

# Chapter 1

## Background of the Study

### 1.1. Introduction

Initiative for this study stems from the personal experience in my daily life as an Indonesian living in Taiwan. Nowadays, almost everywhere in Taiwan, it is very easy for to meet Indonesian workers. In parks, hospitals, and railway stations one often sees them attending an elderly Ama (grandma) or Agong (grandpa) in their wheelchairs. When analyzing the data on the foreign workers in Taiwan, one finds the Indonesian workers as the predominant group. Furthermore, their number has increased in recent years. It is reported that since 1994 the numbers have risen significantly, from 6,020 to 165,223 people as of January of 2011, which represents almost 42% of the total foreign workers in Taiwan. This means that within 17 years, the number of Indonesian workers in Taiwan has multiplied by 27 times. In other words, there are about 9,364 workers on the average who come to Taiwan annually. From this total, 86% or 142,103 workers work as caretakers, which in turn represents 73.73% of the total foreign workforce in Taiwan. These are dominantly female workers (87%). Overall this indicates that the Indonesian workers have a good market share in Taiwan's labor market.

This trend is closely linked to the growing number of elderly in Taiwan. In 1993, Taiwanese society began to age, when the ratio of the elderly population reached 7% of the total population. The proportion of the elderly has increased tremendously. In 2010 it almost reached 2.5 million people, representing 10.7% of the total population. According to the United Nation's (n.d), a society is called an aging society when the

ratio of the population of 65<sup>1</sup> years of age and above reaches 7% of the total population; an aged society is reached when 14% of the total population are 65 and above; and a super aged society when reaching 20% of the total population. The Taiwan Council for Economic Planning and Development (CEPD) predicted that Taiwan's society would become an aged society by 2017 and a super-ageing society by 2025. This means that the number of the senior citizens in Taiwan is estimated to double within 24 years, much quicker than has been the case in European countries. For example, France and Germany's process to become aging societies took almost a century and increased steadily, while the aging in Taiwan began recently and increased rapidly (Law, 2001:10).

Many elderly people need caretakers and cannot take care of themselves. In traditional Chinese culture, children, especially daughters usually play an important role to become their in law's caretaker. However, due to the declining number of Total Fertility Rate (TFR) and the increasing number of women working outside the family, the number of family caretakers has declined. In the end, Taiwan is lacking of caretakers. Fortunately, since 1992 the Taiwan Government allows foreign workers to be involved in such caretaking jobs. Residents who have children under the age of six years old or elderly members above the age of seventy are eligible to apply.

Some studies (Loveband 2004, Lan 2006) reported that agencies have been playing a central role in placing the Indonesian workers in the service sector. Through advertisement, they tried to match the workers and the employers' needs, either for the elderly or ill patients caretaker, child caretaker, or others. They have played an active role in shaping the prospective employers expectation about the worker through stereotypes about different nationalities and the best jobs that suits each of them. Finally, the general stereotype about Indonesian workers is that they are good caretakers for the elderly or ill patients, while Filipinos are best as child caretakers due to their better English speaking. This process is what Loveband (2004) refers to

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<sup>1</sup> In Japan, the definition of old age is a little bit different from that in Taiwan. Japanese people used to define the old age as those aged 60 years and over. People entering 61 years are called as *kanreli*, meaning the second childhood. Hence, indicating dependence on others, and no obligation to work, though in practice they still want to work either for earning money or for satisfaction (Maeda and Ishikawa, 2000). Japan's public pension is given to those 65 and over by 2013.

as "positioning of the product". Employers, later on, will usually agree with the agencies' advice.

This process in turn motivates me to explore further whether the Indonesian workers who have been placed in caretaking jobs through such stereotyping, really are satisfied working as caretakers or not? What kind of factors influence the workers' satisfactions? Are characteristics of the caretaker's job content, wage, personality job fit and supportive working condition having an influence on the workers' job satisfaction? I argue that a satisfied worker tends to have a good attitude at work, increase productivity, decline absenteeism and turnover, while the dissatisfied worker tends to display a bad attitude and leave the job (Kondalkar, 2007:93).

I am an Indonesian students studying in Taiwan. I feel lucky to have the opportunity to conduct this research on Indonesian care-workers, since local scholars may face barriers due to their language limitation. In addition, the Indonesian scholars in Indonesia also face barriers because of the physical distance of doing the field research. It is my reason for selecting this topic and I would like to analyze it from my own perspective as an Indonesian living in Taiwan.

## **1.2. Purpose of the Study**

This study is an attempt to gain a better understanding of the Indonesian workers' job satisfaction as caretakers and to find out whether the workers are satisfied with their job content, wage, personal job fit and supporting work conditions. It is hoped that result of the research will also be beneficial for the Indonesian government in order to improve efforts to increase Indonesian workers' job satisfaction. In addition, it is also hoped that the output will help the Taiwan Government to gain further insights on efforts to improve the workers' working condition in Taiwan.

### 1.3. Rationale

Studying worker's job satisfaction is important because if the workers are satisfied, their productivity will improve, absenteeism and turnover will decline (Kondalkar, 2007:93). In contrast, dissatisfied workers will express their dissatisfaction by leaving the job, while foreign caretakers in Taiwan are not free to enter and exit in the labor market in such a liberal way. Workers with high job satisfaction will not necessarily result in to low absenteeism but those having low satisfaction level would definitely result in high absenteeism (Kondalkar, 2007:92).

### 1.4. Literature Review

Many studies have explained job satisfaction in caring-related jobs with regards to various aspects. For example, Hewison (2004) studied on the job satisfaction of Thai domestic workers in Hong Kong. Meanwhile Tsay (2001) discussed the job satisfaction of Thai workers in Taiwan and in 2007 Tsay also studied the job satisfaction of Indonesian and Vietnamese workers in Taiwan. However, among the studies, there is no study which correlates job satisfactions and variables of job content, pay (wage), personality job fit and working condition.

In Hewison's study, Thai domestic workers are overall satisfied with their job. Nevertheless he finds that as a characteristic the domestic household worker tends to be isolated from the broader community. Hewison does not clearly analyze whether this results in satisfaction or dissatisfaction. However, he suggested that factors such as relatively high wage, well-regulated, ordered and convenient society, having a good employer and working conditions have influenced *working* satisfaction. However, factors that can be attributed to their job environment, such as homesickness, have dissatisfied their *living* condition.

Moreover, Tsay (2001) who studied working- and living conditions of Thais in Taiwan aims to compare those working in manufacturing and those working in construction sectors. He explains the workers' working and living conditions, income

expectation and adaptation issues by using variables of finding work, work contract, present legal status, kinds of work, payment and salary, expenditure, fringe benefits, skill acquisition, problems at the workplace/labor conflicts, living conditions in destination country: housing, leisure time and health. Besides, he also includes the individual characteristics, information on the situation in Thailand, perspectives on returning to Thailand or staying abroad as well as impact of the migration on Thailand itself. He found several factors that made the workers satisfied, such as the higher income in their respective destination country, the job meeting their expectation, and lower degree of hardship in work. In contrast, less opportunity of working overtime is possibly making those who work in manufacturing sector dissatisfied. He also found that those workers with higher levels of education are less willing to take construction jobs, even if they mostly did not receive any vocational training before coming to Taiwan. However, characteristics of the jobs in the construction and manufacturing sector are different from that in the service sector, thus it may result in a different analysis for my study.

In addition, Tsay (2007) studied about job satisfaction through working and living conditions of Indonesian and Vietnamese caretakers in Taiwan and connected it with the number of crimes they committed. He found various problems of working and living conditions of the caretakers in Taiwan, including: the exclusion of the household care service workers in the Labor Standard Law and Labor Insurance; place of stay of the workers is also place of work; long working hours; limited understanding of labor contract; unclear concept of long working (and/or waiting) hours, and the need to do household work, and sharing a bedroom with the cared for. However, Tsay did not include variables of job content and personality job fit in the indicators of his analysis on job satisfaction.

Hamidi & Eivazi (2010) studied the relationship between job satisfaction and job stress of 11 urban health centers in Iran. They focused on variables of work task, supervisor, coworkers, promotion and pay. They found that the workers are satisfied with their job but dissatisfied with the pay. This means that the participants' dissatisfaction with their salaries correlates with the increasing job stress.

## 1.5. Conceptual Framework

Talking about job satisfaction is the same talking about workers' attitude since job satisfaction focuses on employee attitude towards their job (Kondalkar, 2007:89). Job satisfaction is related to the general attitude toward the job. A person having a high level of satisfaction will have a positive attitude, while the dissatisfied worker will generally have a negative attitude toward working life (Kondalkar, 2007).

There are many definitions of attitudes. In Kondalkar (2007:86), G.W. Allport defines attitude as a mental and neural state of readiness organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon individuals response to all objects and situations with which it is related." Moreover, according to Krech and Crutchfield, attitude is an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world." According to Katz and Scotland, "Attitude is a tendency or predisposition to evaluate an object or symbol of that object in a certain way. In general, attitude is how people perceive, feel, and express their views about a situation, object or other people. Attitude cannot be seen but can be inferred. **In this study, I define job satisfaction as "an individual's feeling, tendency or predisposition towards his/her job, his/her likes, dislikes, satisfaction and dissatisfaction being a caretaker."**

Kondalkar (2007: 86) mentioned three components of attitude: 1) Cognitive Components: cognitive component of attitude is related to value statement, which consists of beliefs, ideas, value and other information belonging to an individual. 2) Affective Components are related to another person, which may be positive, neutral, or negative. 3) Behavioral components, are related to impacts of various situations or objects that lead to an individual's behavior based on cognitive and affective components.

Many factors determine job satisfaction. Values that belong to an individual and the culture supporting the value system in the organization are the two most important and basic factors. Other factors, such as work content, pay and promotion policy, supporting working condition, personal job fit, and work group also influence

workers' job satisfaction (Kondalkar, 2007:90-91). **In this study I will use factors such as work content, pay (wage), supportive working condition, and personality job fit to analyze the workers' job satisfaction.** Work content and wage constitute the major sources of satisfaction, while working conditions and personality job fit have a modest but lasting effect on job satisfaction (Kondalkar, 2007:90).

## **1. Job Content: Caregiving**

Content of the work is the major source of satisfaction, since the work is challenging. The job needs the worker's skill and experience. It should also encourage and interest him/her so it is not boring. If the job is too tough or not challenging enough, it will bring about frustration and failure in the job. If a person can complete this job successfully, he/she will be satisfied.

In this study, I use six characteristics that represent the job content, including energy spending, restriction towards the social contact with others outside of the home, aggravating worker's health condition, stress, happiness for opportunity to learn about the patient and the value of life and happiness for ability to express love toward the cared for.

I assume that caregiving, particularly caring for the elderly and sick, is a challenging job, since it is physically and psychologically more demanding than looking after children (Loveband, 2004: 340). Many studies found that taking care of a person with a special condition, like physically disabled or cognitively impaired elderly can result in a greater caregiver burden (Novak, 2006:358). Moreover, the caregiving job is characterized by stress, since it needs much energy and emotion (Novak, 2006), which restricts the caregiver from social contacts outside the home and requires working 14 to 18 hours a day with regular overtime (Loveband, 2004:151), finally deteriorating the worker's health and sometimes making the caregivers feel trapped and depressed (Novak, 2006).

Job stress is one of the most important issues in healthcare because it has a negative effect on the safety and health of personnel (Hamidi & Eivazi, 2010). Stress also has a

great influence on job satisfaction, frequency of absence from work, and efficiency. Hamidi & Eivazi (2010) found that the job stress is in relation with pay, not with the job satisfaction- which means that the dissatisfaction over the wage led to increase in the level of stress. Hence it is important for individuals to develop various stress reduction strategies to an acceptable level (Kondalkar, 2007:188). Stress can also be due to the loneliness and isolation from broader society, therefore it is important to get social support such as close contact to family/relatives, or having counseling to minimize the emotional burden (Novak, 2006:360).

However, if a caregiver commits to the caregiver role, can enjoy helping her care receiver, he/she will feel better and have experienced duty as well as love his/her caregiver job. If he/she feels a sense of well-being (Novak, 2006), he/she will display a positive attitude toward his/her job. A person who feels that caregiving makes them more caring and compassionate toward others, can learn patience and appreciate the value of life more (Novak, 2006). Although sometimes care receivers are demanding, if the caregiver thinks positively about his/her responsibility and feels love for her care receiver, he/she will not feel overly burdened.

In addition, Novak (2006) presented a study conducted by Cohen, Colantonio and Vernich of 2000, which found that 73% of caregivers could identify one positive thing about caregiving, while 7% could identify more than one positive thing. Although caregiving seems to display only few positive aspects, it constitutes as something that can indicate a caregiver's satisfaction. If a caregiver can enjoy helping their care receiver, he/she will feel better, having experience on a duty and showing love to his/her caregiver.

## **2. Wage**

Wage also plays important role in determining the job satisfaction. It is associated with the worker's motivation. Wage must be in line with the worker's expectation. Extra wage or bonus become an incentive for a worker take on an additional responsibility voluntarily. Moreover, adequate perks and non-financial benefits can motivate the worker, which may lead him/her to display a high sense of satisfaction



with regularity. The less discrepancy there is between expectation and reality, the more satisfied the worker is. Tsay (2001), Tsay (2007), Hewison (2004), found that wage influences the job satisfaction significantly. Meanwhile, Hamidi & Eivazi (2010) found that the dissatisfaction in wage has resulted in job stress.

### **3. Personality Job Fit**

Personality job fit means that an individual should be assigned to the job that suits his/her interest. For example, if the job is related with his/her specialization, a person will reach a high level of job satisfaction. Vila & Mora (2005:409) come to the conclusion that longer schooling promotes a more efficient use of information both on the formation of expectations and on individual choice regarding the labor market. More educated people tend to have higher expectations and pursue their aspirations more efficiently than less educated people. The job satisfaction perhaps will be used to get more effect from workers' education on utility from work, and finally of course improve general welfare.

### **4. Supportive Working Condition**

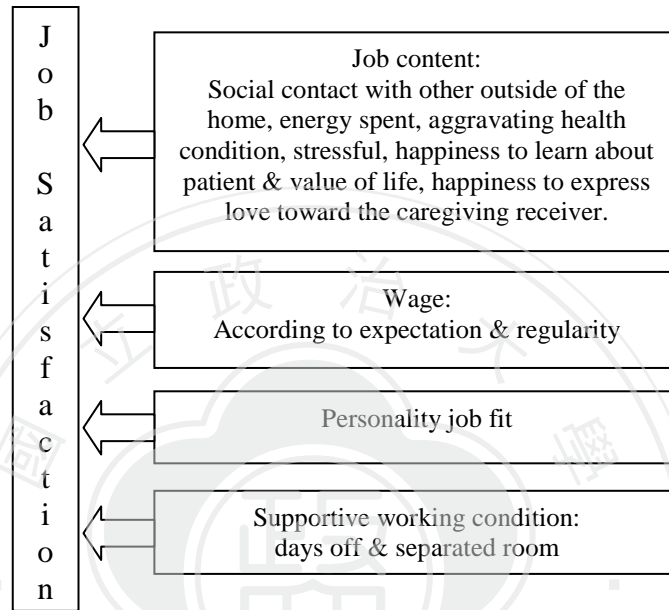
The last aspect is a supportive working condition. Having a separate proper private room or a work place that is closer to home, using technological equipments in working also determine worker's job satisfaction. Technology can help the workers to work more effectively and efficiently, but it needs skills to operate it. Meanwhile, the closer workplace to home will add worker's retention. Tsay (2007) found that having no private room has been one of the Indonesian and Vietnamese workers complaints and has led to workers' dissatisfaction.

Moreover, free time and days off also influence the workers satisfaction. Having days off is a kind of respite service that gives a break to the demand of caregiving (Novak, 2006), allowing to relieve stress for a while. However, Tsay (2007) found that the majority of the workers would not mind to work overtime- if it is related to an extra

benefit that they can earn. However, Tsay found that working with no days off influences the workers' emotion.

Based on the explanation above, I designed the research framework below (Figure 1.1)

**Figure 1.1: Research Framework**



## 1.6. Definitions

In this study, I build three definitions as follows:

1. Job satisfaction is an “individual’s feeling, tendency or predisposition towards his/her job, his/her likes, dislikes, satisfaction and dissatisfaction being a caretaker.”
2. Caretaker is “someone who looks after chronically ill or paralyzed family member(s) in the home because of one of 23 diseases listed by the Taiwan government” (Lan, 2006).
3. A satisfied worker is a worker who feels that characteristics of the job do not restricts him/her from social contact with others outside of the home, does not create much stress and emotion, does not aggravate his/her health, is not boring, does not consume too much energy; feeling happy, the wage is

according to her expectation and is paid regularly; level of education appropriate to work as caretaker; and working condition is good, having a separate room.

## **1.7. Research Methodology**

This is a quantitative and qualitative study. The primary data was collected through surveys and interviews with Indonesian caretakers working in Taipei City and its nearby surrounding areas. Taipei city is selected since it is a place where the aging population and the Indonesian workers are mostly concentrated.

Because of time constraint, in total, opinions from 42 respondents were surveyed. Since Indonesian workers are spread out in areas in Taipei City, the survey was conducted by snowball approach. I carried out the survey in several places in Taipei city, such as parks, mosque, metro stations, and Indonesian restaurants. Finally, I also got respondents outside of Taipei City and I included these in the analysis. The respondents I interviewed were 16 (38%) from Daan district, 9 (21%) from Wenshan District, 6 (14%) from Nangang District, 5 (12%) from Danshui (Beitou District), 2 (4.8%) from Banqiao, 2 (4.8%) from Miaoli, 1 (2.4%) from Wenhua and Taoyuan, respectively.

For the interview, I needed 45 minutes on average for each respondent, which perhaps was not enough for an in-depth interview of a qualitative research. Therefore, further research may be required to broaden and substantiate the findings of my research beyond the scope of this paper. I recorded all information given by the respondents during the interview. In order not to bother the workers' activities, I followed whatever activities they were doing while interviewing them. Sometimes I had to follow them walking around the park or walking to go home or sitting down while watching them helping their caregiving receivers doing exercises. Once I did the interview, I prepared the transcripts and field notes.

The data I collected were analyzed by using statistical analysis, in this case table frequency and descriptive analysis using the organizational behavior approach. First, I inputted data of respondents into an Excel sheet by filling in respondents' answers based on the codes provided in the questioner. Code 1 represents the answer of strongly agree; 2 represents the answer of agree; 3 represents the answer of neutral; 4 represents the answer of disagree and 5 represents the answer of strongly disagree. However, for the analysis I simplified the answers into three categories: 1 (agree), 3 (neutral), and 5 (disagree), in which each category represents the worker's work satisfaction. Furthermore, through pivot tables I correlated the two variables, one is any variable under the individual characteristics, job content, wage, personality job fit and supportive working condition; and the other is job satisfaction. This table displays a summary of the cross tabulation results.

Considering the number of respondents I surveyed and interviewed, I confess that this sample is not able to represent the situation of the Indonesian workers' job satisfactions as caretakers in Taiwan. However, from this limited number of interviewed workers, I can make an indication as to the relationship between their job satisfaction and indicators of job content, wage, personality job fit and supportive working condition. To enrich the analyses, I used results of the interviews with the respondents as supplement. Besides, the organizational behavior approach is used to analyze the data.

Moreover, to obtain secondary data, I used references from journals, books, articles and news available in several Indonesian magazines in Taiwan, internet, television, etc. In order to understand the Indonesian government's policy related to the sending of Indonesian workers to Taiwan and their efforts to improve workers' performance, I interviewed a representative from the Division of Labor- of the Indonesian Economic and Trade Office (IETO). Moreover, to understand the long-term plan of Taiwan's Government related to the policy toward foreign caretakers, I interviewed a representative from the Bureau of Employment and vocational Training, Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, specifically from the Foreign Workers Administration.

## **1.8 A Brief Story of Indonesian Workers in Taiwan**

Indonesia has been popular as the source of workers sent overseas. In 2007, there were 4.3 million workers working overseas. Approximately 59% of them worked in Asia Pacific, in which Taiwan has become the third main destination of the workers. Indonesia workers in Taiwan constitute as the biggest group among the other Asian workers. In 2010 the number reached 165,223 people or represented 42% of the total foreign workers in Taiwan. More than 80% of them worked in the service sector, while the rest worked in other sectors, including industry and agriculture. Unfortunately, their characteristic as workers having low education level has not changed in recent years and has been included in the unskilled workers category. This becomes the reason why the local population often sees themselves as workers having higher level of social status than their coworkers from Indonesia (Loveband, 2004: 339).

Nevertheless, they have played a significant role in contributing to the Indonesian foreign exchange. Therefore, they were awarded title as “heroes of national foreign exchange”. In 2008, their contribution was estimated to reach US\$ 6 billion or represented 1% of the Indonesian GDP or 12.8% of the foreign exchange. About 64% of the total remittances came from the wider Asia region, in which 9.4% was from Taiwan.

However, as the dominant group in the service sector, the Indonesian workers in Taiwan are acknowledged to be the most vulnerable ones since their rights are not protected by the employment law as the workers in the other sectors, like the industrial sector (Tsay, 2007). Besides, their working hours tend to be longer, more than 12 hours per day and sometimes without days off.

## **1.9. Outline**

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one is providing a background to the study, which includes introduction, purpose of the study, rationale, literature

review, conceptual framework, definition, research methodology and a brief story of Indonesian workers in Taiwan. Chapter two discusses the aging society in Taiwan and the long-term care service. It explains the situation of society in Taiwan in which the trend of aging is growing rapidly. It also discusses the Total Fertility Rate, which significantly influences the aging society, and at last discusses about the implementation plan of the long-term care service law by the Taiwanese Government. The possibility of involving foreign care workers in the long-term care service will also be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter three analyzes Indonesian workers in Taiwan. I start the discussion by talking about the Indonesian overseas workers, followed by the emergence of the “*Pahlawan devisa*” or heroes of foreign exchange, an award for the Indonesian workers abroad, plus push and pull factors. Besides, I also discuss the current situation of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan, how they as newcomers have become to dominate the Taiwanese foreign labor market, including the policy of sending workers abroad. Finally, this chapter also discusses the problems faced by the Indonesian workers in Taiwan and some improvement efforts to protect and give better services to the workers.

Chapter four, which introduces the main topic to be discussed explains several research findings on the job satisfaction of Indonesian workers in Taiwan. It also includes implications for future study. Finally, chapter five draws a conclusion and recommendation to this research.

## Chapter 2

### Aging Society in Taiwan and Long-Term Care Service

#### 2.1. Introduction

Issues of aging society in Taiwan have been going on for many years, especially since the government realized the rapid increase of its aged population in a relatively short period of time. The speed of aged population growth has indicated the need for more caretakers. Unfortunately the increase of women participation in Taiwan's labor force has reduced the number of caretakers for especially those the “oldest old” people. This chapter would like to explain the trend of the aged population in Taiwan, how the Total Fertility Rate affects the growth of the aging society and how the government has planned to implement the long-term care service law. Possibility of involving the foreign care workers in the long-term care service will also be a part of the discussion in this chapter.

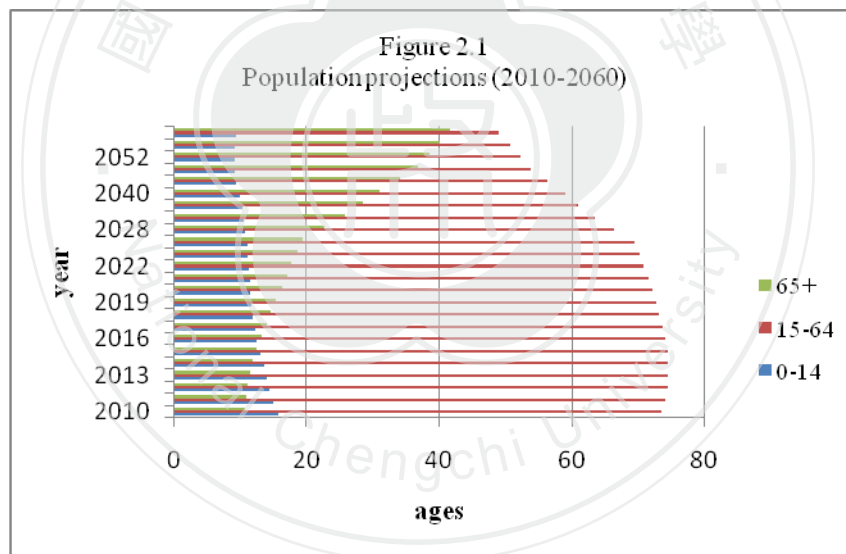
#### 2.2. Trend of the aged population in Taiwan

For almost two decades, Taiwan's demographic trend has shown a rapid change in aged population. The number of the 65 years and above population in Taiwan has increased significantly from 1,490,801 people in 1992 of the total population to 2,487,893 people by 2010 or increased from 7.1% to 10.74%. In other words, within less than twenty years, the elderly population in Taiwan has increased 1.7 times<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup>The rapid and quick increase of the elderly population in Taiwan is also experienced by Singapore which increased 1.72 times, from 5.7% in 1990 to 9.9% in 2010 while South Korea increase almost doubled from 5% to 9.8%. Although number of the Japan's elderly increased less than 1.5 times, however, in term of the proportion, Japan has been the oldest and the highest one. In 1990, Japan's aged population reached 12% of the total population, increased to 17% in 2010. This means that when proportion of elderly in Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore were still under 7%, Hong Kong and Japan have entered an aging society; whereas when Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea were reaching aging society, Japan has entered an aged population.

This speed is more quickly than that of the other advanced countries like in Europe and even in the East Asian countries, like Japan. Many sources have made predictions about the future of Taiwan's population. For example, the US Census Bureau estimated that by 2025, Taiwan's aged population will reach 17.9% while Hong Kong's will be slightly lower than that of Taiwan. Meanwhile, the Taiwan Council for Economic Planning and Development (CEPD) predicted that Taiwan's society will turn to become an aged society by 2017 and become a super-ageing society by 2025. In other words, by 2025 two of every 10 people in Taiwan will be 65 years old (figure 2.1). Thus, within 24 years (from 1993 to 2017) the number of the aged population in Taiwan is estimated to change from 7% to 14%, similar with the speed experienced by Japan (from 1970-1994). However, the number of Taiwan's elderly is predicted to change from 20% to 30% within 15 years (from 2025-2040), much less than that of the prediction for Japan which is 19 years (from 2005-2024) (MingFang, 2010:4).



Source: <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/year/elist.htm>, "Statistic Yearbook of Interior," Ministry of Internal, n.d.

Compared with the other advanced countries, the speed of the demographic ageing process has made Taiwan and the other East Asian nations different from the developed countries of Europe (Kinsella, 2000:37). The process of aging population in European countries to become an aging societies started almost a century ago and increased gradually which allowed the society to adapt to their demographic evolution; while the increase of elderly in Taiwan began quite recently and sharply (Law,



2001:10). For example, Sweden needed 89 years while Italy needed 79 years to change from aging society to become an aged population<sup>3</sup>. A much faster growth rate of the elderly population in Taiwan as compared to that in the Western implies that there would be a much shorter time for the government to establish relevant social policies and programs for facing the challenges arising from population aging (Law, 2001:11) and they may not have the luxury of trial and errors in terms of social program design (Kinsella, 2000:37). For specific responses, MingFang (2010) suggests that Taiwan needs to reform the social security system<sup>4</sup> as the priority.

Currently, among the whole groups of the aged population, that of the 65+ is the biggest, while that of the 75+ groups, in which Kinsella (2000) called as “the oldest old” is lower. However, both groups tend to increase. In the next decade, the group of the 75 and above will be much higher. This group is usually the central focus of the planners since those 85 years and above are more likely to require medical attention, long term care service and other special needs (Clark, 2004:25) whereas they consume disproportionate amounts of health and long-term care services (Kinsella, 2000). Dementia and loss of memory tend to increase at the age of 80 and above which led to the increase in disability of the elderly.

### **2.3. Low Fertility**

Declining in fertility<sup>5</sup> and that in mortality have become factors that cause this rapid aging of the Taiwanese population (Tsay, 2003:68; Uhlenberg, 1992:452; Kinsella, 2000:38). For decades, Taiwan experienced a “demographic transition” from high fertility and mortality rates to low fertility and mortality rates. The Total Fertility (TFR) rate declined from 7.04 in 1950s to 2.1 in 1983 and to 1.03 in 2009, which constitutes to be the lowest in history. It indicates during three decades the number of

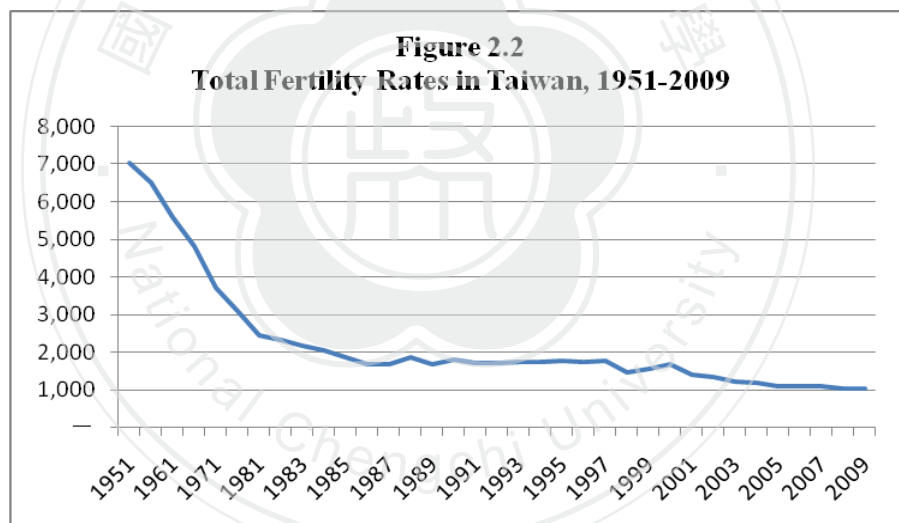
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<sup>3</sup> The aged population is based on those aged 60 years and above (Kinsella, 2000:38)

<sup>4</sup> Social security in Taiwan is defined to secure people’s health, basic education and the minimum standard of living. The aim is to reduce the risk or burden of old age, survivors, disability, sickness, family, maternity, hardship, and poverty of people and family (MingFang, 2010:4).

<sup>5</sup> The contributing factors are late marriage and a declining marriage rate among women in the childbearing age group which have resulted in shorter effective childbearing periods (Tsay, 2003).

children an average woman would have during her lifetime has declined from 7 to 2 children and to one child during the last two decades. Although Taiwan experienced a baby boom in 2000<sup>6</sup>, in which the government expected to see a significant increase because of the special characteristics of that year, the outcome of TFR was disappointing since the rate was lower than expected. In fact, the TFR was only 1.68. The later marriage women have increased and bring consequences to the later age for having child. Under the current rate, Taiwan TFR is acknowledged to be below-replacement fertility, which makes the government worried about the increasing of population, aging of workforce, reducing economic activity, increasing the burden on social security, and weakening the society as a whole (MingFang, 2010:4). Clark (2004: 13) suggests that in order to keep the population at about the same size, by excluding the immigration, Taiwanese women should have a total fertility rate of at least about 2.2.



Source: Statistical Yearbook Of the ROC, 2009, Edited 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Year 2000 was not only acknowledged as a dragon year but also as a millennium, which is believed as a good year for giving birth. The decline of fertility during 2000-2001 was partly contributed by the economic slowdown starting from the middle of 2000. Because of economic insecurity, as a consequence, many young people postponed or abandoned their plans for marriage or having children (Tsay, 2003: 70). This demographic and the socio-economic implications of the rapid fertility decline has become a great concern since it is related to the prospects for labor force growth (Tsay, 2003:68)

In addition, the Crude Death Rate (CDR) has also dropped from 4.76 in 1980 to 6.22 in 2009. The economic expansions, improvement in living conditions and health care have increased the life expectancy of the Taiwanese from 76.35 years in 2000 to 78.5 years in 2010. Women have longer life expectancy (81.2 years) than men (75.34 years). This has shown the better quality of life<sup>7</sup> of the Taiwanese and has become a potential return on investment in human capital.

In Taiwan, informal long-term caregiving by the family has been around for a long time ago, due to the influence of Confucianism (Bartlett and Wu, 2000:214). Children, especially women, should perform their filial piety as part of their obligation toward their parents by taking care of them. About 65.7% of the elderly in Taiwan live with their adult child (Ministry of Interior 1990) and a majority of the people would prefer to live with or nearby their children (Bartlett and Wu, 2000:214); however, the proportion declined to 52.3 % by 1993 and to 48 % by 1996 (Hu, Chen & Chen, 2000: 118). Based on a survey result, 56% of families suggested taking care of their elderly in their own home, 32% in community care and 10% in institutional care (Bartlett and Wu, 2000:215). Factors such as childlessness, children living overseas, or no space for accommodation have become the reasons for the families to live separate from their parents (Bartlett and Wu, 2000:215)

Besides, changes in the family structure in which a number of family members is smaller and increase of woman participation in labor force, have reduced the availability resource for taking care of elderly at home (Bartlett and Wu, 2000:210). Since 2006, Taiwan woman participation in the labor force has tended to increase from 48.68% to 49.89% in 2010, slightly lower than the one for men which has also declined from 67.35% in 2006 to 66.51% in 2010. Caregiving, later on, has become a burden for a full-time working woman. Based on a national survey, almost one third of the primary caregivers of older disabled people were full-time workers and suffered work conflicts (18%). About 25% of them left their jobs to meet the care giving

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<sup>7</sup> If it is compared with other East Asian countries, that in Taiwan is shorter. For example, in 2009, the Japanese's, Singapore's, and Hong Kong's life expectancies were 82.12 years, 81.98 years and 81.86 years respectively. Whereas, that of the South Korea was little bit higher than that of Taiwan's i.e.: 78.72 years. This shows that more advanced countries like Singaporean, and Hong Kong people have better quality of life than those of the South Korean and Taiwanese, whereas Japan enjoys the highest life-expectancy of the world's major countries (Kinsella, 2000:42).

demand. Some 29 % of the caregivers rated their health condition as poor while 48.3% considered their health to be fair. This fact has made some writers assume that parents have no longer enough support from their children (Novak, 2006:351).

#### **2.4. Long-Term Care Service**

The growth of elderly population in Taiwan is accompanied with an increase in certain chronic conditions and functional disability (Bartlett and Wu, 2000:212). Unfortunately improvement in lifestyle, increased accessibility to health care and health promotion programs targeting some chronic diseases are likely to have played a part in improving mortality (Bartlett and Wu, 2000:212). In Bartlett and Wu (2000), Wu et al mentioned that the measurement of functional disability has been used to estimate the need of a representative sample of 2.892 non-institutionalized elderly people for home or community-based long-term care. Moreover, she found that between 6-14% of the non institutionalized elderly suffer from physical disability. A national survey of elderly in 1991 estimated that 60% of the elderly were not in good health, in which 3% of them could not look after themselves. Approximately 90,000 elderly in 1992 needed assistance, but the number was predicted increase to 200,000 in 2010 and 500,000 in 2036 (Bartlett and Wu, 2000). Therefore, it is suggested that the government provides a long-term care service for such kind of elderly.

Long-term care (LTC) is defined as care delivered to individuals who are dependent on others for assistance with the basic tasks necessary for physical, mental and social functioning over a sustained period of time (Phillips, 2000). Therefore, the provision of nursing homes or other LTC institutions varies considerably among different countries (Phillips, 2000).

In Taiwan, long-term care system is one of six pillars which have been constructed by the government for social security. The government set up (1) public assistance, (2) social insurance, (3) social welfare, (4) public health and medical, (5) employment measures, and (6) housing and community development. Social insurance is considered as the most important one, which was established after 1950. Up to 2008,

there are four social insurance systems, including (1) national health insurance, (2) protection for workers ensuring occupational accident insurance system, (3) employment insurance system, and (4) national pension insurance system. The last one which is under consideration of the legislation is the long-term care insurance system (MingFang, 2010).

The purpose of the long-term care insurance system is to ease the burden of the elderly and to create new employment and is especially constructed because those existing systems cannot work well and do work in weak cooperation with each other<sup>8</sup>.

Regarding the long-term care service, the Taiwan government started to propose it in 2008. However in 2001 the Pilot Program for the Development of Long-Term Care System was already done. One year later, the government developed the Plan of Care Service Industry which followed by establishing a Six-Star Health Community Project in 2005. In 2007 the government set up the Ten-Years Plan for Long-Term Care. However, long-term care service in Taiwan is not prepared to cope with the increasing need for government intervention in the care and support for older persons, and so are most countries in Asia Pacific regions, like Japan, South Korea and Singapore (Bartlett and Wu, 2000).

In 2011 the government plans to implement the long-term care service law. The aim is to ensure the quality of service and safeguard the rights of people receiving long-term care (Chen and Pin, 2011). However, it is not easy to be implemented in 2011 due to the various problems of the present long-term care condition in Taiwan. Just like Japan, South Korea and Singapore<sup>9</sup>, Taiwan was not well prepared for facing the

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<sup>8</sup> See MingFang (2010) for the detail.

<sup>9</sup> In fact that Singapore was very successful in improving the standard of living of its citizens and meeting with their economic development plan (Law, 2001:12). This indicated that economic development has become Singapore's highest priority, sometimes at the expense of social welfare developments (Law, 2001:12). In Singapore, formal institution supports and services for the elderly are quite preliminary and marginal (Law, 2001:12). Singaporean society adopts a "family care" approach to support the social, financial and personal needs of their older citizens (Law, 2001:12). Under this condition, the family is expected to be the primary carers for the elderly. The elderly are encouraged to stay with and seek support from their family members. While the government's support is limited to provide supplementary supports to the family, such as health care and community centers and to provide necessary social assistance and services for those elderly citizens without family (Law, 2001:12).

challenges arising from the aging population, especially in preparing the social service for the significant increase of the elderly population.

Since “aging-in-place” will be the most important care principle in the draft, hence manpower for home helper and care manager will be very central for the in-home services. According to MingFang (2010), the three main problems included: (1) the resource lack of home care service; (2) shortage for domestic caregivers; (3) misunderstanding of care by the society; and (4) weak real-time care management.

This problem is related with the foreign care worker policy in 1992 which allow the foreign workers to be involved in caregiving job. Because of the limited service provided by the government, many of the higher income families could not use the service and tried to cope with the problems by use-in facility service, employ foreign workers for the whole day, employ Taiwanese caregiver for day time, or one family become caretaker. However, due to the high amount of expenses that a family must bear, it becomes a financial burden. Moreover, the economic instability condition as a result of the global crisis in 2008 has made 1,144 people lived under unstable economic conditions (MingFang, 2010) which made it more difficult to manage the long-term care service charge. Now, the number of the foreign careworkers is about nine times higher than the one of domestic caregivers (Mingfang, 2010), which means that they have significant contribution to the family care in Taiwan. Therefore, by implementing the long-term care service insurance, it is hoped that the government can create more jobs for the domestic caregivers by reducing the number of the foreign caregivers.

Nevertheless, many studies suggest that this will not succeed since such a kind of job is not attractive enough for the domestic workers. Thus, the government’s plan to reduce number of foreign workers in households and replace them with the domestic care workers is acknowledged to be pessimistic. Moreover, compared to the domestic

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Compared to the western aging society, social security systems in Singapore is also underdeveloped. The Central Provident Fund of Singapore was established in 1953. However the Fund was criticized for its consistency low return rates due to an extremely conservative investment strategy, which may not be able to accumulate sufficient fund to meet the financial needs of the increasing elderly population in Singapore in the foreseeable future (Law, 2001:12).

workers, hiring a foreign worker is much cheaper and allows for more flexibility in terms of the service and time offered.

Therefore, MingFang suggests that if the government would like to improve the quality of service, one of the ways is by constructing a multiethnic cooperative society by hiring foreign care workers to be employed as home care for the same nationality clients. In 2010, it was estimated that there were 400 thousands wives from Mainland China and Southeast Asian (MingFang, 2010). If they are sick, it is possible that foreign wives are served by workers who have the same nationality. Besides, he also suggested separating the resident of the workers from work in order to improve the foreign workers' working conditions. The last suggestion was to let the government check each of the foreign worker's service ability and then provide care skill training regularly every year and issue a diploma at the end of the course.

According to the CLA<sup>10</sup>, the long-term care service law has been under the deliberation by the cabinet. Although this law is based on Japan's experiences, it is planned to be in practice, will be different from Japan's experience. In Japan, a caretaker should fulfill the requirement of a particular level of Japanese language skill. Those who failed to fulfill the requirements will not be accepted to work as caretakers in Japan. Meanwhile, if Taiwan's government will allow the foreign workers to be involved in this long-term care service, they should follow particular care service training and learning Mandarin, but they will not be required to reach a certain level of language skill. Moreover, Taiwan has no requirement about a worker's level of education to follow this program, but it depends on the requirement in the home country. Therefore, workers from any level of education who are really interested to work for long-term care service can apply for this job opportunity.

With this law, it is expected that the foreign workers will receiver better working conditions. They will receive wage as much as the domestic care workers. If the domestic care worker's wage increases, the foreign workers' will increase, too.

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<sup>10</sup> Based on interview between the author and representative officer of the International Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, especially from the Foreign Workers Administration on Tuesday, June 14, 2011 in Taipei.

Besides, the working hours are also stated in the law, which provides better protection for the foreign careworkers.





## Chapter 3

### Indonesian Workers in Taiwan

#### 3.1. Introduction

Indonesia is the fourth most populous nation in the world, but it entered the international labor market later than the Philippines (Lan, 2006:47). The number of Indonesian workers, called as “*Tenaga Kerja Indonesia*” or TKI, has increased sharply in the last two decades. This chapter will be discussing trends and characteristics of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan, including the domination of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan’s service sector, the emergence of the “*pahlawan devisa*”, push and pull factors, as well as the emigration policy in Indonesia. Problems of the workers and the improvement efforts to protect and give better services to the workers will also be discussed.

#### 3.2. Indonesian Workers Overseas

The trend of Indonesian workers going overseas has increased significantly since the 1980s. Previously, there were only limited numbers of Indonesian workers working abroad and most of these migrated to Europe, especially the Netherlands. However, due to the oil boom in the Middle East Gulf region in the 1980s, more Indonesian workers migrated to Saudi Arabia. In the 1990s, the rapid industrialization in East Asia’s “Four Tigers” – Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea started to attract more foreign workers, including Indonesian workers. In Lan (2006:47), Kathryn Robinson argues that this rapid expansion indicates features of the “new” migration, which is characterized by globalization, acceleration, and feminization.

According to the National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers Overseas (*Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja*

*Indonesia/BNP2TKI*), up to 2008 there were about 3 million Indonesian workers abroad that spread out in many regions all over the world. The number represents 2.78% of the total labor force in the same period. However, it is predicted to be higher since some of them have migrated illegally.

Data provided by the Bank Indonesia in 2007 showed about 4.3 million Indonesian workers work overseas, in which 59% of the total worked in Asia Pacific, 41% was in the Middle East and Africa, while the rest was in the US, Europe and Australia. In Asia, Malaysia has been the main destination of the workers (81%), whereas in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia was the most popular destination (90%). Meanwhile, among the East Asian countries, they choose Taiwan as the main destination.

In 2007, the BNP2TKI sent about 681,400 people half of which (336,000) were placed in the Asian region; 344,000 were placed in the Middle East, while the rest was to US, Europe and Australia. In terms of gender, about 79% of the workers were women during the same period of time and 77% of them worked for informal sector, while the rest worked in the formal sector. In terms of education, most of them achieved low education, which mostly are from elementary school or even did not fully graduate (72%) and high school, including diploma (28%). This situation is very different from the Filipinos workers overseas who mostly achieved a relatively high educational level.

The Indonesian workers overseas come from various places all over Indonesia, such as West Java, East Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta, Lampung, Jakarta, NTT, NTB, Manado, Nunukan, South Sulawesi, South East Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, etc. Most of them are married, while the rest are divorced (World Bank, 2006). Since 2008 the BNP2TKI targeted number of the workers for formal sector sent overseas increased to from 23% to 40%.

Figure 3.1 Map of Indonesia



### 3.3. The Emergence of “Pahlawan Devisa”

In the mid of the 1980s, under the Suharto leadership, the government began to regulate the international deployment of migrant labor (Lan, 2006). The “repressive-developmental” government started to allow foreign investors to contribute to economic growth<sup>11</sup> by creating new forms of waged employment and adopting an instrumental attitude that linked the labor market with the flow of international labor (Robinson, 2000).

Although the amount of remittance<sup>12</sup> sent by the workers overseas was not much, sending labor overseas was acknowledged as one of the solutions to cope the

<sup>11</sup> Between 1987-1997, with the annual real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth averaged nearly 7%, most analysts acknowledged that Indonesia was one of the Newly Industrializing Economies and an emerging market. Unfortunately, the financial crisis in 1997 altered the economic landscape, left much debt.

<sup>12</sup> Worker remittances have generally been understood as a portion of earnings migrants send from a country other than their own to a relative in their country of origin for the purpose of meeting certain economic and financial obligations (ADB, 2006). The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations (UN), and the World Bank have defined it as the transferred migrant earnings. However, the most popular definition is that used by the IMF. It covers three balance-of-payments components: *workers’ remittances* (current transfers), *compensation to employees* (income), and *migrants’ transfers* (capital transfers). The first two are part of the current account, while the latter is part of the capital account (ADB, 2004).

Compared with the Philippines, the Indonesian workers’ remittances were lower. In 2007, Indonesia received US\$ 6 billion, while the Philippines received US\$ 14.5 billion. Meanwhile, India, China,

unemployment problem. It was stated in the Guideline for State Policy or *Garis Besar Haluan Negara (GBHN)* especially since the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the five-year-plan (*Repelita III*) from 1979-1984. In the *Repelita VI* (1994-1999), the government targeted 1.25 million workers sent overseas but the realization was over targeted whereas in the *Repelita VII* (1999-2004) the target was doubled to 2.8 million (Hugo 2002b:78) as a result of the financial crisis in 1998<sup>13</sup>.

To coordinate the international labor, in 1983 for the first time the Department of Manpower and Transmigration (*Depnakertrans*) set up the office of AKAN (*Angkatan Kerja Antar Negeri* or Labor Movement Between Countries). The AKAN set up two divisions for Middle East and Asia Pacific regions. Since then the workers sent overseas has been involved with private enterprises, namely TKI Executing Private Placement (*Pelaksana Penempatan TKI Swasta/PPTKIS*). Up to 1986, the workers placement overseas was handled by the Department of Manpower and Transmigration (*Depnakertrans*). However, in 1994 the AKAN was dissolved and its functions were replaced by the Directorate of Labor Export Services. However, in 1999 it was dissolved and its function was replaced by the Directorate of Worker Placement Overseas (PTKLN). At the same time, the government established the Worker Placement Coordination Board (BKPTKI) in order to improve the quality of the worker's placement and protection which was followed by the launching of the President Decree Number 29/1999. In 2001, the PTKLN was replaced by the Directorate General of Worker Placement and Protection Overseas (PPTKLN).

Realizing the potential of remittances which continues to increase, the Indonesian government began to manage the export of workers abroad seriously. According to the Bank Indonesia, in 2005 the amount reached US\$ 5.3 billion or represented 2% of the Indonesian GDP or 15.3% of the foreign exchange and increased to US\$ 6.6

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Mexico were the top three remittances receivers, with US\$ 27 billion, US\$ 25.7 billion and US\$ 25 billion, respectively (World Bank, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> The increasing number of worker sending to overseas has also increased number of PPTKIS from 200 agencies in 1998 to 600 agencies in 1999. Up to 2010, there were 571 PPTKIS spread in 19 provinces in Indonesia, in which DKI Jakarta is the majority, numbered 334 agencies or representing almost 58.5% of the total, followed by the East Java (13%), West Java (10%) and others (17.51%) (Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration, 2010).

billion by 2008<sup>14</sup> or represented 1% of the GDP or 12.8% of the foreign exchange. However, the number dropped to US\$ 6 billion one year later and was estimated to be influenced by the global crisis (Table 3.1).

From the total amount, about 64% of the remittance came from the Asia region and the rest are from the Middle East region. Those which came from the Asian region, 68% of the total remittance came from Malaysia, accounted for US\$ 2.6 billion, followed by Hong Kong with US\$ 417 million (11%), and Taiwan with US\$ 358 million (9.4%). Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia became the biggest contributor of those from the Middle East with total amount of US\$ 1.7 billion (83%), followed by Uni Emirat Arab (UEA) which accounted for US\$ 145 million (7%), and Yordania and Suriah which contributed US\$ 84 million (4%).

However, data from the bank showed lower numbers, which was only US\$ 1.10 billion or 17% of the total, in which that from Saudi Arabia was the biggest, accounted for US\$ 570 (52%), followed by Malaysia which accounted for US\$ 182 million (17%) whereas Taiwan is number three, with US\$ 88 million (8%). The inflows are usually higher during the time close to important Muslim holidays or when school was just about to start. It tells us that the remittances are having a close relation with the education fee. A lot of Indonesian workers came to Taiwan not because of the urgent economic needs but to prepare for their children's future welfare including education (Lan, 2006:127).

Taking into account this potential, further, the government needs to regulate the sending of Indonesian workers well. In order to reward the central role of the Indonesian workers overseas, the government declared the overseas workers to be "foreign exchange heroes" or "*pahlawan devisa*"<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> The number declined to US\$ 6 billion after the Bank Indonesia made an adjustment (Bank Indonesia, 2009).

<sup>15</sup> In practice, the term of "*pahlawan devisa*" are still far from the original expectations. To improve the services given to the workers returned to Indonesia, the government established a special terminal for them, namely terminal 3, in the International Sukarno-Hatta Airport-Jakarta. Slogan of "*welcome pahlawan devisa*" in the arrival terminal 3 can be seen clearly; however, many extortion cases were experienced by the workers that created negative impression about this terminal (Tabloit Dunia TKI, 2007).

Table 3.1

## Overseas Workers' Remittances 2005-2010, (US\$ billions)

Year	Amount	% of GDP	% of foreign exchange
2005	5.3	2	15.3
2006	5.6	2	13.1
2007	6.0	1	10.5
2008	6.6	1	12.8
2009	6.0	1	10.0
2010 (1st semester)	3.3	1	4.40

Source: <http://kampungtki.com/baca/19301>. The data constitute compilation from BNP2TKI, Bank Indonesia and Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration of RI

In order to reform the placement and protection system of Indonesian workers overseas, the President Instruction No 6/2006 was launched which regulates several important policies, i.e.: (1) workers placement, which included the simplification and decentralization of the workers placement, improvement in quality and quantity of the prospective workers, providing service in the embarkation and disembarkation by implementing one roof service system; (2) workers protection, including: workers advocating and enhancing function of the Indonesian representatives overseas in protecting workers; (3) eradication brokers and sponsors in regions in Indonesia, as well as in embarkation and disembarkation; (4) improving professionalism of workers placement institutions; (5) support from banking institutions through credit facilitation for the prospective workers as well as through remittances management; and (6) negotiation between Indonesian government and the receiving countries governments regarding the workers' wage increase in the informal sector (Table 3.2).

In order to achieve these goals, in 2004 the government established the BNP2TKI, which was followed by the launching of President Instruction Number 81/2006 on the formation of the BNP2TKI. The main regulation of the board is to carry out the promotion, placement, and protection of Indonesian overseas workers (BNP2TKI, 2011). By coordinating with other institutions, such as the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration, etc., these

institutions have tried to provide a better placement and protection system for Indonesian workers overseas.

Nevertheless, this institution is considered to have failed to perform its functions to protect Indonesian workers overseas due to many cases affecting the Indonesian workers overseas. Although since June 27 the BNP2TKI launched a new service, i.e.: a call center to help workers who are in troubles, members of parliament demands it to be dissolved (Suteja, 2011). Besides, the Law Number 39/2004 about worker placement and protection overseas also failed to protect the workers since it concerns more the worker placement instead of worker protection. Therefore, the government is planning to revise the law as soon as possible (Suara Pembaharuan, 2011).

#### **3.4. Feminization of the Workers**

The majority of female workers sent overseas recently shows a fact that there has been a change in the meaning of woman. Previously, a woman was acknowledged as ‘a reproducer of the next generation’, but now it has changed to be a human resource with the economic potential to benefit national development (Lan, 2006:50).

Among other Muslim-majority population countries in Asia, Indonesia is the only country, which allows the export of female workers to work in domestic sector. The Women’s Affair Ministry recommended the government that women should be treated with respect since women are the pillar of the nation. However, after some rape and abuse cases experienced by workers in Saudi Arabia, including the case of a female worker who was sentenced to death for murdering her employer in Saudi Arabia, the government imposed a ban for sending workers to Saudi Arabia in 1980 and 1986. Unfortunately, not long after that, the ban was lifted (Lan, 2006).

Again, in 2011 the discussion on the prohibition of sending workers to Saudi Arabia occurred due to the response of the case of Ruyati, a worker who was also sentenced

to death in Saudi Arabia in 2011, which constitutes controversial case<sup>16</sup>. According to Oishi, the emigration policy for female workers in Indonesia is included in the value-laden policy, which is driven by social value and moral concern unlike policies for male migrants (Lan, 2006).

### **3.5. Push Factors**

The increasing trend of Indonesian overseas workers, especially to Taiwan, cannot be separated from the condition of domestic employment in Indonesia (Bank of Indonesia, 2009). Before the crisis in 1998, the unemployment rate in Indonesia reached 4.7% and increased significantly to 8.1% in 2001 (Lan, 2006). However, the improving economic condition has reduced unemployment from 11.24% in 2005 to 7.14% in 2010 (August) (Central Bureau of Statistic, 2009).

After the economic recovery in 2001, Indonesian economy grew slowly by 5.7% annually. The GDP growth steadily raised to 6.3% in 2007 or slightly increased to 6.5% by 2010 and it is predicted to reach 6.4% in 2011. The high growth rate was experienced by sectors such as transport and communication (12.9%), trade, hotel and restaurant (9%), construction (7.2%), and finance (6.1%), which do not create much employment. In contrast, the growth of the manufacturing sector, which mostly provides more job opportunities, was only 3.1 to 3.9% during the same period. The unemployment level in Indonesia declined from 7.87% in August 2009 to 7.14% in August 2010 (Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, 2010). Job absorption will increase more if the share of manufacturing sector in the economy increased.

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<sup>16</sup> Regarding the death penalty experienced by Ruyati, the Saudi Arabia government informed the Indonesian government after the execution was done. The Saudi government's apology which was delivered by the Indonesian ambassador for Saudi Arabia was responded to by president of the Republic of Indonesia by issuing six decisions, i.e.: (1) President supports the moratorium of sending workers to Saudi Arabia which will take into affect from August 1, 2011; (2) the moratorium will be valid until MOU between both states is signed and the Joint Task Force is set up; (3) President prepared a letter to King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz related the execution; (4) President will form a special task force to defend workers under sentence of death overseas; (5) establish attaché of law and human rights and (6) President will determine, form, and decide after the integrated team completed their task to evaluate workers-related problems in overseas (Rusydi, 2011). Moreover, the biggest Islamic Organization, Nahdatul Ulama has also agreed with the Indonesian Cleric Assembly to determine a "haram" fatwa to the sending workers to Saudi Arabia (Adam, 2011).



Meanwhile, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which is aimed at increasing employment opportunity has not created a great number of job opportunities due to the nature of sectors invested by the foreign investors. Foreign investors prefer to invest in telecommunication and construction sectors, instead of manufacturing. This nature of growth has resulted in less multiplier effect on declining the poverty rate and job creation and poverty has become one of factors that pushed Indonesian workers to migrate overseas (Lan, 2006:128).

Moreover, the informal sector<sup>17</sup> which has been dominating the Indonesian economic structure since the economic crisis in 1998, could create job opportunities for those whose level of education is low (Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, 2010:12). This indicates that more unemployment is experienced by the young and more educated people.

### **3.6. Pull Factors**

Why has Taiwan been so attractive for the Indonesian workers? Several reasons have attracted Indonesian workers to migrate to Taiwan.

*First* is due to the increasing prosperity within this region. Between the 1960s and 1990s, Taiwan together with Singapore, South Korea, and Hong Kong has enjoyed remarkable economic growth due to the pace and progress of industrialization (Wang, 1997). The export-driven development strategy has led Taiwan's GDP per capita to increase from US\$ 150 to over US\$ 10,000 with 7.2% of annual growth rate (Wang,

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<sup>17</sup> Since the economic crisis in 1997, there was a transition within Indonesian structural economy. The formal sector which used to be the growth engine of the economy was replaced by the informal sector. Up to now, the informal sector has become the biggest contributor in employment providing. The transition reflected the public's respond for survival strategy to cope with the financial crisis. However, the economic recovery which was started in 2005, in fact, did not indicate an increasing share of the formal sector within the economy. Structural transformation in production and service sectors perhaps could be the answer of this reason. The transformation was affected by the sharp decline in production, a massive shift in relative prices caused by exchange rate drop and inflation, as well as the reduction in oil subsidy to maintain the economic stability (Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, 2010)

1997) and reached US\$ 17,927 in 2009<sup>18</sup> (Trading Economics, 2011). The numbers are much higher than the Indonesia's that increased from US\$ 200 in 1960 to US\$ 600 in 1990 and reached US\$ 1,100 in 2009<sup>19</sup> (Trading Economics\_b, 2011). This increasing prosperity has even changed Taiwan from a source of emigration to an immigration country (Lan, 2006).

The Small Medium sized Enterprises (SMEs)<sup>20</sup> which developed due to the incentives from government became the primary agent for development and has absorbed abundant of labor supply in industrial estates across the island (Cheng, 2001:29). It was also coupled with the emergence of FDI that expanded the export-oriented industries. Unfortunately, in the 1980s, due to the rise of China's economy, Taiwan lost its competitiveness for its traditional industries, such as shoemaking and textile (Chuang, 2009). Coupled with the labor dispute and environmental protection, Taiwan manufacturing industries had to be removed to other cheaper-wage countries such as China or to hire cheaper wage workers from other Southeast Asian countries.

In recent years technology intensive industry has made semiconductor and computer industries become the leading and mainstay of Taiwan's industry<sup>21</sup> (Cheng, 2001:34). In 2009, Taiwan became the 16<sup>th</sup> largest trading country in the world in terms of merchandise trade value ([www.taiwantrade.com.tw](http://www.taiwantrade.com.tw), 2010). Its GNP per capita reached US\$ 16,969, slightly declined from the previous year due to the global economic crisis.

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<sup>18</sup> Data from IMF and forecast, at current price (Trading Economics, 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Data at constant price since 2000 (Trading Economics, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> Between the 1960s-1970s there were 44,054 enterprises in Taiwan, in which focused on export market while the large firms concentrated on domestic market. About 68% of the small companies employed less than twenty workers while the rest employed up to fifty workers. Small firms more concentrated in the manufacturing of textile, apparel, leather goods, woods and bamboo products basic metals, metal products, machinery equipment and miscellaneous industrial product. The others were in industries producing food, beverages, tobacco, paper, printing, chemical and non-metallic mineral products (Chuang, 2009b).

<sup>21</sup> In 2009, Taiwanese number one products in the world include: Mask Rom, IC testing, Foundry, optical discs, Chlorella, electro-deposited copper foil, cable CPE, PNDs, Golf heads, LCD monitors, glass fiber, Desktop PCs, Power wheelchairs and power scooters, instant noodles. This data excludes the offshore production (Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 2010).

Among the other four Newly Industries Economies (NIEs), Taiwan constitutes as the latest one which entered Asia market of international migration. In 1989, for the first time Taiwan legalized foreign workers to be included in national construction projects and manufacturing industries. Since that time, Taiwan started to officially import contract workers from Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, including Indonesia (Tsay, 2003). In May 1992, the Taiwan government launched the Employment Service Law that serves a legal basis for the recruitment and regulation of foreigners (Lan, 2006:34).

*Second*, along with demographic, social, and cultural influences, Taiwan and the other Asian NIEs and Japan faced labor shortage, which resulted in a demand for foreign workers (Tsay, 2003). The success of the industrial sector increased the number of middle class households and created demand for the domestic labor migrant workers. It was difficult to find out the local domestic workers or care takers since they were not interested in those kinds of jobs, even with high wage (Lan, 2006) because more and more Taiwanese would prefer to work in secondary and tertiary industry. These vacant jobs then have been fulfilled by the migrant labors to do house-work so called “3-D jobs”, including childcare, and care for the ill and elderly.

*Third*, is the wage difference between Taiwan and Indonesia. Compared with that in Indonesia and the other countries, the similar type of so called 3-D job in Taiwan offers relatively higher wage. For example, a domestic worker working in a big city like Jakarta, can earn wage on the range between Rp 750,000 to Rp 1,000,000 per month, which is equal to US\$ 60 to US\$ 100 per month. Whereas the child care taker can earn higher, at the average range of Rp 750,000 to Rp 2,000,000 (or US\$ 75 to US\$ 200 per month). Meanwhile, those in Malaysia can earn a wage of 500 RM (US\$ 156) and in Singapore it is about Sin\$ 350 (US\$ 288) per month. In Saudi Arabia, the wage rate from 600 Real (US\$ 160) per month in which since 2007 has increased by 33.3% to 800 Real (US\$ 213) per month. Meanwhile in Taiwan, a care worker can receive a minimum wage rate of NT 15,840 (US\$ 546) per month or NT 17,920 (US\$

618) without days off per month<sup>22</sup>. Thus, it means that among the destination countries, Taiwan offers the most attractive wage.

Table 3.2  
Various wage rate received by Indonesian workers overseas

Wage	Currencies	Old rate	New rate	Date of validity
Singapore	Sin	280	350	07/01/2007
Saudi Arabia	Real	600	800	08/01/2007
Malaysia	RM	-	500	08/01/2007
Kuwait	US\$	150	200	08/01/2007
Qatar	US\$	150	200	08/01/2007
Oman	US\$	150	200	08/01/2007
UEA	Dhs	600	800	08/01/2007
Jordanian	US\$	150	200	08/01/2007
Bahrain	US\$	150	200	08/01/2007

Source: Bank Indonesia, 2009.

*Fourth*, the stability of Taiwan economic growth which survived from the Asian financial crisis in 1998 has also attracted the Indonesian migrant workers to work in Taiwan. The economic structure shaped by its policy as well as the huge hoarding of foreign exchange reserve helped Taiwan to be immune from the crisis<sup>23</sup> (Cheng, 2001:36). Indonesia as a New Asian Tiger whose economic boom dropped during the financial crisis, has taken this opportunity to accelerate the export of its nationals to smooth the problems of labor surplus and rising unemployment (Lan, 2006:8).

*Fifth*, the World Bank (2006) mentioned several factors that have caused them to migrate to overseas, including the much higher number of jobs offered overseas as well as more varied and more promising; following the footsteps of family or friends

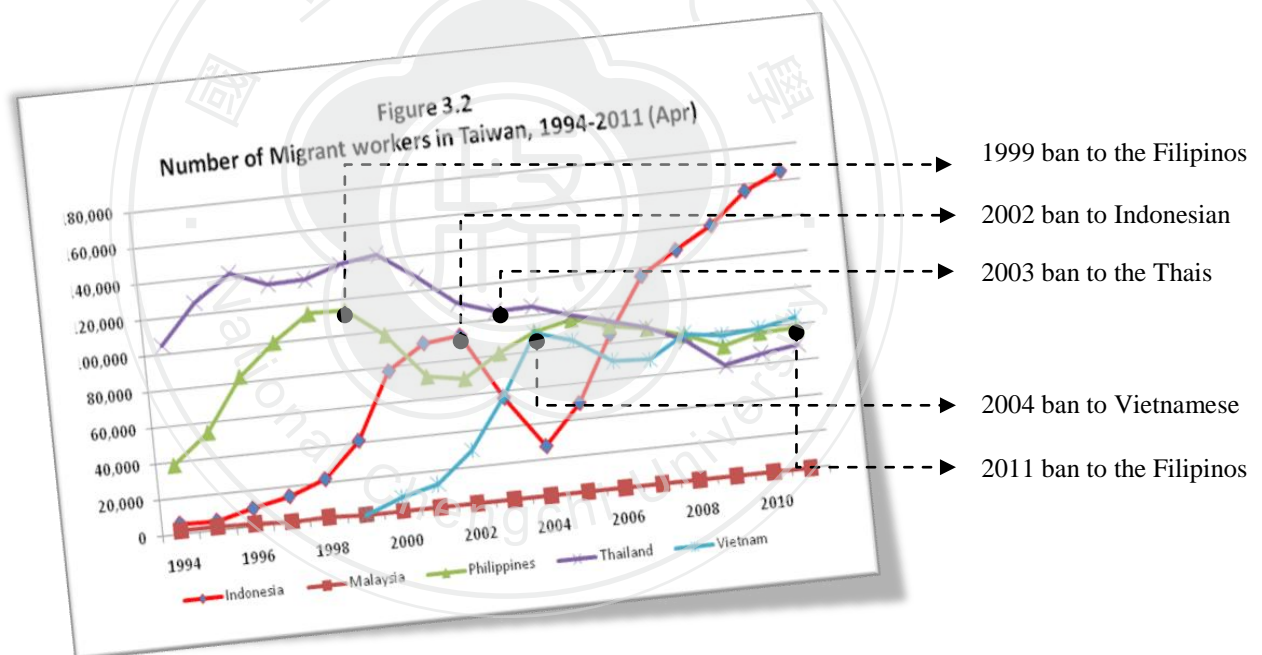
<sup>22</sup> It is assumed that US\$ 1 equals to 3.01608 MYR, 3.01608 \$Singapore, 3.75023 Saudi Arabian Riyal, and NT 32.

<sup>23</sup> The East Asian economic development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century which was begun with the emergence of Japanese power in the region was finally ended by the Asian Financial Crisis (Cheng, 2001:36).

who have already migrated earlier; influence from agents whose role is significant in recruitment process, as well as to gain a higher social status.

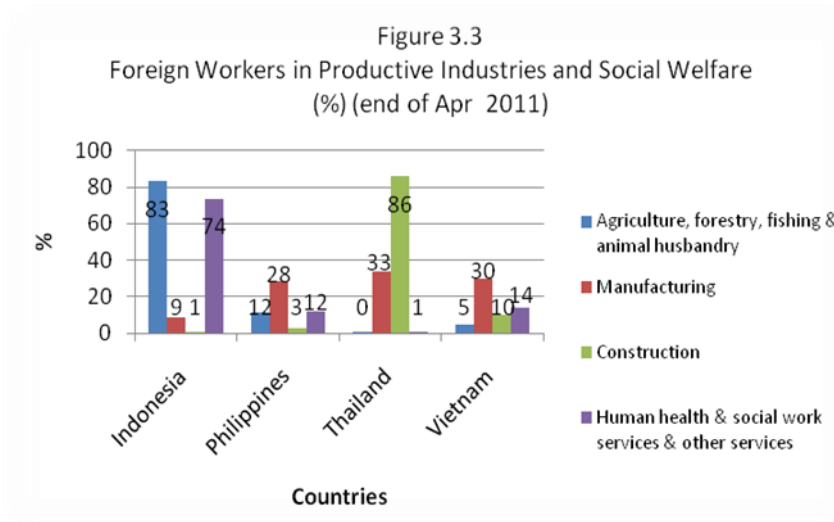
### 3.7. Indonesian Migrant Workers in Taiwan: New Players

At the end of April 2011, there were 395,944 foreign workers in total in Taiwan. From the number, there were approximately 165,223 Indonesian workers, which constituted 42% of the total foreign workers in Taiwan, whereas numbers of the Vietnamese, the Thais and the Filipinos were 84,039, 77,933 and 68,739 or constituted 21.2%, 20% and 17%, respectively. In this position, Indonesian workers have dominated the share of Taiwan labor market (Figure 3.2).



Source: Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, CLA. 2011.

The Indonesian workers have dominated the agricultural, forestry, fishing and animal husbandry (83%) and the human health and social work service sector (74%). It is different from the Vietnamese, Thais and the Filipinos that tend to have larger proportion in manufacturing sector, with proportions of 30%, 30% and 28%, respectively; and construction sector especially for the Thais (86%) (Figure 3.3).



Source: Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, CLA, 2011.

Compared to the other Asian workers in Taiwan, Indonesian workers in Taiwan constitute as new player (Lan, 2006). Although Indonesian workers migration to Taiwan has been going on since 1980, the formal migration was begun in 1992, when the Taiwan government enacted the Employment Service Law that serves a legal basis for the recruitment and regulation of foreigners. Meanwhile, the Thais started to enter the Taiwan labor market in 1982 (Tsay, 2002), the Vietnamese in 1986, while the Filipinos had just entered it in the middle of the 1990s.

Before, a lot of Indonesian workers who came into Taiwan used to use tourist visas and over stayed their visa (Lan, 2002). This situation had raised crucial policy issues and concerns for Taiwan government. In 1992 the government launched a new regulation to allow foreign workers from four Asian countries - Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines - to make a living in Taiwan. However, since Malaysian government has also been lack of human resources, finally Malaysia reduced number of its workers to migrate to Taiwan.

According to the statistics, in 1994 the Indonesian government sent about 6,020 workers to Taiwan, which represented 4% of the total foreign workers. The number increased steadily to 22,000 workers in 1998. However, the number increased by 86.91% one year later because of the Asian financial crisis. The Indonesian

government has taken this opportunity to accelerate the export of its nationals to smooth the problems of labor surplus and rising unemployment (Lan, 2006).

In 2000, the number of the Indonesian workers ranked number three, just after Thais (69%) and the Filipinos (25%). However, the Indonesians' position replaced the Filipinos' ranking to number two after a ban was imposed on the Philippines Government one year later. Unilaterally severing air links with Taipei in 1999 and an official memorandum to the CLA mentioning that Taiwan was a part of China became the reason for imposing the ban. At the same time, the Taiwan government opened the door to Vietnamese workers.

Meanwhile, in 2002 another ban was imposed temporarily to the Indonesian Government due to many running away workers that made number of Indonesian workers dropped significantly. However, it was extended as a respond of fraught diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Taiwan. The plan of President Chen Shui-bian to make a private visit to Indonesia was reported cancelled by the media in Taiwan. However, the Indonesian media informed the opposite. The Taiwan government considered this accident as "a serious humiliation of the dignity of Taiwan's nationhood" (Lan, 2006:41), hence Taiwan Government extended the ban. However, it was lifted two years later after a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Indonesia and Taiwan was signed in Bali. At the same time, a ban to the Vietnamese workers was imposed due to the increasing number of runaway workers. Since that time, number of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan increased significantly.

In 2003, the Taiwan government also imposed a ban to the Thailand government after imposing ban on Taiwan tourists to visit Thailand due to the SARS epidemic in Taiwan and other East Asia countries. Such bans action toward foreign workers sending into Taiwan due to the crisis political relations between countries, in which media calls as "foreign labor diplomacy" has influenced the dynamics of the foreign workers recruitment into Taiwan.

On April 9, 2005, for the first time after the ban, the Indonesian government sent about 1,009 workers to Taiwan (Suara Merdeka, 2005). In contrast, the number of those from Vietnam, Thailand and the Philippines has decreased. The decrease of the

Thailand migrant workers was perhaps related to finishing a project on establishing the high speed railway. Meanwhile, the declining number of the Filipinos perhaps was caused by the Philippine government's policy to substitute professionals for the maids that are now sent to nearby countries, including Taiwan<sup>24</sup> (Martin, 1993). However, the decline in 2011 was generated by the diplomatic relation between Taiwan and Manila which occurred this year. In February 2011 the Philippine Government deported 14 Taiwanese suspects to China, in which the move had sparked a diplomatic row between Taipei and Manila (Shih, 2011). It is perhaps one of the reasons that number of the Vietnamese workers slightly increased for the last couple of years.

### **3.8. The Domination of Indonesian workers in Care Service Sector**

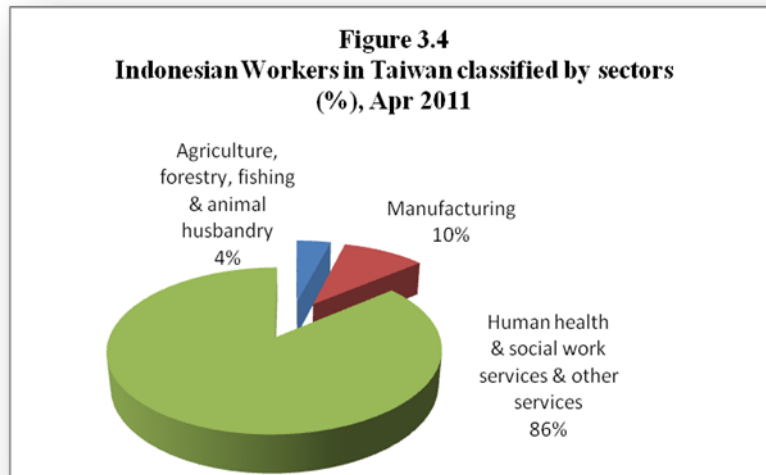
Among all of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan, 87% work in the service sector<sup>25</sup>, both as house maids or nurses, 10% in manufacturing sector and the rest in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and animal husbandry sector (Figure 3.4). Their ages are between 21 – 35 years. Moreover, they mostly have a low level of education. The Indonesian worker's situation is quite different from the Filipino workers. Though they work in the same sector as caretaker, the Filipinos tend to have higher level of education and skills (Lan, 2006). This is the reason why they often seen themselves as workers having higher level of social status than their coworkers the Indonesian workers (Loveband, 2004: 339).

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<sup>24</sup> However, there is an uncertainty for this policy due to the stiff competition from other labor exporters. Philippines face a brain drain worries that left little confidence that Filipino accountants and computer programmers would soon be substituted for maids and unskilled workers in Japan and Taiwan.

<sup>25</sup> Data provided by the Indonesian government usually use term of “informal sector” instead of “service sector”, to refer the domestic and careworkers since according to the government the domestic and care workers are excluded from the labor law. In contrast, the Taiwan government included them in the service sector, which is also formal sector, since every foreign worker entering Taiwan should sign contract. However, in this study I used the term given by the Taiwan government.





Source: Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, CLA, 2011.

According to Lan (2006) and Loveband (2004), proportion of the workers in Taiwan labor force is predicted to be influenced by agencies, which made different stereotypes among the workers for marketing the workers. Despite the stereotype they are troublesome, the fact the Filipinos have dominated the international labor market is acknowledged due to their proficiency in English and level of education (Lan, 2006:46). Meanwhile, the Thais are considered to be more hard working and honest, so that suits work in construction and manufacturing; while the male Filipinos suit for working in factory especially for translating instrument manuals, while Filipino women are best for child caretaker because their English ability will be very useful for the child's English development. At last, the Indonesian workers are best for ill people or elderly caretakers because of their "loyalty", can "care" and are willing to do repetitive jobs (Loveband, 2004). However, according to CLA, the Indonesian workers' work performances in Taiwan is relatively better than those from Malaysia, Filipina, Thailand, Vietnam, and Mongolia. Generally, they understand and respect the Taiwanese's culture, therefore the Taiwanese welcome their presence and vice versa (<http://www.antaraneews.com>, 2010). However, I argue that actually individual is different, and cannot be judged based on nationality, region or culture. However, that the stereotyping exists, it is alarming that this 19<sup>th</sup> century concept exists in Taiwan and it is very backward.

Most of the Indonesian workers come from East Java, West Java, Central Java, Lampung, Palembang, Medan, NTB, NTT etc. Among the regions in Taiwan, Taipei City, Taipei County and Taoyuan are the three biggest concentration areas where the workers work, with proportion of 19.5%, 15.91% and 9.16%, respectively<sup>26</sup>. Since the care service sector providers is the least protected sector, hence the Indonesian workers are the most vulnerable workers (Tsay, 2007).

Figure 3.5: Map of Taiwan



### 3.9. Problems Faced by Indonesian workers in Taiwan

There are still many problems that are faced by Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan. According to the Indonesian Economic and Trade Office (IETO, 2010) in Taipei, the most frequent problems include: unpaid wages, working not according to contract, illness during working, violence by the employers, and unilateral threats by agency or employers.

<sup>26</sup> Based on data 2010 (March), Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan ROC (2011).

As a result, some of those workers run away from the employers. In April 2010, there were 12,038 cases of runaway Indonesian workers or 8.23% of the total Indonesian workers in Taiwan. Compared with those runaway from the other Asian countries, the number of the runaway Indonesian workers was relatively high, accounted for 40.48%, while the Vietnamese was 45.78% with 13,613 cases, and the Filipinos was 9.7% with 2,854 cases. However, since number of the Vietnamese working in Taiwan has declined than those from Indonesia or the Philippines, it can be said that the Vietnamese are relatively more problematic.

Tsay (2007) found that case of running away workers was also influenced by the workers' dissatisfaction toward their working and living conditions. The conditions include no days off, no availability of private space, doing other jobs than caring, and working over time. Running away is particularly prevalent when the agency cannot solve the problems by negotiating with their employers. Among the 30 respondents, 50% respondents preferred to ask for the agency help to conduct negotiation with the employers, while 36% of them thought about running away. However, the number is expected to decline after the Taiwanese government provides a service line of 1955. The service providing is acknowledged to be successful and becomes a model for the Indonesian government to provide the same service line in Indonesia, managed by the BNP2TKI to assist workers in Indonesia. However, the success of the service provider will depend on the trust given by the users since BNP2TKI itself is considered a failure in managing and protecting Indonesian workers overseas.

### **3.10. Improving Workers' Protection and Services<sup>27</sup>**

The MoU between Indonesia and Taiwan plays central role for providing better protection for Indonesian workers in Taiwan. MoU which was signed in 2004 has become a key success of the workers management overseas. Although there is no formal statement of the validity, the MoU has been evaluated for every four years. The last evaluation was carried out in January 2011. In this evaluation, the Indonesian

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<sup>27</sup> Based on the interview between the author and Indonesian representative officers, on June 8, 2011 in Taipei.

government demands the Taiwan government provide better protection for the Indonesian workers in Taiwan. Moreover, both states agree to hold a Joint Working Group (JWG) in which the Indonesian government agrees to collect information on the problems faced by Indonesian workers in Taiwan while the Taiwan government works to collect problems faced by the Taiwanese employers. Through this JWG, the Taiwan Government also agreed to reduce the wage deduction from 12 months to 9 months.

Besides, the IETO also provides a new system on the online agency registration. Previously, the Indonesian government only registered agencies in Indonesia but since July 2011, the government also urges the Taiwan agencies to register online. It hopes that problems related with the agencies will be reduced. Online system will provide transparency process on the registration.

Moreover, online system for passport is also hoping to improve workers' protection. As before, many cases of fraud, identity manipulation often happens as a way for the workers to come back to work in Taiwan. However, by using the new system which uses a Biometric passport, which needs the workers' fingerprints and retina of eyes<sup>28</sup>, it will reduce fraud committed by agencies.

Quality of the translators or interpreters, as part of the important elements to assist Indonesian workers in Taiwan, has also been improved. The IETO will hold training of them every year in which the first training was carried out in 2010 and was followed by 300 interpreters. Before, many of the translators and interpreters came from graduates or common Indonesian people who can speak Mandarin but do not have any knowledge on labor law or even do not have psychological skill to manage the workers' complaints. They came into Taiwan and stayed with their relatives here. They tried to look for job in Taiwan, but do not get the most wanted one and finally end up as translators or interpreters due to their Mandarin ability, which means that a career as a translator or interpreter itself are not their interests. This may influence their emotion and makes them stressful. As a result, services they provided for the

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<sup>28</sup> The similar system has been adopted by other Asian countries, such as Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Taiwan as well ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biometric\\_passports](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biometric_passports), 2011).

workers were far from the expectation. They tend to support agencies or employers more instead of workers. By presenting a psychologist, IETO held training for them to handle many different cases of the workers.

The IETO constitutes the central institution that should be able to manage Indonesian workers in Taiwan. However, due to the bureaucracy restriction, they have not provided adequate services for the workers. Before, the official staffs in Taiwan were representatives from the department of trade which suppose to manage goods and services trading matter. Until to 2010, all matters related to workers were managed by the immigration division. Limitation of the staffs' skills in handling the complaints has also become the problems in the internal office. However, since 2011, division of labor was set up with hopes that the government can provide more concern and services to the Indonesian workers in Taiwan.

The Indonesian representative office has also conducted socialization to the workers once a month. Unfortunately, due to the budget and staff availability, this socialization has not reached remote areas such as Penghu. There are about 2000 workers in Penghu. Hence, government efforts are not optimal. However, by coordinating with some media in Taiwan, including radio and magazines and newspapers, they hope that socialization can reach the right target.

However, regardless all of the efforts that have been improved, each individual needs also to improve their own protection. Understanding their own rights and obligations are the central points to protect themselves before getting assistance or help from the other institutions.

### **3.11. Future Expectation**

Up to now, sending workers overseas have been acknowledged as an important way to reduce problem of unemployment, poverty and increase foreign exchange. However, the government has been trying to improve opportunities to send formal workers instead of informal workers. Since the Indonesian current economy has not

been able to provide enough job opportunities yet, hence the government will maintain the existing job opportunities overseas, including in Taiwan, even if it is in the care service sector, while seeking for job opportunities for the formal sector. At least, the government expects the workers can get their rights, get more protection in line with the signed MoU. However, in the future the Indonesian economy is predicted to increase<sup>29</sup> and is expected to create vast employment opportunity.



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<sup>29</sup> The constantly evolving and shifting centers of global economic growth into the Asian region has prompted Indonesia ready to shift to be a developed country by exploiting natural resources and human resources to master the seven key controllers of the future. However, Indonesia has to maintain its political and economic stabilities to spur economic growth to chase China and South Korean's economies (Djumena\_b, 2011). According to the managing director of economic and currency research, the Group Research DBS, Indonesian economy is predicted to increase to 7% or even more to 8.5% in the future. Factors of industrial growth, export and consumption have become sources of the fundamental growth (Meryana & Djumena, 2011). In 2010, the Indonesian economic grew by 6.5%. The lack of government in harnessing the momentum of the Asia economic boom has made Indonesia unable tot enjoy high economic growth over the last two years (Djumena, 2011).

## **Chapter 4**

### **Job satisfaction of Indonesian Worker in Taiwan**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter tried to provide result of analysis of the research. I divided the analyses into three sections: characteristics of respondents, frequency distribution, which showed the correlation between job satisfaction and variables under the job content, wage, personality job fit and supportive working condition, as well as future opportunities.

First of all, I would like to briefly explain the theory which explains the relation between job content, wage, supportive working conditions and personality job fit with the job satisfaction.

Kondalkar (2007) mentions that factors under work contents, wage, personality job fit, and supportive working conditions are important to determine worker's job satisfactions. Content of the work is the major source of satisfaction, which means that the work must be challenging. The job should be fitted with worker's skill, ability and experience, and it should be encouraging, and interesting, so it is not boring. If the job is too tough or too little challenge it will bring frustration, and the person may fail to fulfill the job requirement. If a person can complete the job successfully, she will be satisfied. In this study, I used six characteristics that represent the job content, including energy spending, restriction toward the social contact with others outside of the home, aggravating worker's health condition, and stresshappiness for learning patient and value of life and happiness to express love toward the caregiving receiver.

I assumed that elderly caregiving job is challenging since it is relatively more demanding than looking after children (Loveband, 2004: 340). Even, many studies found that taking care of a person with a special condition, like physically disabled or cognitively impaired elderly could make a greater caregiver burden (Novak,

2006:358). Moreover, caregiving job is characterized by stressful since it needs much energy and emotion (Novak, 2006), restricts the caregiver from social contacts outside the home and working for 14 to 18 hours a day without overtime (Loveband, 2004:151), deteriorates worker's health and can make the caregiver feel trapped and depressed (Novak, 2006). However, if a caregiver commits to the caregiver role and can enjoy helping her care receiver, she will feel better and love her caregiver. If she feels a sense of well-being, she will display a positive attitude toward her job. Someone who feels that caregiving makes them more caring and compassionate toward others, can learn patience and value of life more (Novak, 2006). Although sometimes care receivers are demanding, if the caregiver thinks positively, the responsibility and love for her care receiver, she will not feel overly burdened.

Wage also plays important factor in determining the job satisfaction. It is associated with worker's motivation. Wage must be in line with worker's expectation. Extra wage or bonuses becomes an incentive for worker take on an additional responsibility voluntarily. Moreover, adequate perks and non-financial benefits can motivate the worker that may lead her display a high sense of satisfaction and so can the regularity. The less discrepancy between the expectation and the reality, the more satisfied the workers. Tsay (2001), Tsay (2007), and Hewison (2004), found that wage influenced the job satisfaction significantly. Meanwhile, Hamidi & Eivazi (2010) found that the dissatisfaction in wage resulted to job stress.

Personality job fit means that an individual should be assigned to the job that suits her interest. For example, if the job is related to her specialization, a person will reach level of job satisfaction. Vila & Mora (2005:409) mentioned that the longer school promotes a more efficient use of information both on the formation of expectations and on individual choice regarding the labor market, the more educated people tend to have higher expectation and pursue their aspirations more efficiently than the lower educated people.

The last is supportive working condition, such as having a separate proper private room or a work place that is closer to home, and using technological equipments in working also determines worker's job satisfaction. Technology will help the workers to work more effectively and efficiently, but it needs skills to operate it. Meanwhile,



the closer work place to home will add worker's retention. Tsay (2007) found that no private room had made some of the Indonesian and Vietnamese workers complaints, and this led to workers' dissatisfaction. In order to improve the worker's working condition, MingFang (2010) suggested for caretaker to be provided separated housing from the work place. It would minimize the worker's burden because of many times waking up during the mid night.

Moreover, days off have also influenced the workers satisfaction. Frankly speaking, having days off is a kind of respite service that gives a break to the demand of caregiving (Novak, 2006), relieving stress for a while. However, Tsay (2007) found that majority of the workers would not mind to work over time. It is related with the extra benefit that they could earn. However, Tsay found that working with no days off influenced the workers' emotion.

For the analysis, I made cross tabulation between the two variables, one was any variable under the individual characteristics, job content, wage, personality job fit and supportive working condition; and the other was job satisfaction, and then I analyzed them by using pivot tables provided by the excel program. The job satisfaction was represented by three different answers given by the respondents, i.e.: 1 (agree), 3 (neutral), and 5 (disagree), in which each of category represented worker's job satisfaction. However, it did not always mean that all of the agree answers indicates worker's satisfaction since it depended on the context. This table displayed the summary of the cross tabulation results.

## **4.2. Characteristics of Respondents**

Table 4.1 summarized characteristics of the respondents. Among 42 respondents that I surveyed and interviewed, 38 (92.68%) of them came from Java while 4 (7.32) came from Lampung (Sumatera). Among the Javanese, those from East Java are the dominant (24 people or 63.16%), followed by from Central Java and West Java, each numbered 7 people or 18.43%, respectively. This proportion perhaps shows what Lan has studied. Lan (2006:83) mentioned that recruiting the East and Central Javanese

workers was because of their better quality – obedient, hard working, plain and simple, which represented the broakers’ preferences. In contrast, the West Javanese were not preferred because they were more militant, lazy and pretty. Their clearer skin color might worry the female employer about the possible seduction by her husband.

Figure 4.1 Map of Java



Approximately, 26 people (62%) of the respondents’ ages were between 30-40 years, while 12 people or more than 28% respondents were between 20-29 years. About 22 people or more than 52% of the respondents were married and had children. This may indicate that most of them were more mature women. In the working world, women whose aged are between 30-40 constitute of those who have stable careers. In addition, those who after getting married and having children feel more freely to leave the family to work overseas because their children have grown up.

Regarding to the level of education, most of them had lower education level, in which 19 people (45.24%) achieved junior high school level and 15 (35.71%) respondents achieved senior high school level. Only 2 people (4.76%) who have higher education level, such as diploma while the rest received elementary school level(14.29%). The low level of education which characterize Indonesian workers perhaps can explain the fact that they make up the majority of the contract workforce imported by the service industry in Taiwan. However, Lan (2006:83) argue that this constituted as the agency’s preference, since they did not want to recruit people who “have a strong character” or look “too smart.”

Almost all of the respondents were Moslems (97.62%), only one (2.38%) respondent who was not. Perhaps it was related to the Muslim domination in Indonesian society and created majority proportion of the workers sent overseas. According to a survey by Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life in 2009, among the 232 countries in the world, Indonesia was the biggest muslim inhabitant country with number of muslim 202.867.000 people or 88.2% of the total population (Rioardi, 2009).

Regarding the length of working in Taiwan, 17 respondents (41.46%) have worked in Taiwan for more than 3 years, 15 (35%) respondents have worked for between 1-3 years, while the rest have worked for less than 1 year. Among those who have worked for 3 years, many of them have worked for almost nine years and were planing to go back to Indonesia due to the work permit being expired. However, those who have worked for nine years have to go out of Taiwan at least one day to extend their visas. This reflects the fact that majority of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan are contract workers. Their work permits are limited to 2 years with possible extension up to two years and can be extended up to three times with the total of 9 years. They are not entitled to permanent residency and also deprived of the right to circulate in the local labor market (Lan, 2006:42).

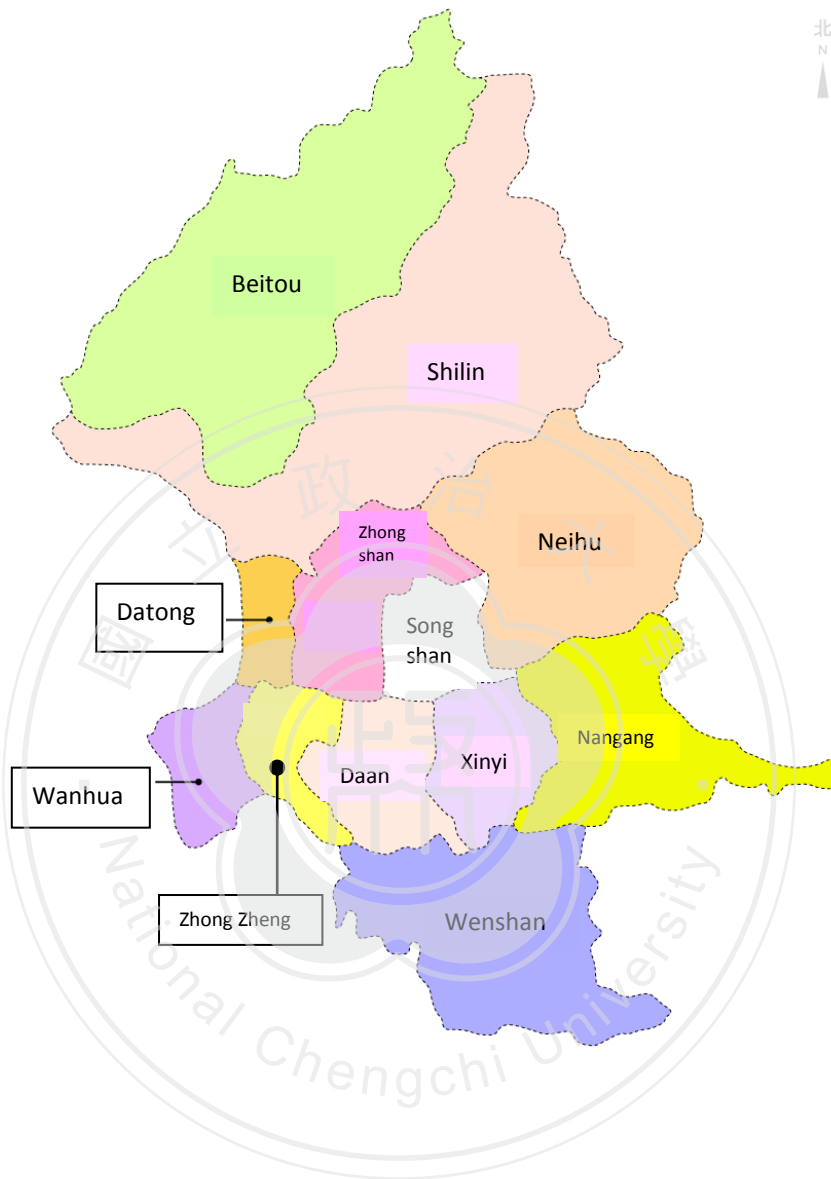
More than half of the respondents (22 people) have experiences working in other countries, in which 12 (54.55%) of them were in Asia, such as Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia, while 10 people (45.45%) were in the Middle East, such as in Arab and Kuwait.

Table 4.1  
Characteristics of the respondents

Indicator	Number	%	Indicator	Number	%
<b>Place of origin</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>Having children</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Java	38	90.48	Yes	28	66.67
- East Java	24	57.14	No	14	33.33
- Central Java	7	16.67	<b>Education level</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>
- West Java	7	16.67	Elementary School	6	14.29
Other	4	9.52	Junior HS	19	45.24
<b>Age</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>	Senior HS	15	35.71
20-29 years	12	28.57	Other	2	4.76
30-40 years	26	61.90	<b>Religion</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>
> 40 years	4	9.52	Islam	41	97.62
<b>Marital status</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>	Non Islam	1	2.38
Single	20	47.62	<b>Length of stay</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Married	22	52.38	0-<12 mth	9	21.43
<b>Place of work</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	12-<24 mth	10	23.81
Daan	16	38.10	24-36 mth	5	11.90
Wenshan	9	21.43	> 36 mth	17	40.48
Nangang	6	14.29	no answer	1	2.38
Danshui	5	11.90	<b>Overseas working experience</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Banqiao	2	4.76	Yes	22	52.38
Miaoli	2	4.76	- Middle East	10	45.45
Wanhua	1	2.38	- Asia	12	54.55
Taoyuan	1	2.38	No	20	47.62

In term of the spatial distribution of the observation, I found that 16 (38%) of the respondents are working at Daan district, 9 (21%) at Wenshan District, 6 (14%) at Nangang District, 5 (12%) at Danshui (Beitou District), and a few number are working at out of Taipei City. However, it should be noted that this number of respondents do not represents the geographic composition of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan since number of the respondents are too small. According to the statistic, in March 2010 the Indonesian workers mostly concentrated in Taipei City, Taipei County and Taoyuan, with proportion of 19.5%, 15.91% and 9.16%, respectively. Unfortunately, there is no data regarding the distribution composition of the Indonesian workers in Taipei City.

Figure 4.2 Map of Taipei City



### 4.3. Workers' Job satisfaction

Based on the data that I collected, in response to a statement on “**I am satisfied with my job as a caretaker**”, generally about 28 (66%) of respondents are satisfied, while the rest (14 respondents) are not. Relationship between the individual characteristics and job satisfaction are provided in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2

## Correlation between job satisfaction and personal characteristics

Variables	Job satisfaction			Total
	Satisfied (1)	Neutral (3)	Dissatisfied (5)	
<b>Marital status</b>	28	1	13	42
- Single (1)	14	1	5	20
- Married (2)	14	.	8	22
<b>Children</b>	28	1	13	42
- No (0)	15	1	6	22
- Yes (1)	13	.	7	20
<b>Age</b>	28	1	13	42
- 20-30 yrs (1)	6	.	6	12
- 31-40 yrs (2)	19	.	7	26
- >40 yrs (3)	3	1	.	4
<b>Education level</b>	28	1	13	42
- Elementary (1)	6	.	.	6
- Junior (2)	14	.	5	19
- Senior (3)	7	.	8	15
- Higher (4)	1	1	.	2
<b>Religion</b>	28	1	13	42
- Islam (1)	28	1	12	41
- No (2)	.	.	1	1
<b>Length of stay</b>	27	1	13	42
- 0-<12 m (1)	6	1	2	9
- 12-<24 m (2)	8	.	2	10
- 24-36 m (3)	2	.	3	6
- >36 (4)	11	.	6	17
- No answer	.	.	.	1
<b>Working experiences overseas</b>	28	1	13	42
- No (0)	9	1	10	20
- Yes (1)	19	.	3	22

Among 20 single respondents, 14 respondents (70%) feel satisfied with the job, while 6 workers are dissatisfied. Moreover, among 22 married respondents, 14 people (63%) are satisfied being caretaker, while 8 workers are dissatisfied. From 20 respondents who have child or children, 13 of them (65%) are satisfied with the job. However, a higher number of the married workers that are dissatisfied than that of the single one may indicate that the married and having-family workers need to work harder, have higher level of burden since they have to leave their family for such a faraway place for the sake of working overseas.

Regarding the age, workers whose ages are between 31-40 years tend to be more satisfied with the job than the other age group. This may be related to the majority number of the workers with low level of education. Source of satisfaction is believed to be the higher income in Taiwan. Although their education level is not high, they can earn higher income. It also perhaps is related to their working experience overseas. Since they have to spend some years working in another country and then they came to taiwan and finally they found that the wage they received was higher than that they received before. Moreover, some of them may be are the returned one, and those who return seem to be the satisfied group since the dissatisfied one do not return. The higher educated workers might would prefer to stay in Indonesia than return to overseas, while the lower educated workers may want to make more income in Taiwan than in home country. Therefore, the older workers tend to satisfied with their job.

Based on the level of education they achieved, 14 (73%) workers who achieved Junior High School level feel more satisfied with the job, while only half (7 workers) of those who achieved the senior high school level who are satisfied with their job. Even, number of the dissatisfied ones are slightly higher than the satisfied one. This may indicate that caretaking job is less challenging and less interesting for those who achieved senior high school and higher level of education. This actually related to the respondent's opinion about the personality job fit, which will be discussed later on.

Almost all of the respondents who are Muslim are satisfied with the job. Only one respondent who is non Muslim feel satisfied with the job. The proportion perhaps is equal to that of the workers sent to Taiwan. According to the data provided by the Taipei Grand Mosque, in 2007 there were 88,500 Indonesian Muslim in total working in Taiwan ([www.taipeimosque.org.tw](http://www.taipeimosque.org.tw), 2011). It represents more less 76.6% of the total Indonesian workers in Taiwan.

This data analysis may indicate that Muslim tend to be grateful with what their God have given to them. Irrespective of they have separated room or not, they would be happier if they can do their job but do not leave their duties as a Muslim. However, it does not necessarily mean that the non muslim workers are not grateful with God's

gifts. Since the number of the non-muslim respondent is only one, perhaps it needs more research to find out the relationship between religion and job satisfaction.

In fact that all of the Indonesian worker, with any religion and believes, need to pursue training before departing to Taiwan, in which one of the course is moral lessons. This course is aimed to discipline the workers that mostly are villagers trained to be productive and obedient workers. Citing from Lan (2006:84), “work hard, appreciate the opportunity to make money, don’t fight with employers and do not fall under bad influences” are some moral messages which are always delivered in the course. Hence, this moral message applies to any religious workers.

However, working in a country like Taiwan is a kind of challenge for a muslim. The different culture is the reason. Muslim in Taiwan constitutes as the minority group with only 0.3% of the total population that makes a lot of Taiwanese do not know much about the religion and the practice.

According to Sulastri:

*“Alhamdulillah<sup>30</sup>, I can keep my pray though not five times a day. Ama and my employer know that and allow me to do that. They do not mind. Even, if my employer is calling me but does not get an answer she knows that I am taking a pray, and she will wait until I finished taking a pray.”*

Sulastri added, her employer acknowledges that praying is not something that should be scared. Sulastri told me about the her boss’ friend who was trying to employ an Indonesian Muslim worker but was scared with the Muslim’s prays. The boss thinks that “if a worker prays, it indicates that there is something to be scared, that is God. So, she tries to do something in good and it indicates that she is a good worker”.

Many of the respondents said that up to now a lot of Taiwanese employers feel scarry if their worker is taking a pray in their house. The white clothes worn by a Muslim for praying has scared both the elderly and the employer to something that hastened to his

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<sup>30</sup> *Alhamdulillah* is an Arabic, a Muslim expression to thank to God (Allah) which means praise be to Allah (<http://www.islamic-dictionary.com>. 2011).



or her death. Not surprisingly, many of the workers are disallowed to take a pray. Moreover, praying five times a day is a disruption to working time, whereas for those who believe, pray is no longer a liability but rather a need to communicate with God. This situation has forced the workers to take a pray secretly/clandestinely. However, in Islam itself, the white cloth is not a color that must be used. The most important is that the cloth should meet the conditions required to perform prayers. White color represents cleanliness and holy.

According to Arin:

*I have to manage my praying time cleverly. I usually pray in the morning before they wake up. Then I unify the noon and afternoon prayers into one in the noon, when ama is taking a rest. Then I unify the evening and the night one before I go to bed.”*

Giving respect to what the Muslim workers’ can and cannot eat is also the other kind of aspects that make the workers feel satisfied.

According to Sulastri

*“My employer knows that I do not eat pork. So, starting from the beginning I work in her house, she stop cooking pork at home to respect me as a Muslim. I did not ask her to do so, but she herself who decided it. So, if she and her family want to eat pork, they will buy it outside.”*

Eating pork was indeed became a social issue in Taiwanese society last year. The discovery by Non Government Organization of coercion case by Taiwanese employer that forced her Indonesian workers to eat pork paid Taiwan government’s attention. With a reason of getting more energy, the employer forced her workers to consume it. This case was, then, published in the mass media and broadly became a hot issue. To respond the issue, the Taiwan Council of Labour Affairs (CLA) made social advertisement on television to socialize the esteem, equality and human right among the employees and employers (Eramuslim, 2010). It is hoped that Taiwanese society will turn to become a more multicultural society.

She added:

*“even, during the feasting month, my employer often wakes me up to have morning meal. Sometimes I have set up the alarm to wake up at 3.30am, but I still asleep so my employer wakes me up” (laughing)*

This situation shows us how some of the Taiwanese employers respect workers with different culture and religions. Therefore, conducting communication with employer should be the first effort that must be done by the workers. However, it perhaps does not work due to the language barriers of the workers. Moreover, providing a cultural information center in Taiwan and by working together with Chinese Muslim Association (CMA) to introduce Islam and Indonesian culture perhaps is one solution for the Indonesian government to give more information to Taiwanese.

Regarding the length of stay, 11 respondents who have lived in Taiwan for more than three years feel more satisfied, while 6 respondents with the same duration of living are not satisfied. In addition, 8 people whose stay duration is less than one year feel satisfied and 1 person does not satisfied, while 8 workers whose stay are between one to two years feel satisfied and 2 are dissatisfied. According to Boswell, the first and two months of working constitute as the “honey moon period” in which workers are trying to adapt into a new situation. This period tends to be stronger when people were particularly dissatisfied with their previous job (PsyBlog, 2011). The analysis result shows us that most of the workers have passed the honey moon period. Besides, although the contract workers in Taiwan have to pay the placement charge through wage deduction within the first nine month, it does not seem to influence the workers’ satisfaction. Perhaps, it is because they put greater hope to get much salary after the nine-months deduction period is completed.

Regarding the experience working in another country, 19 of 22 workers who have worked overseas previously feel satisfied with their caretaking job in Taiwan. In contrast, there are 9 of 20 workers who have not had experience working in another country who feel satisfied with the job. It means that more workers do not feel satisfied working in Taiwan. Perhaps, it indicates that those who have experience working overseas can compare that the current working and living situations in Taiwan are relatively better off than those in the previous countries. Besides, they

used to live away from their family; thus they are relatively easy to cope with loneliness problem.

Besides, many of the respondents admitted that working condition in Taiwan is relatively hard but better off in term of wage, working time and freedom.

According to Ana:

*“I had worked in Saudi Arabia as a house hold servant. But I had to work for 24 hours. I did not have days off, could not go out of the home. In Taiwan, I can get days off, can go out more freely. I can also wear clothes whatever I like. Besides, Taiwan people are friendly. I have more neighbors. Working Saudi Arabia was hard. If I made something wrong, my employer hit me.”*

Cases of physical violence is often happened among the Indonesian workers overseas, especially in Saudi Arabia. This becomes one of the reasons that the Indonesian government conduct a temporary moratorium on Indonesian worker sending for the service sector in Saudi Arabia this year.

In term of freedom, Taiwan society indeed provides more freedom compared with that in Saudi Arabia which implements a full Islamic system. However, the Taiwan society is more similar with that in Indonesia which provides more freedom. This may become a factor that the Indonesian workers in Taiwan feel more satisfied.

#### **4.3.1. Job content**

Regarding the job as a caregiver, table 4.3 below provided summary of the relationship between the respondents' feeling about her job and characteristics of the job content of the caretaking job in Taiwan.

Approximately 23 of the respondents (54%) felt that caretaking job spends much energy, but they are satisfied with the job. Many of the care workers complaint that they have to wake up very often in the mid night, they have to change the elderly's

clothes or cover sheet because of vomiting, or because they have to do other household jobs, which are not supposed to be their responsibilities. However, 19 respondents did not feel so. These are mostly experienced by those whose caretaking receivers are still relatively healthy; are able to walk but slowly. Nevertheless, regardless the severity of the job, most of them are satisfied.



Table 4.3

Correlation between characteristics of job contents and job satisfaction

JOB CONTENT	Job satisfaction			Total
	Satisfied (1)	Neutral (3)	Dissatisfied (5)	
<b>Spends much energy</b>	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	15	1	7	23
- Disagree (5)	13		6	19
<b>Social contact restriction</b>	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	15	1	7	23
- Disagree (5)	13		6	19
<b>Agravates health</b>	28	1	12	42
- Agree (1)	6		3	9
- Neutral (3)	1			1
- Disagree (5)	21	1	9	31
- No answer				1
<b>Causes emotion</b>	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	16		9	25
- Neutral (3)	1		1	2
- Disagree (5)	11	1	3	15
<b>Stressful</b>	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	9		6	15
- Neutral (3)	2	1	1	4
- Disagree (5)	17		6	23
<b>Boring</b>	28	1	12	42
- Agree (1)	12		7	19
- Neutral (3)	2	1	2	5
- Disagree (5)	14		3	17
- No answer				1
<b>Learn patient</b>	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	26	1	13	40
- Neutral (3)				0
- Disagree (5)	2			2
<b>Express love</b>	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	27	1	10	38
- Neutral (3)				0
- Disagree (5)	1		3	4

Regarding the social contact with others outside of the home, 13 workers do not feel that this job restricts them and they are satisfied with the job. This perhaps because they have opportunities to go outside and bring the caregiving receiver to the park or

to go out for one or two hours to buy their daily need stuffs. While they are assisting the caretaking receiver doing exercise or just enjoying the outside environment, the workers can chat, talk or even share their problems or exchange information with the other caretakers.

According to Nadia,

*“We usually go to the park twice a day; at 9am and 5pm. I am happy because I can see outside, can chat or share experiences with other friends, so I can get knowledge and sometimes I find that there are more people whose experiences are worse than mine. It makes me feel grateful with my current condition. But before, Ama (grandma) did not allow me to talk with other people. Since I often join the (Indonesian) community (in the park), she gradually allows me to talk (with others).”*

Moreover, 15 respondents feel that the job restricts them from social contact with others outside of the home but they are satisfied with the job. It indicates that there is another factor that gives more influences to their satisfaction. Meanwhile 6 respondents disagree with it but they also are dissatisfied with the job, which indicates that there is another factor that influences their dissatisfaction.

The ban of careworkers talking to another Indonesian worker is often carried out by the employers since they are afraid that their workers will receive negative influences from the other Indonesian friends that further let them running away<sup>31</sup>. Whereas, the employers have spent much money to recruit them. However, I argue that the restraint is actually possible to cause the workers' job dissatisfaction. Even, some employers do not allow the workers to invite anybody else to visit her at the employers' houses. It perhaps because the employers think that their houses are not the worker's house, thus it is their rights to protect protect their own houses from strangers.

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<sup>31</sup> To ensure that the workers comply with immigration regulations, employers and agencies cooperate to restrict worker's mobility, such as by holding the worker's passport, prohibit the workers from going out on Sunday, even do not allow the worker to hold house key (Cheng, 2003:174).

Meanwhile, 7 respondents agree that the job restricts them from social contact with others outside of the home and they are not satisfied with the job either. Thus, this factor is supposed to influence their dissatisfaction. Some of them usually can go out for some minutes just to throw garbage into the truck. Even, some of them cannot go outside to buy their daily needed stuffs by themselves, thus they let another friend to help them buy the stuffs. This group of workers will tend to stress more than the other group, since they feel trapped.

According to Rina:

*“This is my first time to go out, after Ama passed away. During working as her caretaker for 8 months, I had never gone out to such a faraway place (from Banqiao to Taipei Main Station), because Ama was sick and could not get up so I had to take care of her. I met the other Indonesian workers when I was waiting for the garbage truck.”*

In this case, Rina would like to express her responsibility as a caretaker, however, the specific health condition of the caree restricts her from social contact with others outside of the home so she felt trapped in the house. Such situation may generate the workers' emotion and stress. In this case, facilities such as mobile phone, internet connection, perhaps can help the workers to interact with others outside of the home. Moreover, the role of the employer to take exchange with the worker to take care of the caree at particular time can help the workers to have a break from their caretaking duty, which further will reduce the worker's burden and stress.

Although Nadia does not feel this job restricts her from social contact with others outside the home, she still thinks that this job has restricted her from contact with her husband and family. She has worked in Taiwan for eight months, however her ama does not allow her husband to visit her, and vice versa.

*“I have talked to Ama to get her permission to meet my husband, but she does not allow me. Even, my husband is not allowed to visit me either, so we can only communicate via message. But still, actually I cannot freely use mobile phone to contact with someone else, so I have to be carefully using my mobile phone. When I am using it, I talk very slowly.”*

Among the respondents that I interviewed, at least there are three people whose husbands work in Taiwan. However, one of them could meet each other once in a month. Though the wife does not have days off, the employer allows her husband to visit the worker and even to stay a night in the employer's house.

Nadia's experience tells us that communication and negotiation are necessary to make the employer or the caregiving receiver understands with what the caregiver wants. However, sometimes the workers cannot express their desires to the employers due to language limitation, whereas, process of negotiation sometimes needs time to reach an agreement. Unfortunately, sometimes it makes the workers impatient waiting for the progress and give up with their effort to complain to the agency or to the service line of 1955, hence some of them finally decided to run away in order to survive make a living in Taiwan. Whereas, if the workers fled away and do not return back within three days, their status will change to be illegal. As a result, they will lose their rights as a worker.

Tsay (2007) found that one of two Indonesian workers had the thought to change employer soon after starting to work; 9 of 15 Indonesian workers believe that agent is useful in negotiating with employer; while 7 of 11 Indonesian workers thought about running away after agent failed to help negotiate with employer. In Taiwan, changing employer is not an easy matter due to quota implementation implements by the government. There should be some conditions that allow the workers to change employer, such as physical violence, sexual harassment, mismatch between the job and the contract, etc.

Approximately 21 respondents disagreed that working as caretakers aggravate their health conditions and they are satisfied with the job since they get enough food, enough rest, and even enough exercise. In fact walking from home to park everyday keeps the workers healthy, as mentioned by Nadia.

*“We live in a place near the Chiang Kai Shek Memorial Hall. Every morning we go to the hall and in the afternoon we go to the Daan Park.*



*Because I take a walk from home to the park twice a day, I assume this as an exercise.”*

Going to the park also makes them can breath clean fresh air, and let the morning sun shining their skin. Opportunity to meet other friends in the park can also create a feeling of happiness which in turn can affect their physical and pshicological healths. In contrast, factors such as waking up frequently in the mid night, less rest due to long working hours and rarely go outside of the home make the worker’s received less sun exposure do influence their health condition. It is found that 6 respondents agree with the statement but still are satisfied with the job. In addition, 3 respondents agree that the job aggravates their job and thus made them dissatisfied. This group tends to have more attention to increase their satisfaction, whereas 9 respondents disagree with the statement but are not satisfied with the job either. It indicates that there is another factor that determines their satisfaction.

Regarding the working long hours or waiting hours, Tsay (2007) found that there is different perception between the workers and the employers. The workers think even they do not doing anything, it constitutes as working, since they have to take care of the cares and wait for a call from the employers along the day, while the employers think that they are not working. Such unclear situation often cause conflict between the workers and the employers; hence, workers’ clear understanding on the contract is very necessary.

About 16 respondents think that this job tend to cause emotion. It means that there is another more important factor that influences their satisfaction. Meanwhile 11 respondents do not think so, but they are satisfied with their job which means that this job characteristic gives influence to their satisfaction. Meanwhile, 9 respondents feel this job causes emotion and they are not satisfied with the job, either. It indicates that this job characteristic influences their job satisfaction. Moreover, 3 respondents disagree that the job causes emotion but they are dissatisfied with their job which means that there is another factor that influences their dissatisfaction.

Regarding the stress, 17 respondents disagree with this statement and are satisfied with the job. Whereas, 6 respondents do not feel stress either but are not satisfied with

the job. In contrast, 9 respondents feel this job is stressful but they are still satisfied. Perhaps there is another factor that influences both their satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Meanwhile 6 respondents feel so but are dissatisfied with the job. This indicates the job characteristic influences their job satisfaction.

Frequent emotion lead to stress. Factor such as having less rest often makes not only emotion but also stress. Relationship between worker and her employer or with her caregiving receiver can also generate stress. For example, dissimilarity opinion between employer and the caregiving receiver, fussy employer or caregiving receiver, or the caree's disobedience against the doctor's order, often lead to emotion that further can continue to stress.

According to Tri:

*“I often feel stressed when my boss (Ama) says “A” but Agong says “B”. Agong suggests me to listen to him and obeys what Ama says. So, I am confused which one I should choose. It makes me stressed. At the end,.. I decided to listen to Agong, because I am often with him”.*

Besides, frequently moving and staying in different houses in every three months have made Sulstri stress, since she has to adapt into a new circumstances quite often. Sulastri has three employers, whom are the children of the caree she takes care. Every three months, each of them takes turn to take care of her mother as a form of filial piety to their parent. As a consequence, Sulastri has to follow where the caree is placed and has to adapt to different situation and habit since each of her employer has different habit.

Generally, moving out of home for working overseas makes someone loose social contact with kids, family and relatives, which further can create stress. Job stress is one of the most important issues in health care because it has a negative effect on the safety and health of personnel. Hence, it is important for individual to develop various stress reduction strategies to an acceptable level (Kondalkar, 2007:188). Keeping close contact with relatives is important. By developing friendship with fellow workers can help someone in crisis time, stress and strain (Kondalkar, 2007: 188). In

the organizational behavior theory, social support can play role to reduce stress by following to social functions, norms and following religious activities at work place. This will enable individuals to regain sulking self confidence and build self-esteem (Kondalkar, 2008:188). The practice of confession to God is part of social support for stress resolution strategies. Therefore, I suggest employers to give more tolerance to the workers to perform their religious obligation<sup>32</sup> to reduce their stress.

Approximately, 19 respondents (45%) feel that the job is boring while 17 (40%) do not. Perhaps it is because the job is monotonous. Sometimes when they have done their jobs, they have nothing else to do so that they wait for another call (Tsay, 2007). In order to reduce worker's boredom, many of them bring the elderly to the park, watching TV together, gathering with friends in the park, or making a call to friends or family. Within a month, they can spend money between NT500 – NT1,500 for buying mobile phone credit, which is spent from their own pocket. Therefore, doing more useful activities will be good to reduce boredom. Even, many of them would like to help their employer to do other job which is not related to caretaking job, such as working in a clinic, in a restaurant or in a factory. Although it is not included in the contract, those particular skills may be useful for the workers' future after returned to Indonesia.

For example, Jar mentioned:

*“I do not mind working over time or do another job during my leisure time. Otherwise I will always think about my family in Indonesia and I will feel lonely and miss them so much. But by doing something else, I will be involve in activities, no time to feel lonely or missing my family, I even get some extra money”* (she smiled).

However, it seems that some workers have been utilized by their employers to do extra job as a way to exploit them in which Loveband (2004) called as “double exploitation”, as experienced by Tini. By giving extra job to make sushi, Tini has to wake up at 4 am and starts preparing staffs for making sushi until 9am. In one month,

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<sup>32</sup> Within a normal condition, Islam obliges Muslim to perform pray five times a day. However, in practice in a particular condition (as regulated in the Kuran), it can be simplified into 3 times.

she can only receive extra wage for NT 2,500. However, she joins religious activities every Sunday in the mosque, twice a month in order to reduce her burden and stress.

Jar is also one of some who join a religious activity at either Grand Mosque or Taipei Cultural Mosque. According to her, joining a religious activity has lots of advantages. It not only can reduce boredom, but also can gain some knowledge, reassure her heart, minimize stress, since she can draw herself closer to God.

*“Involving in such activity improves my faith to employer, my knowledge; it supports my works, reassures my heart, and eliminates boredom”.*

For this activity, her employer supports her. The same opinion on the benefits of involving in religious activity was also stated by Tini. She was supported by her employer to join such positive activity.

*“At the beginning, I did not know any place which holds religious activity so my employer brought me to a church, because there are activities like computer training, etc, but I do not like it. Then I complained my problem to my agency and the agency suggested me to talk to my boss. So one day, she brought me here (to Taipei Grand Mosque) and I said ‘Yes, it is my place’.”*

Almost all of the respondents (40 respondents or 95%) feel happy since they can learn patient and value of life more and can express their love toward care taker receiver (38 respondents or 90%). These are kind of positive values toward the caretaking job expressed by the workers.

#### **4.3.2. Wage**

Regarding the wage, 22 respondents are satisfied with the wage they received and satisfied with the job. Factors of relatively higher amount of the wage, regularity

payment and suitability between expectation and reality have become the factors of satisfaction. Lan (2006) identified that most of the workers come to Taiwan for earning money. However, there are 11 people who are satisfied with the wage but not satisfied with the job. It may indicate that wage is not the only factor that determines the job satisfaction. Nevertheless, this dissatisfaction does not necessarily decline their working enthusiasm, which perhaps indicate that they still try to responsible with their job though they are satisfied with the job.

In this study, I found that although majority of the respondents agreed that their wage is according to their expectation, it seems that it is not their true expression, as it was stated during the interview.

Table 4.4  
Correlations between wage and job satisfaction

Wage	Job satisfaction			Total
	Agree (1)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (5)	
Wage satisfaction	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	22	1	11	34
- Disagree (5)	6		2	8
Wage expectation	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	21	1	12	34
- Neutral (3)	.	.	1	1
- Disagree (5)	7			7
Irregularity payment	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	6	.	1	7
- Neutral (3)	1	.		1
- Disagree (5)	21	1	12	34
Reduce working enthusiasm	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	1	.	6	7
- Neutral (3)	1	.		1
- Disagree (5)	26	1	7	34

According to Tri:

*“.. how to say.. because the (Taiwan) government has set up the wage, so I just have to go with the government’s decision.”*

That is true. The decision of the minimum wage for foreign care service sector wage of NT 15,480 per month and NT 520 per working overtime during one day off is actually on the Taiwan Government's hand. It means that the Government set up the amount and the workers go with that, as it was explained on the contract. Whether the workers would like to do overtime to get higher wage or not, it becomes the workers' choice.

Unfortunately, some of them had just known the amount after they arrived in Taiwan, at the International Taoyuan Airport, when the Taiwan agency was briefing them and asking them to sign contract. Tsay (2007) found the incomprehensiveness of the workers toward their contracts was because of their low level of education, language barriers, and too many things that the agency have to handle.

Based on the information of the workers who have experienced working in another country, Taiwan offers relatively higher wage. It is the reason for they come into Taiwan. Perception of the workers toward the higher wage in Taiwan becomes their motivation to work in Taiwan (Lan 2006, Tsay 2001, Tsay 2007).

According to Yanti:

*“It is no problem to become a Corporal but with a General salary.”*

Yanti tried to describe her low position of caretaking job by symbolizing the low position of a Corporal in an army structure but in term of wage, it is as much as the General's. Actually, this term is also analog to the description of janitor and manager's positions in a company structure. However, the using of army term to describe her job and wage perhaps is related to the powerful image of the Indonesian army in society.

The job satisfaction perhaps will improve if the workers can make a deal with the employer to receive wage as high as their own expectation. However, I doubted that the workers can make a good deal with the employer, due to their level of education, language limitation and other psychological factor. Even perhaps, it may happen that the workers receive lower wages than the existed minimum standard wages but with a greater level of jobs or responsibilities.

The importance of the wage has encouraged workers to fulfil her responsibility to take care to the caree as good as well, thus one of my respondents rose a term of " ama is my atm," which means that without taking her a good care, she will not be able to take the money from the “atm”.

#### 4.3.3. Personality job fit

To the statement that caretaking job is according to the workers’ level of education, 26 people agreed but 15 people disagreed. Among the agreed one, 20 (76%) respondents feel satisfied with the job, while among the disagreed one 7 (47%) are dissatisfied.

Table 4.5  
Correlation between personality job fit and job satisfaction

PERSONALITY JOB FIT	Job satisfaction			Total
	Agree (1)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (5)	
Fit to education	28	1	13	42
- Agree (1)	20	.	6	26
- Neutral (3)	1	.	.	1
- Disagree (5)	7	1	7	15

As mentioned before that 6 (14%) of the respondents are from elementary school graduates, 19 (45%) junior high school graduates and 15 (42%) are senior high schools graduates, and only 2 (4%) who have higher level of education. It means that they mostly have lower education level. Even, many of them think that there was no difference between Junior and Senior High School graduates, since they finally have the same job as caretaker. However, I argue that the longer schooling promotes a more efficient use of information both on the formation of expectations and on individual choise regarding the labor market (Vila & Nora, 2005:409). The more educated people tend to have higher expectation and pursue their aspirations more efficiently than the lower educated people.

Harlock (1980) mentioned that teenager with the different age will experience different phase of development, which influences different way of thinking and also in adaptation to the social changes. The adaptation to social changes will be influenced by peer, changes in social behavior, value, leadership, support and social rejection. Meanwhile, working in a country with different culture sometimes create a lot of problems, thus the workers are required to cope with the problem as wise as she can.

Tsay (2007) found that one of two Indonesian workers had the thought to change employer soon after starting to work; 9 of 15 Indonesian workers believed that agent is useful in negotiating with employer; while 7 of 11 workers thought about running away after agent failed to help negotiate with employer. Besides, he also found that only 1 of 14 Indonesian workers understand the contract well, while 8 of 14 workers (57%) know it roughly. Low of education level was considered as one of the reasons of this.

Does low education level have the same meaning with stupid? Loveband (2004) explained “despite their lack of education level, Indonesian workers are praised for their loyalty and willingness to work hard but damned for stupidity.” This has made a lot of Taiwanese employers disallow the workers to work by hand instead of using machinery, for example in washing clothes. Whereas in my opinion, this is just a matter of habit.

Regarding this matter, Nadia complaints:

*“My employer is like Lampir<sup>33</sup>. Actually I want to wash her clothes using mechine, but she refuses. She is worried the machine will be broken and her clothes will be damaged. Oh, she is really fussy.”*

Meanwhile, according to Hani:

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<sup>33</sup> “Lampir” symbolizes an evil-hearted old lady, was a main character of a popular Indonesian scary movie in the 1980s. Before it was filmed, it was popular broadcasted on radio. She was characterized as a wearing long-black-untidy hair and black cloth lady. She was fussy and her laughing sounded very shrill.



*“I was amused by agong. This day he was busy looking for a note. The note with a mobile phone number he wrote on it was disposed by his wife. He did not ask me to look for it and I did not aks him either. But when I asked him.. oh .. I understood. So, I just pushed the botton on his mobile phone and showed the number to him. He was surprised .. how could I do that? he asked me. (smiled) He was also surprised knowing that I could play a laptop. He wondered, how could I play it? I am just a primary school graduates. haha ... Haniiii .. (with a little boasting herself).*

Hani has been taking care of an agong who was a lecturer. Such condition tells us that actually many of Indonesian workers are not stupid. However, the fact that they are not familiar with electronic devises usage is a matter of habit or lack of training. Meanwhile, many of Taiwanese have thought that they are stupid.

According to Kondalkar (2007), individuals should be assigned the job that suits their interest. Someone whose job fits with her specialization tends to have a higher level of job satisfaction. Care taking job needs special skills which should be learned through training.

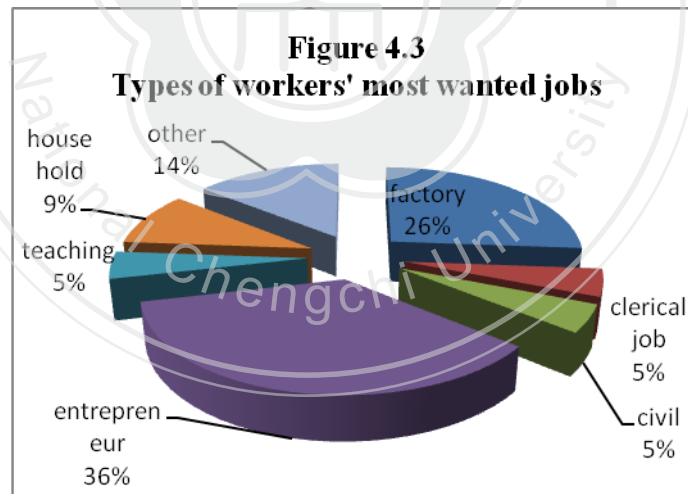
According to some of the workers that I interviewed, they followed trainings held by the agencies within two to three months. However, some of them got the language training more than the other training. Even when some of them had not fulfilled their training hours requirement, but they were sent to Taiwan due to the employer’s request.

Based on the data, half of workers with senior high school levels are not satisfied with this job. This probably indicates that caretaking does not suit with their interest. Although they have received care training before departure to Taiwan, it seemed that it was just a formality that must be followed to fulfil the qualification for departure. Besides, some of them also mentioned that the caretaking training was not the same with the real condition. In the training, they used their classmates whom pretended to be the patient. This situation is totally different from the reality. Hence, I suggest that directly involving the candidates in a nursing home or hospital before departing

overseas will help them in dealing with the real situation. However, it needs cooperation between agency and the health/welfare institution.

Some of the workers mentioned that workers with higher levels of education should get better jobs. Regardless of the higher wage offered by this job, they think that caretaking job has low position in the social structure, unlike working as factory employee, teaching, or nurse.

The data proved that only 4 (9%) workers who are interested in the household job including caretaking, whereas 15 (36%) of the respondents prefer to work as entrepreneurs and 11 (26%) as factory employees (Table 4.3). This indicates that they wish to get other jobs beside caretaking. Some of them would prefer to have their own business since they want to earn money without leaving the family to another country, whereas some would like to work in factory. Possibility of earning more income by working overtime in the factories becomes one of the reasons for the preference. However, other motivations have forced them to work as caretaker.



Nadia is one example. She has married and have two daughters. She graduated from a college with specialization of religious teaching (*Pendidikan Guru Agama*). Because of economic reason, she is willing to work as a caretaker. She has to earn money to finance her two daughters who are studying in a university and high school. Before coming to Taiwan, she and her husband have a small business in her home town.

However, the business could not make much money and thus is not enough to finance the family needs including the education fees. When the oldest daughter was accepted in one of the top public universities in Java last year, she could not finance it. Then, her husband decided to go to Korea to work in a factory. With the saving money they collected and some loans from relatives, he finally went to Korea. Unfortunately, he was cheated by agency that supposed to arrange his work in Korea. Once he arrived in the airport in Korea, he had to return back to Indonesia. Nadia and her family schocked with that accident. The family burden that she and her husband must bear made her got typhoid and had to rest for a while. Since they have to return the loans to their relatives, finally, she and her husband decided to work in Taiwan. At the beginning of this year they came into Taiwan. She and her husband hope that when their daughters finished their studies and the debt is paid, they would like to return to Indonesia and set up her own business there.

Besides, Yanti was also graduated from a college. Before coming to Taiwan, she worked as a human resource manager in some factories in Jakarta. However, she decided to work in Taiwan to earn money to set up her own business in Indonesia. Although she has married and had children, she has tremendous enthusiasm to get more experiences and money. She has worked in Taiwan for almost 9 years and still would like to work in Canada to get higher income. She is quite self confident with her English ability to work in Canada. Her appearance which looks like a Filipino has made a lot of Filipinos think that she is really a Filipino and it easier her to make friends with them. Luckily, her English ability has improved because of it. I believe that there are more high level education graduates like Yanti and Nadia but are forced to work in Taiwan as caretakers. Usually, it is because of economical reason.

The implication of it is that the government should be able to provide more job opportunities for such workers. It is not only providing enough job opportunities, but also the stable one, which can ensure people's welfare. Having a job which is in accordance with the most wanted type of works will make someone display a better

performance. Unfortunately, up to now the Indonesian government has not provided such kind of job opportunities<sup>34</sup>.

Supporting the workers with entrepreneurial skill supposed to be able to help them to build a good business management. Unfortunately, up to know, only a few entrepreneurial trainings are held for the workers. In 2010, FORMMIT (Forum of Indonesian Muslim Students in Taiwan) held an entrepreneurial workshop by cooperated with the WGTT (Work Group of Transfer Technology), Japan. The workshop was aimed to generate independent entrepreneurs for former workers. Besides, the IETO is going to start carrying out the entrepreneurship training program by 2012. It is hoped that the program will reduce the urge of the low level of education workers to go abroad.

#### **4.3.4. Supportive Working Conditions**

Based on the data collected, 14 respondents have separated room from the caree, while 28 do not have it or share a room with the carees. Though many of them do not mind with this situation, 9 of those who have to share a room with the caree feel dissatisfied with her job. It means that sharing a room may influence their job satisfaction, such as tendency to have less rest. Space limitation perhaps become a barrier for some of Taiwanese to provide a room for the worker. However, Taiwan authority is supposed to make investigation to and control over the living condition of the employer before approving their application for hiring foreign worker. Therefore, sharing a room with caree is supposed to depends on the caree's condition.

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<sup>34</sup> Moreover, regarding the government's plan to impose a moratorium of Indonesian workers to Saudi Arabia, due to the number of cases experienced by the Indonesian workers in Saudi Arabia, the government has to responsible to provide of at least 36 thousands of job opportunities (Liputan6.com, 2011).

Table 4.6

Correlation between supportive working condition and job satisfaction

SUPPORTIVE WORKING CONDIT.	Job satisfaction			Total
	Agree (1)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (5)	
Separated Room	28	1	13	42
- No (0)	19	.	9	28
- Yes (1)	9	1	4	14
No Days off	26	1	13	40
- Agree (1)	19	.	9	28
- Neutral (3)	.	.	.	0
- Disagree (5)	7	1	4	12

Sharing a room with the caree is undoubtedly effective for taking care of elderly, moreover if the elderly needs more attention from the caretaker. However, it also encourages exhaustion of the caretaker, since she tends to have less rest which further will aggravate her health condition.

According to Nunuk:

*“Previously, I only take care of Ama. But later on, Agong had a stroke so he has difficulty with walk and speak up. So, I have to take care of them in the same room. I sleep in the middle of their beds”.*

The study by Tsay (2007) found that some of the workers complaint because they have to share a room with the caregiving receiver. Moreover, MingFang (2010) suggested that having a separated place of work with place of living will improve better condition of the workers, and the government should provide the workers free of charge shelter. I argue that living free of charge in the employer’s house is part of the contracts and constitutes as benefit factors that may influence the workers’ job satisfaction. However, many of the respondents feel that sharing the room with the caregiving receiver often reduces workers’ satisfaction since they cannot get enough rest for they have to wake up in the mid of the night, which can cause health deterioration and continue to emotion and stress generation.

The worse effect of this situation is if the woman caretaker shares a room with a male caree, while physically the caree is relatively healthy. As mentioned before that a lot

of Taiwanese elderly are living away from their children and some are only living with the caretakers. This situation tends to generate sexual harassment.

A case was experienced by Yani.

*“I sleep on the same bed with Agong. Sometimes, when his “naughty” comes up, he gropes my body, but then I slapped his hands directly. If he rubbed his hands on his penis, I also slap his hand while saying “Hey.. Agong.. it is not good!”*

Yani is one of the workers whose husband lives in Indonesia. However, she likes to wear mini skirt and tight clothes. This makes her friend calls her as “barbie”. When I met her, she was wearing a short skirt. In Taiwan, such kind of cloth is common. However, what the Agong has done is perhaps encouraged by the caretaker’s daily appearance. The other respondent mentioned that before working in Taiwan, her agency does not allow her to put on make up. However, when she works in Taiwan, her employer does not mind with that. Besides, the agency also suggested the worker to wear “polite” clothes during working. However, regardless whether Yani gets complains or not from her employer, in fact that Yani has worked with the employer for almost 2 years.

The sexual harassment is not always triggered by the appearance of the caregiver herself, but can be from the friend of caregiver or someone else or the environment. For example, Lala refers Yani as the source of the weird behavior of her caretaking receiver. When I met her on the next day, she told me:

*“You know Miss Yani??? She often wears short skirts while gathering at the park. If she is comes here (to park), I will reverse agong’s position to another side. I will not allow him to see Miss Yani. Sometimes, when I am working (at home) the collar of my shirt slipped down Agong would looks at me curiously, I will stare back at him and said “what ‘s up??” (in Chinese, while showing a bitchy expression)”.*

Her opinion was responded by Tri:

*“My Agong knows my friends who are beautiful and who are not. He greets all my friends who are beautiful. He also said that I am beautiful. But toward me, Agong is nice, he will not harass me”*  
(while she stroked his head from the back).

Thus, I would say that having a separated room is good for the worker, but it depends on the situation of the house. The Taiwan government, especially from the authorize department should play its role to conduct assessment toward the applicant’s working condition before approving that the family can employ a foreign caretaker and conduct control over it regularly. Besides, ability of the worker to protect herself is also important before she needs further assistance from the others.

Besides, about 19 of 28 respondents do not mind with the “no days off” and are satisfied with the job while the rest disagrees but are still satisfied with the job. It means that by “no days off” the workers are willing to work over time, since they can earn more money, and this constitutes as their source of satisfaction. However, 7 respondents disagree with the “no days off” but still satisfied with the job. It indicates that if they are given days off, perhaps it will increase their satisfaction.

Tsay’s (2007) study, which found that 13 of 28 Indonesian workers are willing to work over time. However, from 10 of 20 Indonesian workers (50%) feel that always working overtime will affect them emotionally. In this study, I found some reasons why the worker are willing to work overtime: (1) Working over-time will increase their income. (2) They do not like to go outside, and would prefer to stay at home. Moreover, going outside will waste their money, since once they step out it seem like they have to spend money.

However, many of them feel that days off is necessary to avoid stress. Although they understands that having days off means reducing their wage, they think that money is not everything in life. There are other things that should be considered in life, such as having social communication with others or religious development. For this reason, some of them involve themselves in religious activities or just gathering with peers.

#### 4.4. Future Opportunities

Based on the survey, 30 respondents think that the growing aged population in Taiwan is good job opportunities for them to work as caretakers, although 9 of them are dissatisfied with their job. Hence, 19 of 26 respondents would like to work as caretaker for 9 years, even longer. Unfortunately, up to now the Taiwan government has limited the working opportunity to no more than 9 years, even through direct hiring. Besides, the workers are still pessimistic with the Indonesian economic condition in the future, although Indonesian economy is predicted to improve. Moreover, by considering their low level of education, the better economic condition does not seem to provide jobs that offer relatively good salary that will improve their economic condition. Thus, working as caretakers overseas has still been seen as a good way to cope with family's financial problem. Meanwhile, 8 respondents do not want to work in Taiwan for longer time due to various reasons, such as marriage, family, or because they have already achieved their goal, and only one who would like to migrate to Canada to get higher salary.

Table 4.7

Correlation between future opportunity and job satisfaction

<b>Good opportunity</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>42</b>
- Agree (1)	21		9	30
- Neutral (3)	2		1	3
- Disagree (5)	5	1	3	9
<b>Work for 9 months</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>42</b>
- Agree (1)	19		7	26
- Neutral (3)		1	1	2
- Disagree (5)	8		5	13
No answer				1
<b>Go back to Indonesia</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>42</b>
- No (0)	21		9	30
- Yes (1)	7	1	4	12

Regarding the implementation of the long-term care service law, 40 respondents agree that the policy is good, and will provide better working condition. They think that it will provide good opportunity for a semi skilled caretaker, so they can get better



working condition and their rights are better protected. However, when they were asked if they are willing to follow the caregiving training till getting certificate, 31 respondents agree while the rest are disagree and abstain. Moreover, 38 respondents think that improving Mandarin is good for them to facilitate their job, however when they were asked if they agree to follow the Mandarin course, 28 of them agree to follow the course, while the rest are not since Mandarin is too difficult to learn or because they do not want to engage in this job anymore.

Table 4.8

Correlation between attitude toward LTCSL and job satisfaction

Attitude toward LTCSL*	28	1	11	42
- Agree (1)	28	1	11	40
- Neutral (3)	.	.	.	0
- Disagree (5)	.	.	.	0
- No answer				2
Willingness to improve care skill	28	1	12	42
- Agree (1)	22	1	8	31
- Neutral (3)	1	.	1	2
- Disagree (5)	5	.	3	8
- No answer				1
Necessity of Mandarin improvement	27	1	12	42
- Agree (1)	25	1	12	38
- Neutral (3)	.	.	.	0
- Disagree (5)	2	.	.	2
- No answer				2
Willingness to improve Mandarin skill	26	1	12	42
- Agree (1)	20	1	7	28
- Neutral (3)	1	.	.	1
- Disagree (5)	5	.	5	10
- No answer				3

LTCSL\* = Long-term Care Service Law

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion and Recommendations

#### 5.1. Conclusion

Based on the previous explanation, I drew the following conclusions:

Among the 42 Indonesian caretakers in Taiwan, the characteristics of the respondents are: majority (38) of the respondent come from Java. Among the Javanese, those come from East Java are the dominant (24), followed by from Central Java and West Java with the same proportion (7), respectively. Two thirds of the respondents are middle age women, between 30-40 years old, followed by younger women between 20-29 years (12). More than half of the respondents are married and have children. Most of them have lower education level, mostly Junior High School (19) and Senior High School (15). The majority of them are Muslims. Half of the workers have stayed in Taiwan between 1-3 years (15), the rest have worked for more than 3 years (17), and only a few have worked for less than 1 year. More than half of the respondents have experiences of working in another country (12), mostly in Asia, while the rest were in the Middle East.

#### **Job Satisfaction**

Generally, about 28 of the respondents are satisfied with their job as caretakers, while the rest (14 respondents) are not. There are the same numbers of the single and the married one that are satisfied with the job in which 14 workers, respectively. However, number of the married workers who are dissatisfied with the job is higher (8) than the single one (5). Meanwhile, from 20 respondents who have children, 13 of them are satisfied with the job but 7 workers are dissatisfied. Whereas from 22 single workers, 15 are satisfied with the job while 6 workers are not satisfied. This may indicate that the married and having-family workers need to work harder, have higher level of burden since they have to leave their family for such a faraway place for the sake of working overseas, so they feel more dissatisfied than the single one.

Regarding the age, workers whose ages are between 31-40 years tend to be more satisfied with the job than the other age group. It perhaps is related to their working experience overseas. They have to spend some years working in another country then they came to Taiwan and found that the wage in Taiwan is higher than that they received before. Some of them may be are the returned one. Those who return seem to be the satisfied group since the dissatisfied one does not return. The higher educated workers might prefer to stay in Indonesia than return to overseas, while the lower educated workers may want to make more income in Taiwan than in home country. Hence, the older workers tend to satisfied with their job.

Based on the level of education, 20 workers who achieved elementary and Junior High School level feel more satisfied with the job than those who achieved senior high school and higher level of education (8 workers). Number of the workers from senior high school graduates who dissatisfied with the job is higher (8 workers) than those who achieved lower level of education (5 workers). This may indicate that caretaking job is less challenging and less interesting for those who achieved senior high school and higher level of education. This finding supports Tsay's study (2001) which found that high level of education workers are less willing to take construction job.

Almost all of the respondents who are Muslim (41 workers) are satisfied with the job. The proportion perhaps is equal to that of the workers sent to Taiwan. This may indicate that Muslims tend to be grateful with what their God have given to them. However, whether the Muslim workers tend to be satisfied with the job than the non-Muslim workers, it needs further research by collecting more non-Muslim respondents. However, working in Taiwan is challenging for a Muslim due to the different culture. The unfamiliarity of the Taiwanese toward the Indonesian and Islamic cultures has made many of them do not know about the religion and its practice and are not likely to respect the worker's obligation as a Muslim. In this case, conducting communication with the employer should be done to give them more understanding. Moreover, providing a cultural information center in Taiwan and by working together with Chinese Muslim Association (CMA) to introduce Islam and

Indonesian culture perhaps is one solution for the Indonesian government to give more information to Taiwanese.

Regarding the length of stay, 11 respondents who have lived in Taiwan for more than three years feel more satisfied, while 6 respondents are not satisfied. In addition, 8 people whose stay duration is less than one year feel satisfied and 2 people do not satisfied. This indicates that most of the workers have passed the “honey moon” period. Among 10 workers who have stayed for more than one year, 8 workers are satisfied with their job. The wage deduction within the first nine month does not seem to influence their satisfaction. Perhaps it is because they have greater hope to get much salary after the nine-month deduction period is completed.

Regarding the experience working overseas, 19 of 22 workers who worked overseas previously feel satisfied with their caretaking job in Taiwan. In contrast, 9 of 20 workers who have not had experience working in another country feel satisfied with the job, while the rest is not satisfied. Perhaps, it indicates that those who have experience working overseas tend to be able to compare that the current working and living situations in Taiwan are relatively better off than those in the previous countries, compared to those who have no experience working in another country. Besides, they also used to live away from their family; thus they are relatively easy to cope with loneliness problem. It supports Hewison’s study that homesick influences the job satisfaction.

### **Job content**

Approximately 15 respondents feel that caretaking job spends much energy, but they are satisfied with the job, indicates that there is another factor that influences the satisfaction. Meanwhile, 7 respondents think it spends much energy, but they are dissatisfied. The more frequency of waking up in the mid night, changing the caree’s clothes or cover sheet because of vomiting or doing other house hold jobs may become the reason. However, 13 respondents did not feel so, and are satisfied with the job. Perhaps it relates to the caree’s health condition, which is relatively healthy, is able to walk but slowly. Meanwhile, 6 respondents disagree with the statement but are dissatisfied with the job. Maybe, there is another factor that influences this dissatisfaction.

Fifteen respondents feel that the job restricts them from social contact with others outside of the home but they are satisfied with the job, indicates that this job's characteristic is not the factor that determines their satisfaction. This finding supported Hewison's study. Moreover, 13 workers do not feel so, but they are satisfied. Having opportunity to be outside to bring the caregiving receiver to the park or to go out for some hours to buy their daily need stuff may become factors that made them happy and satisfied with the job. Seven respondents agree that the job restricts them from social contact with others outside of the home, and they are not satisfied with the job, either. Disallowing the workers to make communications with others increases the workers' stress and burden. This group of workers tends to stress more than the other groups. Six respondents disagree with it but are also dissatisfied with the job, which indicates that there is another factor that influences their satisfaction.

Communication and negotiation are necessary to make for the employer or the caregiving receiver understands with what the caregiver wants. Using the agency's assistance to talk with the employer is also one solution to bridge communication between employer and the worker. The other is by utilizing the hotline service of 1955. Tsay (2007) found that one of 2 Indonesian workers had the thought to change employer soon after starting to work; 9 of 15 Indonesian workers believe that agent is useful in negotiating with employer; while 7 of 11 Indonesian workers thought about running away after agent failed to help negotiate with employer.

Approximately 31 respondents disagreed that caretaking job aggravates their health condition. Getting enough food, enough rest, and exercise have made them keep healthy. Going to the park also let them breath clean fresh air, and let the morning sun shining their skin. Opportunity to meet their friends in the park can also create a feeling of happiness which in turn can affect their physical and psychological health. Six respondents agree with the statement but still are satisfied with the job. Factors such as frequently wake up in the mid night, get less rest due to long working hours and rarely go outside make the worker's received less sun exposure do influence their health condition. The result supported Tsay's study (2007) which found that long working hour has become a problem of Indonesian and Vietnamese caretakers' living

and working conditions in Taiwan. In addition, 3 respondents agree that the job aggravate their job, thus made them dissatisfied, whereas 9 respondents disagree with the statement but are not satisfied with the job. Perhaps, there is another factor that determines the satisfaction.

About 16 respondents think that this job tend to create emotion, while 11 do not think so, however both groups are satisfied with their job. Factor such as having less rest, fussy employer or caregiving receiver, or disobedience against the doctor's order perhaps cause their emotion. Meanwhile, 9 respondents feel this job creates emotion and they are not satisfied with the job, either. It indicates that this job's characteristic influences their satisfaction. Three respondents disagree that the job creates emotion but they are dissatisfied with their job. Perhaps, there is another factor that influences their dissatisfaction.

Frequent emotion lead to stressful. There are 9 respondents who agree that the job is stressful but they feel satisfied, means that there is another factor that influences the satisfaction. Meanwhile 6 respondents agree that the job is stressful, and thus they dissatisfied with the job. Frequent moving and staying in different house in within short period, relation between the worker and employer or with the caree perhaps generate this stress.

The workers think even they do not doing anything, it constitutes as working, since they have to take care of the carees and wait for a call from the employers along the day, while the employers think that they are not working. Such unclear situation often cause conflict between the workers and the employers; hence, workers' clear understanding on the contract is very necessary. However, 28 of 42 respondents feel that they are satisfied with the job, which indicates that this characteristic of job content becomes one factor satisfaction.

Almost all of the respondents (40 respondents) feel happy since they can learn patient and value of life more and can express their love toward care taker receiver (38 respondents). These are kind of positive values toward the caretaking job expressed by the workers.

## **Wage**

Regarding the wage, 22 respondents are satisfied with the wage and are satisfied with the job. Factors of relatively higher amount of the wage, regularity payment and suitability between expectation and reality have become the factors of satisfaction. The result is similar with that found by Tsay (2001) and Hewison (2004). However, 11 people who are satisfied with the wage are not satisfied with the job. It may indicate that wage is not the only factor that determines the job satisfaction and this dissatisfaction does not decline their working enthusiasm. There are only 2 respondents who are dissatisfied with the wage and are dissatisfied with the job. This group of workers tends to stress with the job, like what Hamidi & Eivazi (2010) found in their study. However, this study revealed that their statement regarding the correspondence between real wages and their expectation refers to the minimum wage which is set by Taiwan government not based on their own negotiation. The incomprehensiveness of the workers toward their contract is likely to be the same with Tsai's study (2007) i.e. because of their low level of education, language barriers, and too many things that the agencies have to handle.

## **Personality job fit**

Approximately 26 people agreed that caretaking job is according to their level of education, but 15 people disagreed. Among the agreed one, 20 respondents feel satisfied with the job, while among the disagreed one 7 are dissatisfied. It means that mostly the workers with lower education level tend to satisfied with the job, while the more educated people tend to have higher expectation and pursue their aspirations more efficiently than the lower educated people (Vila & Nora, 2005:409).

This study revealed that most of the workers did not get enough vocational care training, thus they have not mastered their skills. Although they are not nurses, involving the workers in a hospital or home care as part of their training for on the job training program perhaps can improve their care skill. In this case, cooperation between agencies and home care and hospital will necessary. However, the low level of education and lack of vocational training perhaps have created the Indonesian workers' characteristic in Taiwan, similar with the case of the Thais contract workers in Taiwan (Tsay, 2007)

The personality job fit is different from the workers' job preferences. There are only 4 workers who are interested in the household job including caretaking, 15 respondents preferred to work as entrepreneurs and 11 respondents preferred to work in factory. Possibility of earning more income by working overtime in the factories becomes one of the reasons. Meanwhile, earning income without leaving the family has encouraged some of them to establish their own businesses.

The implication is that the government should be able to provide more job opportunities for such workers, not only providing enough job opportunities, but also the stable one. Although Indonesian economic situation is improving, some of them are still pessimistic. It indicates that the increasing Indonesian economic condition does not give much impact on the prosperity of the lower education people. Supporting them with entrepreneurial skill is hoped can help them building a good business management. Working in a preferred job will make someone display a better performance.

### **Supportive Working Conditions**

14 respondents have separated room from the caree, while 28 respondents share a room with the caree. Nine of those who have to share a room with the caree feel dissatisfied with her job. It means that sharing a room may influence their job satisfaction, because they tend to have less rest which further can influence workers' health deterioration and continue to generate emotion and stress. Space limitation perhaps becomes a barrier for some of Taiwanese to provide a room for the worker. This study supported Tsay's study (2007) which found that some of the workers complaint because they have to share room with the caregiving receiver. MingFang (2010) suggested that having a separated place of work with place of living will improve the worker's working condition. However, Taiwan authority is supposed to make investigation to the living condition of the employer before approving their application for hiring foreign worker. Therefore, sharing a room with caree is supposed to depends on the caree's condition. However, I believe that having a separated room will not only increase workers' working condition, but also protect the workers from sexual harassment.



Besides, 19 of 28 respondents do not mind with the “no days off” and are satisfied with the job which means that opportunity to work over time may influence their job satisfaction. This finding supports Tsay’s study (2001) which revealed that less opportunity of working overtimes has made dissatisfaction of the Thai workers in manufacturing sector in Taiwan. Meanwhile the rest disagree but are satisfied with the job. It perhaps indicates that having days off is not the factor that influences their satisfaction. Seven respondents disagree with the “no days off” but are still satisfied with the job. It indicates that if they are given days off, perhaps it will increase their satisfaction. Factors such (1) increase income, (2) Do not like to go outside (3) to save money have encouraged them to work overtime. Meanwhile, factors like (1) willingness to socialize with community, (2) to avoid stress and (3) to avoid boredom have encouraged them to have days off, with a consequence that their wage is cut. Tsay’s (2007) found that from 28 Indonesian workers, 13 people are willing to work over time. However, 10 of 20 Indonesian workers feel that always working overtime will affect emotionally.

### **Future Opportunities**

Approximately, 21 respondents who are satisfied with the job think that the growing aged population in Taiwan is a good job opportunities to work as caretakers, thus they (19 respondents) want to work in Taiwan as long as possible. Although Indonesian economic is predicted to improve, most of them are still feeling pessimistic to it and thus created such decision. This may indicate that the economic improvement does not seem to provide jobs with relatively good salary that will improve their wealth, moreover by considering their lower level of education. Eight respondents do not want to work in Taiwan for that longer time due to various reasons, such as marriage, family, or because they have already achieved their goal.

Regarding the implementation of the long-term care service law, almost all of the respondents agree that it is a good policy which will provide better working condition for a semi skilled worker, improve better working condition and protection. However there are 31 respondents who agree to follow the care training till getting certificate. Besides, although 38 respondents think that improving Mandarin will facilitate their job, there are 28 of them who agree to follow the course. Factors such as hard to learn

Mandarin and unwillingness to work as caretaker have encouraged them not to learn Mandarin.

## **5.2. Recommendation**

Improving workers' job satisfaction is very important since it will improve worker's productivity and turnover rates, and decline the absenteeism. In order to improve the workers' job satisfaction, I suggest that some efforts to address problems related with work and living condition should be made by employers, the Indonesian and Taiwan Governments and workers themselves. In order to make the recommendations for the workers can effectively achieve the target, I included them as part of the recommendations for the Indonesian government. It is hoped that this message can be delivered during the socialization programs held by Indonesian representative in Taipei.

### **1. To Indonesian Government**

- a. The Indonesian Government is suggested to be able to improve the frequency of doing socialization to the workers about their rights and obligations.
- b. To pay more attention on the minimum level of education of the workers that should be sent to overseas in order to improve workers' protection.
- c. In line with Tsay (2007)'s suggestion to Thais Government toward its workers, the Indonesian government should increase workers' skills and provide nationwide skill tests and training, so that most job seekers will be recruited as semi-skilled workers.
- d. To improve Indonesian workers' care skill, the government should improve its control over the training activities carried out by agencies in Indonesia. Holding a cooperating between agency and health care institutions in Indonesia is possible to involve the candidates to apply the skills they received during the training.
- e. Regarding the Indonesian workers' most wanted types of jobs, the government is suggested to promote the local labor market by cooperating with local industries and foreign investors to increase job opportunities and make

policies to reduce labor migration. In addition, the government should encourage the ex foreign workers to be involved in entrepreneurship program to avoid them from working abroad by providing entrepreneurial training, control and assistances.

- f. To establish a center for promoting Indonesian cultures and religions to provide more information for the Taiwanese.
- g. To Indonesian workers: communication with employers is necessary in order to let the employers understand what the workers need, while negotiation is important to reach agreement between the employers and workers.
- h. To Indonesian workers: improving workers' understanding of working contract is very important in order to avoid the ignorance of workers' rights.
- i. To Indonesian workers: counseling on the issues affecting the workers is very important to minimize stress and burden by utilizing the hotline facility of 1955 provided by the Taiwan Government. It is suggested that the workers can consult their problems one by one instead of hoarding the problems to avoid stress.

## **2. To Taiwan Government**

- a. The Taiwan Government, especially the Department of Labor is suggested to pay more concern and tighten control over the selection process of application, especially in investigating the applicant's working conditions, to whom are eligible to hire foreign workers in order to improve workers protection.

## **3. To employers**

- a. Employers are suggested to give more empathy toward the caretaking job. The higher employers' understanding on the caretaking job is expected to consider humanity and social values of the job, instead of merely materialistic value.
- b. Giving more opportunities to workers to perform religious obligations will not harm employers' interests, but improve workers' job satisfaction since psychologically these will improve workers' equanimity and inner peace in facing problems and reduce stress.

### 5.3. Further Study

Since this study is only limited to the examination of the correlation between the job satisfaction and some variables under the job content, wage, personality job fit and supportive working conditions, whereas each of the variable has its own derivatives, thus for further study, the researcher can use those more specific variables to result more various information. Moreover, studying the Indonesian workers in industrial or other sectors' job satisfaction is also important to be done in the future.



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## **Interviews**

Interview between Setyaningsih, R. P. and representative officer of the International Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, from the Foreign Workers Administration. Tuesday, June 14, 2011 in Taipei.

Interview between Setyaningsih, R. P. and representative officer of the Indonesian Economic and Trade Office (IETO), Division of Labor, in Taipei on Friday, June 10, 2011.

