kompaun-terus-heret-ke-mahkamah-imigresen-54564>.
3. Azmy, A. S. (2012). *Negara dan Buruh Migran Perempuan: Menelaah Kebijakan Perlindungan Masa Pemerintahan Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono 2004-2010 [State and Female Migrant Workers: Understanding the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Administration on the Migrant Workers Protection 2004-2010]*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
4. *Berita Satu* (31 October 2013). 1.800 Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Berada di Jepang Secara Ilegal [Indonesian Migrant Working in Japan Illegally]. Retrieved May 15, 2015, from <http://www.beritasatu.com/nasional-internasional/147626-1800-tenaga-kerja-indonesia-berada-di-jepang-secara-ilegal.html>.
5. Bigo, D. (2003, June). *Criminalization of “Migrants”: The Side-effect of the Will to Control the Frontiers and the Sovereign Illusion*. Paper presented at the Irregular Migration and Human Rights Conference, Centre for European Law and Integration, University of Leicester.
6. BNP2TKI (2015). Subbid Pengolahan Data, Bidang Pengolahan dan Penyajian Data [Sub-Section of Data Analysis, Section of Data Analysis and Data Presentation]. Jakarta: BNP2TKI.
7. Bustami, R., Karim, A., & Maksum, A. (2012, July 10-12). *Why are they angry at us: G-M-P Twin Quadrants and Indonesian-Malaysian Relations?* Paper presented at the 6th Indonesia-Malaysia Relations Conference, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia.
8. Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods, 3rd Ed.* New York: Oxford University Press.
9. *Caraka* (October 2012). Menggapai Peluang, Hadapi Tantangan Untuk Dubes Baru [Taking an Opportunity, A New Challenge for New Ambassador].
10. Central Bank of the Republic of Indonesia (Bank Indonesia) (2015). *Statistik Ekonomi Keuangan Indonesia [Indonesian Financial Statistics]*. Jakarta: Bank Indonesia.
11. Chung, E. A. (2010). *Immigration and citizenship in Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
12. *CNBC* (10 December 2014). *Japan needs foreign workers, but will they come?* Retrieved June 3, 2015, from <http://www.cnb.com/id/102250812>.
13. Cohen, D., & Crabtree, B. (2006). *Qualitative Research Guidelines Project*. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. Retrieved January 29, 2016, from <http://www.qualres.org/HomeDisp-3831.html>.
14. Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches, 3rd Ed.* Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
15. Diederich, M. (2005). Indonesians in Saudi Arabia: Religious and Economic Connections. In M. Al-Rasheed (Ed.), *Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf* (pp. 128–146), London: Routledge.

16. Erman, S. (2008). Official Speech of Ministry of Labour H.E. Erman Suparno. Kebijakan dan Strategi Penempatan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia di Luar Negeri [Policy and Strategy of the Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers]. Secretary of State of the Republic of Indonesia, March 27. Retrieved March 26, 2015, from <http://ditpolkom.bappenas.go.id>.
17. Feige, E. L. (2016). *Reflections on the meaning and measurement of Unobserved Economies: What do we really know about the "Shadow Economy"?* *Journal of Tax Administration*, 2(1). Retrieved April 10, 2016, from: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2728060>.
18. Hadi, S. (2000). *Metodologi Penelitian [Research Methodology]*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Andi.
19. Haning, R. (2003). Indonesian Migrant Workers in Japan: Typology and Human Rights. *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia no. 4: Regional Economic Integration*. Retrieved April 13, 2015, from <http://kyotoreview.org/issue-4/indonesian-migrant-workers-in-japan-typology-and-human-rights/>.
20. Hale, M. L. (1991). Paradigmatic shift in library and information science. In C.R. McClure & P. Hernon (Eds.), *Library and information science research: Perspectives and strategies for improvement* (pp. 336-346). Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
21. Hays, J. (2015). Facts and Details: Foreigners in Japan. Retrieved June 3, 2015, from <http://factsanddetails.com/japan/cat18/sub119/item1769.html>.
22. Hermann, M. G. (2008). Content Analysis. In A. Klotz & D. Prakash (Eds.), *Qualitative Methods in International Relations* (pp. 151-167). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
23. Husson, L. (1997). *Les Indonésiens en Arabie Saoudite pour la foi et le travail [Indonesians in Saudi Arabia for worship and work]*. *Revue européenne des migrations internationales [European Review of International Migration]*, 13(1), pp. 125–147. [doi:10.3406/remi.1997.1535](https://doi.org/10.3406/remi.1997.1535)
24. Huysmans, J. (2006). *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU*. London and New York: Routledge.
25. Indonesian foreign ministry officer's Facebook page. (28 February 2015).
26. Indonesian foreign ministry officer's Facebook page. (8 June 2015).
27. Indonesian foreign ministry officer's Facebook page. (23 June 2015).
28. International Labour Organization (2016). The meanings of Forced Labour. http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/news/WCMS_237569/lang--en/index.htm.
29. International Organization for Migration. (2010). *International Migration and Migrant Workers' Remittances in Indonesia*. Makati City, Philippines.
30. Irwan, P. (2008). Pengiriman Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (TKI) ke Malaysia Melalui Kota Semarang [The Deployment of Indonesian Migrant Workers to Malaysia through the City of Semarang]. *Pasetia*, 4(2), pp. 1-27.
31. Japanese Immigration Bureau (2003). *Census 2003*.
32. Japan Ministry of Justice (2013). Retrieved April 13, 2015, from http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/nyuukokukanri04_00016.html.
33. Japan Ministry of Justice (2015). Retrieved May 14, 2015, from <http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/english/tetuduki/taikyo/qa.html>.
34. *Jawa Pos* (2 September 2008). Majikan Malaysia Paksa TKW Minum Air Mendidih.

35. Kakuchi, S. (2014). Japan Seeks Foreign Workers, Uneasily. IPS News Agency. Retrieved June 4, 2015, from <http://www.ipsnews.net/2014/04/japan-seeks-foreign-workers-uneasily/>.
36. Kalm, S. (2012). Global Migration Management, Order and Access to Mobility. In M. Geiger & A. Pécoud (Eds.), *The New Politics of International Mobility: Migration Management and its Discontents* (pp. 49-74). Osnabrück: Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) Universität Osnabrück.
37. Kashiwazaki, C. (2002). Feature Story: Japan's Resilient Demand for Foreign Workers. Migration Information Source. Retrieved April 13, 2015, from <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/japans-resilient-demand-foreign-workers/>.
38. Keohane, R., & Nye, J. (2001). *Power and Interdependence 3rd Edition*. New York: Longman.
39. *Kompas* (12 September 2008). 5 Pria Bertopeng Perkosa TKW Indonesia di Malaysia. Retrieved November 30, 2012, from <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2008/09/12/12192348/5.Pria.Bertopeng.Perkosa.TKW.Indonesia.di.Malaysia>.
40. Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. California: Sage Publications.
41. Kyushu, S., & Atsushi, K. (2002). Development of Immigration Policy in Japan. *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal*, 11(4), pp. 415-436.
42. Labour Consultant (2015). Retrieved June 5, 2017, from <http://labor-consultant.com/about-office-tomisaka/>
43. Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1), pp. 47-57. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2060063>
44. Lin, M. (2006). *Indonesian Labor Migrants in Malaysia: A Study from China*. ICS Working Paper No. 2006-11. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of China Studies, University of Malaya.
45. Liow, J.C. (2003). Malaysia's Illegal Indonesian Migrant Labour Problem: In Search of Solution. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 25(1), pp. 44-64. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1355/CS25-1C>
46. Liow, J.C. (2004). Malaysia's Approach to Its Illegal Indonesian Migrant Labour Problem: Securitization, Politics, or Catharsis? IDSS-FORD Workshop on Non-Traditional Security in Asia. Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University. Retrieved November 28, 2012, from <http://www.rsis-ntsasia.org/resources/publications/research-papers/migration/Joseph%20Liow.pdf>.
47. Liow, J.C. (2005). *The Politics of Indonesia–Malaysia Relations: One kin, two nations*. London: Routledge Curzon.
48. Moleong, L. J. (2000). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif [The Qualitative Research Methodology]*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
49. Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), pp. 522-526. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/fampra/13.6.522>
50. Meadows, J. (2008). Fifty years of UK research in information science. *Journal of Information Science*, 34(4), pp. 403–414. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0165551508089718>
51. Meijer, R., & Aarts, P. (Eds.). (2012). *Saudi Arabia between Conservatism, Accommodation and Reform*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'.

52. Milenia Muslim (August, 2009). Kemelut Pembantu Rumah Warga Asing: Mahukah gadis tempatan mengisi tempat mereka? [The Complexity of the Foreign Maid: Want the Local Girls replace them?]. Edition. 7(84).
53. Mishra, S. K. (1981). Factors and Process of Migration in Developing Economy. In R.B. Mandal (Ed.), *Frontiers in Migration Analysis* (pp. 228-239). New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
54. Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani. (2008). Freedom of Speech and Democracy in Malaysia. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 16(1), pp. 85-104. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02185370801962440>
55. Muhammad I., & Arifin Z. (2009, August 6-8). *Tahap Kualiti Hidup Tenaga Kerja Indonesia di Malaysia dan Faktor-Faktor Psikologikal Yang Mempengaruhinya [The Quality of Live of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia and the Influence Psychological Factors]*. Presented at the "Persidangan Hubungan Malaysia-Indonesia," Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
56. Nasrullah, A.F. (2009). Indonesia Dalam Pandangan Media Malaysia: Sebuah Kajian Awal [Indonesia in the Malaysian Media Views: A Preliminary Analysis]. In R.O. Mohamad, A.I. Md Sidin, S. J. Jas Laile, M. Adrianus, & Sri Murni (Eds.), *Setengah Abad Hubungan Malaysia-Indonesia [The 50th Malaysia-Indonesia Relations]* (pp. 479-496). Shah Alam: Arah Publications.
57. Nidya, K. (2013). *Effects of Labor Immigration Policies on Indonesian Migrant Workers in Japan and South Korea*. PhD Thesis. National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies.
58. Nor, A.I. (2005). Hubungan Malaysia-Indonesia dan Isu Pendatang Tanpa Izin [Malaysia-Indonesia Relations and Illegal Migrants]. In D. Sity & O. Zarina (Eds.), *Politik dan Keselamatan [Politics and Security]* (pp. 146-168), Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
59. Okezone (18 April 2015). Agen Nakal Jadi Faktor Utama TKI Tertindas [The Bad Worker Agencies as the main factor behind the Violations against Indonesian Migrant Workers]. Retrieved June 2, 2015, from <http://news.okezone.com/read/2015/04/18/337/1136273/agen-nakal-jadi-faktor-utama-tki-tertindas>.
60. Okezone (25 February 2015). 229 WNI Terancam Hukuman Mati [229 Indonesian abroad was under death penalty]. Retrieved June 2, 2015, from <http://news.okezone.com/read/2015/02/24/18/1110181/229-wni-terancam-hukuman-mati> .
61. Okushima, M. (2005). "特集にあたってーインドネシア人労働者の国際動向と日本の雇用構造における位置づけー [Introduction to a Special Issue: International Trends of Indonesian Migrant Workers, and their Employment System in Japan]. *Intercultural Communication Studies* (17), pp. 1-48.
62. *PAB Online* (2008). Kembali, Penganiayaan TKI di Malaysia [Again, Violation against Indonesian Migrant Workers Occurred in Malaysia]. Retrieved February 6, 2008, from <http://pab-indonesia.com/web>.
63. Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods, 3rd Ed.*, London: Sage Publications.
64. Pécoud, A., & de Guchteneire, P. (2006). International migration, border controls and human rights: Assessing the relevance of a right to mobility. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 21(1), pp. 69-86. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2006.9695652>
65. Pinyol-Jiménez, G. (2012). The Migration-Security Nexus in short: Instruments and actions in the European Union. *Amsterdam Law Forum*, 4(1), pp. 36-57. Retrieved May 19, 2015, from <http://amsterdamlawforum.org/article/view/255>.

66. *Politik Indonesia* (29 August 2010). Terbanyak Warga Aceh, Terancam Mati di Malaysia [Dominated by Aceh People, Under Death Penalty in Malaysia]. Retrieved June 2, 2015, from <http://www.politikindonesia.com/index.php?k=politik&i=9194>.
67. Robson, C. (2011). *Real world research, 3rd Ed.* Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.
68. Ruenwai, N. (2006). *Science and technology information in Thailand: policies, strategies and provision.* Ph.D. Thesis. Loughborough University.
69. Rusniah A., Mohamed N.A., & Saadon A. (2014). Permasalahan Pendatang Asing Tanpa Izin Di Malaysia Dari Aspek Sosial Dan Perundangan [The Problem of Illegal Migrant in Malaysia from the Social and Law Perspectives]. *Kanun*, (262), pp.173-191.
70. Ryoko, Y. (2015). Migrant-support NGOs and the Challenge to the Discourse on Foreign Criminality in Japan. *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 5(9), pp. 1-10. Retrieved April 24, 2015, from <http://japanfocus.org/-Ryoko-YAMAMOTO/2521/article.html>.
71. Silfia, H. (2009, August 6-8). Sosio-Kultural Tenaga Kerja Indonesia di Malaysia [The Socio-Cultural of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia]. Presented at the Persidangan Hubungan Malaysia-Indonesia, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
72. Silvey, R. (2004). Transnational Migration and the Gender Politics of Scale: Indonesian Domestic Workers in Saudi Arabia, 1997-2000. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 25(2), pp. 141–155, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0129-7619.2004.00179.x>
73. *Straits Times* (22 January 2002). Sorry Is Not Enough.
74. Takayoshi, M. (1966). The Development of Democracy in Japan-Taishō Democracy: Its Flowering and Breakdown. *The Developing Economies*, 4(4), pp. 612–632. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1049.1966.tb00495.x>
75. *The Jakarta Post* (29 April 2013). RI ranks third on SE Asia remittance list.
76. *The Jakarta Post* (12 November 2013). RI workers in Malaysia remitted almost US\$1b back home in 2012: Official.
77. *The Jakarta Post* (13 January 2014). RI migrant workers' remittances amounted to Rp 88.6t in 2013.
78. *The Japan Times* (23 November 2014). Japan sanctioning mass 'slave labor' by duping foreign trainees, observers say. Retrieved May 27, 2015, from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/11/23/national/japan-sanctioning-mass-slave-labor-via-foreign-trainee-program/#.VWV0qNKqkqp>.
79. *The Japan Times* (10 February 2015). Wrong way to import workers. Retrieved May 27, 2015, from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/02/10/editorials/wrong-way-to-import-workers/#.VWV0btKqkqp>.
80. *The New York Times* (3 December 2012). Malaysia Urged to Protect Domestic Workers. Retrieved May 28, 2015, from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/04/world/asia/malaysia-urged-to-protect-domestic-workers.html?_r=0.
81. *The Rakyat Post* (19 July 2015). Undocumented foreign workers prefer illegal means to return home.
82. Themistocleous, A. (2013). Securitizing Migration: Aspects and Critiques. *The GW Post Research Paper*. Retrieved September 15, 2016, from www.thegwpost.com.
83. Pudjiastuti, T.N. (2015). The Dynamics of Indonesian Migrant Workers under National and Local Policies: The Oarai Case. Retrieved March 31, 2015, from http://www.kuis.ac.jp/icci/publications/kiyo/pdfs/17/17_03.pdf.

84. *Tribunews* (23 January 2014). Pasangan WNI Pulang Setelah 16 Tahun Tinggal Ilegal di Jepang [A Couple of Indonesian was returned after 16 years live illegally in Japan]. Retrieved May 15, 2015, from <http://www.tribunnews.com/internasional/2014/01/23/pasangan-wni-pulang-setelah-16-tahun-tinggal-ilegal-di-jepang>.
85. Trochim, W. M. (2006). *The Research Methods Knowledge Base, 2nd Edition*. Retrieved January 31, 2016, from: <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/> (version current as of October 20, 2006).
86. United Nations, Department of Economics and Social Affairs (1970). *Methods of Measuring Internal Migration, Series A. - Population Studies. No. 47*. New York: The United Nations.
87. Wan, A.R. (2012). Kes Perburuhan dan Tuduhan Politik Tidak Jejas Hubungan: Malaysia-Indon Cipta Masalah? [The Labour Cases and The Political Accusations Were Not Significantly Impacted: Malaysia-Indonesia Were Created the Problems?] . *Jurnal Pemikir*, (67), pp. 125-136.
88. Wesley, J. J. (2010, April 9-10). Qualitative Document Analysis in Political Science. Presented at the T2PP Workshop, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.
89. White, M. D., & Marsh, E. E. (2006). Content analysis: a flexible methodology. *Library Trend*, 55(1), pp. 22-45. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/lib.2006.0053>
90. Woodall, B. (2014). *Growing Democracy in Japan: The Parliamentary Cabinet System since 1868*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. Retrieved September 16, 2016, from Project MUSE database <https://muse.jhu.edu/>
91. World Bank Migration and Development Brief (2012). *Migration and Development Brief No. 20*. Migration and Remittance Unit, Development Prospect Group. Washington, DC: The World Bank.